THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

VOL. II.

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H

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M

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His Grace the late Duke of Montagu
Her Grace the Ducheſs of Montagu
His Grace the Duke of Montroſe
Her Grace the Ducheſs of Montroſe
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Her Grace the Ducheſs of Queensbury
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R

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Her Grace the Ducheſs of Richmond
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES,

OR

BISHOPS of *ROME*.

THEODOSIUS II. **SIXTUS III.** VALENTINIAN III.

Forty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

UPON the Death of *Celeſtine*, *Sixtus* the Third of that Name was choſen, with one Conſent, in his room [a]. He was by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *Sixtus*, and in 418. a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church [b]. At firſt he favoured the *Pelagians*; but, changing Sentiments, upon their being condemned by *Zoſimus*, he became a moſt inveterate Enemy and Perſecutor of all who profeſſed that Doctrine, inſomuch that his Zeal ſeemed to exceed all Bounds, even to St. *Auſtin* [c], who was at the Head of the *Antipelagian* Party, and not at all remarkable for his Moderation. In the Year 430. he wrote a longer Letter to *Neſtorius*, exhorting him to yield to *Cyril*, as the only Means of averting the Evils, that

Year of Chriſt 432. Sixtus *choſen.*

Firſt a Friend, and afterwards an inveterate Enemy, of the Semi-pelagians.

[a] Proſp. chron. monum. eccl. Græc. per Cotel. t. 2. p. 44, 45. [b] Proſp. in Coll. c. 44. [c] Aug. ep. 191.

Year of Christ 432.

were ready to fall on him [d]. But *Neſtorius* was already too far engaged in the Diſpute to follow his Advice. Soon after his Election he wrote to *Maximus*, who had been raiſed to the See of *Conſtantinople*, in the room of *Neſtorius*, and to ſeveral other Biſhops in the Eaſt, to let them know that he approved and received the Council of *Epheſus* [e].

He approves and receives the Council of Epheſus.

He ſtrives to reconcile the Oriental and Egyptian *Biſhops.*

He ſpared no Pains to reconcile the *Oriental* and *Egyptian* Biſhops. The former, under *John* of *Antioch*, would not own *Neſtorius* to have held heretical Doctrines, or to have been lawfully depoſed; and the latter, under *Cyril*, peremptorily inſiſted on their condemning him as a Heretic, and ſigning his Depoſition. It muſt be obſerved, that the Orientals did not maintain the Doctrine that was aſcribed to *Neſtorius*, but only that *Neſtorius* held no ſuch Doctrine: ſo that it was a Queſtion *de facto*, and not *de jure*, that kept the contending Parties thus divided. *Sixtus* wrote a circular Letter to the Orientals, exhorting them to Peace and Concord: but as Peace and Concord were only to be purchaſed by ſigning the Condemnation and Depoſition of *Neſtorius*, his Exhortations had not the deſired Effect [f]. At laſt *Theodoſius*, who was a weak and bigotted Prince, aſcribing the bad Succeſs of his Arms in *Africa* to his Neglect in procuring the Tranquillity of the Church, thought himſelf obliged to interpoſe his Authority. He wrote accordingly to the Heads of the Two Parties, *John* of *Antioch* and *Cyril*, commanding the former to anathematize the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and ſign his Depoſition; and the latter to anathematize his own Anathemas againſt *Neſtorius*. *John* obeyed with great Reluctance: *Cyril* would not retract a Syllable of what he had ſaid or written, during the Diſpute. However, he condeſcended, in the end, to explain ſuch of his Propoſitions as had given moſt Offence. With that Explanation *John* was, or pretended to be ſatisfied, and the Communion between him and *Cyril* was renewed [g].

The Emperor interpoſes his Authority.

Year of Chriſt 433.

John *of* Antioch *and* Cyril *at laſt reconciled.*

The Orientals divided among themſelves, ſome of them adhering to their Patriarch, and ſome to Neſtorius.

The Conduct of *John* was highly commended by ſome of his Party, but no leſs blamed by others. The former, finding *Cyril* unalterably bent on the Ruin of *Neſtorius*, thought it would be no Crime to ſacrifice one Man to the public Welfare, and the Tranquillity of the Church. But the latter, not Caſuiſts enough to think Evil might be done that *Good might come*, could on no Conſideration be prevailed upon to abandon *Neſtorius*, or own him guilty: nay, looking upon

[d] Gennad. c. 54. [e] Concil. t. 4. p. 1178. [f] Cotel. ibid. [g] Concil. t. 3. p. 1087. Liberat. c. 8.

their

their Patriarch as a Betrayer of the common Cauſe, they met at *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, and there not only excommunicated anew, and depoſed *Cyril*; but with great Solemnity pronounced the ſame Sentence againſt all who communicated with him. Having thus revolted from their own Patriarch, they wrote to *Sixtus*, giving him a particular Account of the irregular Proceedings of the Council of *Epheſus*, clearing *Neſtorius* from the Calumnies of his Enemies, charging *Cyril* with heretical and impious Doctrines, and cenſuring, in the ſharpeſt Terms, *John* of *Antioch*, for communicating with him, without requiring him to condemn the Doctrine for which he had cut him off from his Communion. This Letter was ſigned by the Biſhops of *Syria Euphratenſis*, of the Two *Cilicia's*, of *Bithynia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Mœſia* [h]; ſo that many Biſhops of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, though abandoned by their Patriarch, ſtill continued to adhere to *Neſtorius*, and thinking him unjuſtly condemned, ſtood up in defence of his Innocence. The Anſwer of *Sixtus* to this Letter has not reached our Times; but we may well ſuppoſe it to have been intirely agreeable to thoſe which he wrote ſoon after his Election to *John* and *Cyril*, commending them for ſacrificing their private Animoſities to the public Tranquillity, and approving their Agreement as well as the Terms, on which they had agreed [i].

Year of Chriſt 433.

The latter write to Sixtus *in favour of* Neſtorius.

The Patriarch of *Antioch* greatly concerned to ſee his Authority thus ſcorned, and ſet at nought, by thoſe of his own Patriarchate, wrote ſeveral Letters to the refractory Biſhops, ſtriving to convince them, that *Neſtorius* had been juſtly depoſed: but, finding that his Arguments and Reaſons were of no greater Weight with them than his Authority and Example, he had recourſe in the End to more effectual Means of convincing, penal Laws, and Imperial Edicts. Accordingly, at his Requeſt, Two Edicts were enacted, commanding all the Biſhops to be driven from their Sees, and ſent into Exile, who ſhould refuſe to communicate with the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, or to ſign the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*. As theſe Edicts were executed with the utmoſt Severity, moſt Biſhops complied. But *Alexander* of *Hierapolis* Metropolitan of *Syria Euphratenſis*, and *Eutherius* of *Tyana* (A), Two of the moſt eminent Prelates

The Patriarch of Antioch *recurs to the ſecular Power.*

Year of Chriſt 434.

Some Biſhops comply with the Imperial Edicts, and condemn Neſtorius; *others refuſe to comply, and are baniſhed.*

[h] Concil. append. per Baluſ. p. 810—820. Lirin. Common. c. 43.

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 1177. Vincen.

(A) He wrote an excellent Treatiſe, which has long paſſed under the Name of St. *Athanaſius*, and was by *Photius* aſcribed to *Theodoret*, but is quoted by *Marius Mercator*,

Year of Christ 434.

lates at that Time in the Church, chose rather to lose their Sees, than to keep them at the Expence of their Consciences. *Alexander* was admired and revered for his Piety and Learning, even by the most sanguine of the opposite Party, who therefore left nothing unattempted to gain him over: but he was so fully convinced of the Innocence of *Nestorius*, and the Malice of *Cyril*, that neither his Friends could prevail upon him with Exhortations, nor his Enemies

cator, who lived at this very Time, as the Work of *Eutherius*. In that Piece the Author first enumerates the many Evils that were ready to fall upon those of his Party; Evils capable, as he expresses it, of affording a no less copious Subject for Lamentations than those which the Prophet *Jeremiah* formerly complained of. As it was urged against him, that *Nestorius* had been condemned by almost all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, he alleges several Instances to prove, that *the many* have often erred, that Truths have been often maintained, and supported, by *the few*; adding, that Numbers may indeed frighten, but cannot convince; that in receiving or rejecting a Doctrine, we ought not to be swayed by the Number, or by the Authority, of those who have rejected or received it before us, but merely by the Number or Strength of those Reasons on which it is grounded; that a Majority is not always owing to Conviction, but often to selfish and worldly Motives, and therefore, in most Cases, deserves very little Regard, if any at all; that, in the present Case, many have adhered to *Nestorius*, and thought him Orthodox, till, recourse being had to the secular Power, they found, that they must either condemn him as a Heretic, or be driven from their Sees into Exile. Were we to inquire what the Majority has been owing to in most Councils, we should find, that it was not to Conviction, but to very different Motives. And yet, in the Church of *Rome*, all are bound, on Pain of Damnation, to believe that Doctrine, which has the Majority on its Side. It is this Principle that *Eutherius* undertakes to confute, in the first Part of his Work, as inconsistent both with Reason and Facts. In the second Part he answers, with great Sense and Learning, the Reasons that some alleged to deter People from reading the Scripture; and the very same as those, which are still alleged by the *Roman* Catholics, for the same Purpose. But *Eutherius* fully answers them, by shewing, that whoever reads the Scripture with due Humility and Attention, will there discover all that is necessary for him to know; that the Scripture is the Standard of our Faith, and that such as dissuade Men from so useful a Study, can have nothing else in view but to prevent, by that means, a Discovery of the Errors they teach. *Eutherius*, throughout the whole Work, speaks like a true Protestant; and, upon Protestant Principles, rejects the opposite Errors. From what he writes it appears, that about this Time the Study of the Scripture first began to be publicly discountenanced; so that we need not wonder if, in this and the following Centuries, we shall see Truth almost intirely banished from the Church, and Error, attended by the most superstitious and idolatrous Practices, introduced in its room, and everywhere reigning, without Controul, till the Time of the Reformation, when the Study of the Scripture was again countenanced, and revived. The remaining Part of this Treatise *Eutherius* employs in clearing the Orientals from the Errors that they were charged with by the *Egyptians*, who adhered to *Cyril*, and in combating the Expressions used by him, and those who followed him. *Eutherius* was deposed, and confined to *Scythopolis* in *Palæstine*, but removed from thence to *Tyre*, where he died (1). His Treatise, which every Protestant must read with Pleasure, is to be found in the second Volume of the Works of St. *Athanasius*, under the Name of that Father, and in the fifth Volume of the Works of *Theodoret*, published by Father *Garnier*.

(1) Concil. append. p. 886.

with

with Threats, to anathematize the one, or communicate with the other; nay, he uſed to ſay, that if the Dead ſhould all riſe up, and adviſe him to admit *Cyril* to his Communion, he would reject their Advice with Scorn, and ſtill look upon him as a Heretic, unworthy of the Catholic Communion [k]. Twelve more maintained, to the laſt, the ſame Sentiments; but they being depoſed, and others more compliant ordained in their room, the Doctrine, or rather the Expreſſions of *Cyril* were univerſally received, and made Catholic; thoſe of *Neſtorius* were univerſally rejected, and he was condemned as a Broacher of Hereſy. Thus were the Troubles, occaſioned by the Quarrel between the *Orientals* and *Egyptians*, compoſed at laſt, and the Church reſtored to her former Tranquillity, which however was but ſhort-lived, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Year of Chriſt 434.

The Troubles compoſed at laſt.

A long Letter from *Sixtus* III. to the Eaſtern Biſhops, eſtabliſhing ſeveral of the Papal Prerogatives, has been long received as genuine, and is quoted by *Bellarmine* [l], to prove, that Councils ought to be called by none but the Pope, *Sixtus* ſaying there, *The Emperor* Valentinian *has ſummoned a Council by our Authority*. But that Letter is wholly made up of Paſſages borrowed from the VIIIth Council of *Toledo*, from *Gregory the Great*, from *Felix* III. from *Adrian*, and from the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtinian* Codes; and therefore evidently ſuppoſititious. *Sixtus* is ſuppoſed to have written it on Occaſion of his having cleared himſelf before a Council, from the Charge of debauching a ſacred Virgin. But the Acts of that Council are ſo manifeſtly fabulous, that even *Binius* and *Baronius* have been forced to give them up, though the Emperor *Valentinian*, whom the Acts ſuppoſe to have aſſiſted at the Council, is there ſaid to have referred the pronouncing of the Sentence to the Pope himſelf, *becauſe the Judge of all ought to be judged by none*. It was, without all doubt, to eſtabliſh this Maxim, that the Acts of this Council were forged, as well as thoſe of the famous Council of *Sinueſſa*, which I have ſpoken of elſewhere [m]. As for the Charge brought againſt *Sixtus*, it is indeed vouched by *Anaſtaſius* and *Platina*, and thoſe who have copied them, but not by any more antient, or more credible Writer (B).

The Letter from Sixtus *to the Eaſtern Biſhops a mere Forgery.*

In

[k] Lup. diverſ. epiſt. c. 148. [l] Bell. de Concil. l. 2. c. 12. [m] See Vol. I. p. 80, 81, 82.

(B) To the Acts of this Council are commonly added, thoſe of the Judgment ſuppoſed to have been given at *Rome*, on Occaſion of an Appeal made to that See, by

Year of Christ 434. In the Time of *Sixtus* the Biſhops of *Illyricum* made ſeveral Attempts towards the Recovery of their antient Liberty. They had born the Yoke ever ſince the Pontificate of *Damaſus* [n]; but as it grew daily more galling, they reſolved in the end to ſhake it off, pleading a Decree of the late Council of *Epheſus*, by which it was enacted, That no Biſhop ſhould claim or exerciſe any kind of Authority or Juriſdiction over Provinces, which had not been from the Beginning ſubject to his See. *Sixtus* wrote on this Occaſion Three Letters (C); and, partly by Menaces, partly by Exhortations, prevailed upon the *Illyrican* Biſhops, unwilling to raiſe new Diſturbances in the Church, to acquieſce, though the above-mentioned Decree had been ſigned by all the Biſhops of the Council of *Epheſus*, and even by the Legates of his immediate Predeceſſor [o].

The Biſhops of Illyricum *attempt, in vain, to withdraw themſelves from all Subjection to* Rome.

Year of Christ 435.

Churches ſaid to have been repaired or enriched by him.

Sixtus is ſaid to have built or repaired ſome Churches, and to have enriched others with magnificent Preſents [p]. Pope *Nicholas* IV. pretends, that he diſtinguiſhed the Church of St. *Mary the Greater* with perpetual Indulgences [q]. But it is certain, that the Name of Indulgence, as that Word is now commonly underſtood, was not known in his Time, nor many Ages after. Three ſmall Treatiſes have long paſſed under the Name of *Sixtus* [r]; but if they are really his, they muſt have been written before *Pelagius* and *Celeſtius* were condemned by *Zoſimus*; for the Author, whoever he was, betrays a great Byas to their Doctrine.

[n] See Vol. I. p. 226, 227. [o] Cotel. ubi ſupra, p. 88. 90. Concil. t. 4. p. 115. 117. [p] Bar. ad ann. 440. n. 5. [q] Bolland. 28 Martii, p. 16. [r] Biblioth. Patr. t. 5. p. 573. 656.

by one *Polychronius*, ſaid to have been Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and to have appealed from the Judgment of his Collegues in the Eaſt, to that of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Acts of this Judgment too have been long received as genuine, and often quoted to prove, that the Power of receiving Appeals claimed by the Popes, has been acknowleged even by the Eaſtern Biſhops; nay, one of the Popes, *Nicholas* I. appeals to them as genuine, in a Letter, which he wrote to the Emperor *Michael*. And yet that they are a mere Forgery, may be as eaſily as evidently made to appear. For that Judgment is ſuppoſed to have been given while the Emperor *Valentinian* was the Seventh time Conſul with *Avienus*, that is, no fewer than Eleven Years after the Death of *Sixtus*. Beſides, it is manifeſt from the Acts of the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, that *Juvenalis* aſſiſted at both as Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; and the firſt of theſe Two Councils was held a Year before the Election of *Sixtus*, and the latter Eleven Years after his Death; ſo that *Polychronius* was not Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in his Time: it may be even queſtioned whether there ever was a Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* bearing that Name; at leaſt I can find none in the Catalogues of the Biſhops of that City, that have been handed down to us.

(C) One of theſe Letters is dated the 8th of *July* 435. the other the 18th of *December* 437. the Third bears no Date.

Sixtus

Sixtus died in the Year 440. and on the 18th of *Auguſt*, if he governed, as *Proſper* writes, Eight Years and Nineteen Days. He was buried, according to *Anaſtaſius*, in the Church of St. *Laurence*, called *in Lucina*, which he had built; and is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint, on account, perhaps, of his having ſupported, againſt the Biſhops of *Illyricum*, the Claims and Pretenſions of his See; for I know of no other extraordinary Merit that could have intitled him to that Honour.

Year of Chriſt 440. Sixtus *dies.*

THEODOSIUS II.
VALENTINIAN III.
MARCIAN,
AVITUS,

LEO,
Surnamed the Great,
Forty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

MAXIMUS,
MAJORIANUS,
LEO THRACIUS.

LEO, ſurnamed *the Great*, was a Native of *Rome* [r], and not of *Volterra*, in *Tuſcany*, as the Pontificals make him; the Son of one *Quinctianus*, and, at the Time of his Election, Arch-deacon of the *Roman* Church. When *Sixtus* died, he was abſent in *Gaul*, whither he had been ſent, either by *Sixtus* or *Valentinian*, to make up a Difference between the famous *Aetius*, the greateſt General of his Time, and a Lord in that Country, of great Intereſt and Power, named *Albinus*. As the Weſtern Empire was then at the loweſt Ebb, being over-run by the *Goths*, the *Burgundians*, the *Franks*, and the *Hunns*, and governed by *Placidia*, and her Son *Valentinian* III. a Youth of no Experience, and very ſlender Parts, it was apprehended, that a Miſunderſtanding between theſe Two great Men might be attended with fatal Conſequences: and to prevent them *Leo* was pitched upon as a Man of all others the moſt capable, by reaſon of his Eloquence and Addreſs, of ſucceeding in ſuch a Negotiation. He ſucceeded accordingly; *Aetius* and *Albinus* were reconciled, the Apprehenſion of the Evils, that their Diſagreement was likely to produce, was removed, to the great Satisfaction of *Valentinian* and *Placidia*, and *Leo* honoured by both as the Angel of Peace, as the Deliverer of the Empire [s]. When *Sixtus* died, he was choſen, though at ſo great a Diſtance from *Rome*, with one Conſent, to ſucceed him, no one

Leo, *before his Election, Arch-deacon of the* Roman *Church.*

Employed with Succeſs in Affairs of great Moment.

Choſen while abſent in Gaul.

[r] Proſp. chron. [s] Idem ad ann. 441. Leo ſerm. 1.

pre-

Year of Chriſt 440.

preſuming to ſtand in Competition with a Man of his Reputation and Merit. Upon his Return to *Rome*, which happened Six Weeks after his Election, he was received, by the People and Clergy, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy, and ordained the *Sunday* following, the 29th of *September* 440 [t].

He applies himſelf, with great Zeal, to the Functions of his Office.

From the very Beginning he applied himſelf wholly to the Functions of his Office, inſtructing the People committed to his Care by his Sermons, and the reſt of the Chriſtian World by his Letters. He thought the Preaching of the Word the indiſpenſable Duty of every Biſhop, and more eſpecially of the Biſhop of *Rome* [u]. But that Duty has been, long ſince, almoſt intirely neglected by the Popes as well as by the other *Roman* Catholic Biſhops, among whom there are very few who ever preach, or think it, as *Leo* did, a Part of their Duty to preach. He preached Ninety-ſix Sermons that have reached our Times, of which Thirty-two are on the Faſt of the Ember-Weeks, and Twelve on that of *Lent*. He is the firſt who mentions the former Faſt, and the Inſtitution of it he aſcribes to *Moſes*, pretending, in Oppoſition to the unanimous Deciſion of the Apoſtles, in the Council of *Jeruſalem*, that the *Jewiſh* Precepts, with reſpect to Faſts, and ſeveral other Practices, are binding under the Goſpel Diſpenſation [w]: and it is upon this erroneous, or rather heretical Principle, that he excludes thoſe from Orders who had married Widows [x].

His Sermons.

His Letters.

Of the many Letters he wrote 141 are ſtill extant intire; and the Fragments of ſeveral others, calculated, for the moſt part, to revive the antient Diſcipline, and baniſh the many Abuſes that had crept into the Church; but he alſo injoined ſome things not warranted by the Antients, and undoubtedly contrary to the Terms of the Goſpel. In a Letter which he wrote, about the Year 442. to *Ruſticus* Biſhop of *Narbonne*, he extends the Law of Celibacy to the Sub-deacons, who nevertheleſs were not to abandon the Wives they had married, while in the inferior Degrees, but, changing the carnal into a ſpiritual Marriage, live with them, not as Wives, but as Siſters [y]. This Law however did not univerſally obtain, even in the Suburbicarian Provinces, till long after *Leo*'s Time; nay, ſome of his Succeſſors, and among the reſt, *Gregory the Great*, thought it very hard that Sub-deacons ſhould be debarred from all Commerce with the Wives they had married, or even from marrying [z]. The contrary Prac-

He extends the Law of Celibacy, to the Sub-deacons.

[t] Leo ep. 16. c. 7. [u] Leo ſerm. 1. [w] Idem ſerm. 16. [x] Serm. 19.
[y] Leo ep. 2. [z] Greg. l. 2. Regiſt. ep. 42.

tice

tice prevailed in *Gaul*, even in *Leo*'s Time, as appears, from the Canons of the first Council of *Orange*; of the second of *Arles*, and of that of *Angers*, only forbidding Deacons to marry. In the same Letter *Leo* declares, that it is no Sin for a Clerk to give his Daughter in Marriage to a Man who keeps a Concubine, nor for the Woman, whom he marries, to live with him; and that a Man, who quits his Concubine to live with his Wife, is not guilty of Adultery. The Concubines spoken of here, were Slaves whom their Masters lived with, as with their Wives, without having any Commerce with other Women; and it was doubted, it seems, in those Days, whether their agreeing to live thus together, might not be deemed a true Marriage. Year of Christ 442.

He quarrels with Hilarius, *of* Arles.

The Letter which *Leo* wrote in 445. to the Bishops of the Province of *Vienne*, is no less remarkable, than the Occasion on which it was written. *Celidonius*, Bishop of *Besanzon*, being accused of having formerly married a Widow, and sentenced some Criminals to Death, while, being yet a Layman, he exercised the Office of a Judge; *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Arles*, and Exarch of the seven Provinces of *Narbonne*, a most strict Observer of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, as established by the Canons, assembled a Council, and the Charge being proved by several Persons of great Distinction, and other unexceptionable Witnesses, *Celidonius* was deposed by the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops, who composed the Assembly, and another ordained in his room. From this Sentence, which was, no doubt, agreeable to the Canons, he appealed to *Leo*, and, repairing to *Rome*, complained there of his having been unjustly condemned and deposed: the Predecessors of *Leo* had, but very lately, met with such a Check from the *African* Bishops, in pursuing their pretended Right of receiving Appeals, as had obliged them to give over, or rather to suspend that Pursuit [a]; which, one would think, might have deterred *Leo* from engaging in a like Dispute with the *Gallican* Bishops: but he, no less intent than the most ambitious of his Predecessors, on the great Object, which they all had in View, the Exaltation of his See, readily embraced the Opportunity that offered, of sounding the Disposition of the *Gallican* Bishops, and trying, whether he might not, in the same Attempt, meet with better Success in *Gaul*, than *Zosimus* and *Celestine* had lately met with in *Africa*. With this View, he not only received *Celidonius*, with great Demonstrations of Kindness, but

Year of Christ 445.

Occasion of this Quarrel.

Celidonius, *deposed in* Gaul, *appeals to*

[a] See Vol. I. p. 370, et seq.

Year of Christ 445.

Leo *admits him to his Communion.*

admitted him to his Communion; nay, and allowed him, in Defiance of the Judgment given againſt him in *Gaul*, to exerciſe the Functions of his Office in *Rome:* but he found the Prelates in thoſe Parts no leſs jealous of their juſt Rights and Liberties, no leſs upon their Guard, againſt all Papal Encroachments, than the moſt zealous among the *Africans*. *Hilarius* had preſided at the Council, and therefore, thinking it chiefly incumbent upon him, to oppoſe the irregular Proceedings of *Leo*, and maintain the Sentence pronounced by the Council, he no ſooner heard of the Reception *Celidonius* had met with at *Rome*, than he ſet out, on Foot, for that City; and, performing on Foot the whole Journey, though it was then in the Depth of Winter, he equally ſurpriſed both *Leo* and *Celidonius* with his unexpected Arrival. Being introduced to *Leo*, after he had viſited the Tombs of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, he addreſſed him with all the Reſpect that was due to the Biſhop of the firſt City; but, at the ſame time, with all the Liberty of one, who, in every other reſpect, thought himſelf his Equal: he acquainted him with the Motives of his Journey; complained of the Reception he had given to *Celidonius*, who had been depoſed in *Gaul*, and yet was allowed to diſcharge all Epiſcopal Functions in *Rome*; begged he would govern according to the approved and received Rules of the Church, and redreſs, at leaſt, by a private Order, ſuch an open Violation of the Canons. He added, that if he thought his Complaints juſt, it was to be hoped, he would take care to have the Evil ſpeedily removed, on which they were founded; if he did not, that he ſhould give him no farther Trouble, not being come to *Rome*, to engage in a Diſpute, but only to pay his Reſpects to him; to inform him of the Truth; and to beg he would maintain inviolate the Canons of the Church, and ſuffer himſelf to be governed by them alone [b].

Hilarius *repairs to* Rome.

He ſpeaks, with great Liberty, to Leo.

Conſents to hear Celidonius, *in the Preſence of* Leo.

Though *Hilarius* had declared, that he was not come to *Rome* to engage in a Diſpute, which was, in effect, declaring that he did not acknowlege, in *Leo*, the Power of receiving Appeals, or re-examining a Cauſe determined elſewhere; yet he conſented to hear, in the Preſence of *Leo*, and ſome other Biſhops, what *Celidonius* had to offer againſt the Judgment paſſed upon him by the *Gallican* Biſhops. We know but very little of what was ſaid, on either Side, at that Interview; and that little we know only from *Leo*, who aſſures us, that *Hilarius* behaved with great Inſolence; that in the Tranſport of

[b] Leonis op. per Queſnel, t. 1. p. 744—754.

his Paſſion, he uttered things, that no Layman would have uttered, and no Biſhop could hear; that he himſelf, was greatly concerned to ſee a Biſhop thus expoſing himſelf, and degrading his Character, but bore the Whole with great Patience [c]. Had *Hilarius* given us an Account of what had paſſed on that Occaſion, he had probably told us a different Story; at leaſt, the ſubſequent Conduct of *Leo* leaves great room to queſtion his boaſted Forbearance and Patience; for, upon the breaking up of the Conference, without any Regard to a Man of *Hilarius*'s Dignity and Character, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and kept under Arreſt [d]; an Inſtance of Violence, which *Rome* had not yet ſeen with reſpect to a Biſhop, and in Matters, not of Faith, but only of Diſcipline. From *Leo*'s own Account, it appears, that the inſolent Behaviour, which he complained of in *Hilarius*, conſiſted merely in his maintaining, with the Freedom that became him, the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church; in his oppoſing the Encroachments of *Leo*; and in refuſing to acknowlege his pretended Right of judging at *Rome* a Cauſe, which had been already judged in *Gaul:* for, giving an Account of what happened in that Interview, he taxes *Hilarius* with refuſing to ſubmit to St. *Peter*, and acknowlege the Primacy of the *Roman* Church [e]; as if the Primacy included the Power of receiving Appeals, which it certainly did not, ſince all the Weſtern Biſhops owned the Primacy at this very Time, and not one of them ſuch a Power.

Year of Chriſt 445.

His Behaviour on that Occaſion, how repreſented by Leo.

Leo *cauſes him to be ſeized.*

Leo, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of *Hilarius*, appointed a Day for examining, and judging anew, the Cauſe of *Celidonius:* but before the appointed Day came, *Hilarius*, that he might not be obliged to appear, or be any-ways acceſſary to ſuch irregular Proceedings, found Means to eſcape from his Guards, and travelling through By-roads, after a moſt painful Journey, arrived ſafe at *Arles*. *Leo* was ſo provoked at his Eſcape, that, out of Pique to him, he immediately annulled the Judgment of the Council, at which he had preſided, declared *Celidonius* unlawfully depoſed, cleared him from the Charge of having ever married a Widow, though proved by a great Number of unexceptionable Witneſſes, and reſtored him to his former Dignity [f]. He did not ſtop here; but in the Height of his Reſentment declared *Hilarius* cut off from the Communion of the

Hilarius *eſcapes from* Rome, *and returns to* Gaul.

Leo's *irregular and paſſionate Conduct on this Occaſion.*

[c] Leo ep. 10. c. 3. [d] Leon. op. t. 1. p. 744. [e] Leo ep. 10. c. 7.
[f] Leon. op. t. 2. p. 744. et ep. 10. c. 3. et 7.

Year of Christ 445.

Apoſtolic See; deprived him of all Juriſdiction over the Seven Provinces; ſuſpended him from ordaining any Biſhop, or even aſſiſting at the Ordination of any; and, to be more fully revenged on him, utterly ſuppreſſed the Dignity of Exarch, annexed to the See of *Arles* g. Such Treatment did the beſt of Men meet with from the Biſhops of *Rome*; when, prompted by Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, and the Obſervance of her Laws, they attempted to check their lawleſs Ambition and Encroachments. *Leo* carried his Reſentments againſt *Hilarius* ſtill farther; for, in order to diſcredit him among the Biſhops of his own Dioceſe, who looked upon him as a true Pattern of every Chriſtian Virtue, he wrote the Letter, which I have mentioned above, well calculated for that Purpoſe, but altogether unworthy of a Man of *Leo*'s Character and Reputation: for, giving an intire Credit to every malicious Report he had heard, to the Prejudice of that excellent Prelate, he inveighs againſt him in the moſt bitter Terms, as one, who was a Diſgrace to the Epiſcopal Order, and therefore deſerved to be deprived, not only of the Power and Juriſdiction, which he had wantonly abuſed, but of the Dignity itſelf. To read *Leo*'s Letter, ſo long as he ſpeaks in general Terms, one would conclude the Biſhop of *Arles* to have been guilty of the blackeſt Crimes; but when he deſcends to Particulars, it plainly appears, that his only Crime was, his *Rebellion againſt St.* Peter, and his *not acknowleging the Primacy of his See*, that is, his not ſuffering, out of Reſpect to St. *Peter*, his pretended Succeſſors to exerciſe a deſpotic and tyrannical Dominion over the Churches committed to his Care: for the only things he charges him with, are, his having ordained ſome Biſhops againſt their Will (B); his taking Delight in condemning Biſhops, and excommunicating Laymen; his performing the Journey, when he viſited the Dioceſe, with a Quickneſs and Expedition ill becoming the Gravity of a Biſhop. From *Leo*'s Words we ſhould conclude, that he rid Poſt, were we not aſſured, by the Author of his Life, that he never travelled otherwiſe than on Foot: but the Charge

He cuts Hilarius *off from his Communion.*

And ſtrives to diſcredit him among the Gallican *Biſhops.*

What Crimes laid by Leo *to his Charge.*

g Concil. t. 3. p. 1400. Leo ep. 9. et 10.

(B) This Practice obtained in ſeveral Places, and was never before found Fault with. St. *Auſtin* writes, that in *Africa*, when Men of eminent Parts and Virtue declined the Epiſcopal Dignity, to which they had been named by the People and Clergy, they were even kept in Priſon till they accepted it (2).

(2) Aug. ep. 173.

againſt

againſt *Hilarius*, on which *Leo* lays the greateſt Streſs, is, his having ordained a new Biſhop, in the room of one of his Suffragans, named *Projectus*, who indeed lay dangerouſly ill, and, as was thought, paſt Recovery, but nevertheleſs recovered, and was re-eſtabliſhed, or rather confirmed, in the Poſſeſſion of his See. Of this remarkable Tranſaction not the leaſt Mention is made by *Honoratus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who was one of the Diſciples of *Hilarius*, and wrote his Life. But, allowing the Fact to be true, many Circumſtances, unknown to us, might have concurred to juſtify the Conduct of *Hilarius* on that Occaſion. As *Leo* does not reproach him with performing that Ordination alone, or without the Conſent and Approbation of the other Biſhops of the ſame Province, which, as both were commanded by the Canons, he would certainly have done, had *Hilarius* failed in either, we may well ſuppoſe Two Biſhops more, at leaſt, to have been preſent, and the reſt to have concurred with their Suffrages; and that I can hardly think they would have done, but on a very urgent Occaſion, ſuch an Occaſion as ſufficiently juſtified the Breach of the Canon forbidding Two Biſhops to be ordained for one and the ſame See. However, that Breach *Leo*, blind with Paſſion and Prejudice, ſtudies to exaggerate into an unpardonable Crime, maliciouſly ſuppreſſing, in order to ſet it out in the worſe Light, the material Circumſtance of the dangerous Malady, or rather approaching Death, as was apprehended, of *Projectus*: I ſaid *maliciouſly*, becauſe *Leo* could not be unappriſed of that Circumſtance.

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Leo *maliciouſly repreſents ſome of his Actions.*

In the ſame Letter he employs the whole Force of his Eloquence in diſplaying the Privileges, and magnifying the Authority, of the Apoſtolic See, roundly aſſerting that, upon Appeals from *Gaul*, his Predeceſſors had frequently reverſed or confirmed Judgments given there. It were to be wiſhed he had alleged one Inſtance at leaſt to confirm ſo bold an Aſſertion; but that was more than was in his Power to do, *Celidonius* being the firſt *Gallican* Biſhop who ever thought of appealing from the Judgment of his Collegues in *Gaul*, to that of the Biſhop of *Rome*. This *Leo* could not but know; but probably thought it no Crime in ſo material a Point to ſacrifice Truth to the Exaltation of his See.

He ſacrifices Truth to the Exaltation of his See.

He was ſenſible that little Regard would be paid to his Decrees by the *Gallican* Biſhops, to that eſpecially, which ſuppreſſed the Ex-

[h] Leo ep. 10.

archate

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archate or Primacy of *Arles*. In order therefore to prevent all Oppoſition, and eſtabliſh at once his Authority in *Gaul*, he reſolved to apply to the Emperor, and engage in his Favour the ſecular Power [i].

He applies to the Emperor, of whom he obtains a Reſcript, eſtabliſhing his Authority in Gaul.

Valentinian III. was at this Time Emperor of the Weſt, a very weak Prince, and therefore a fit Tool for a Man of *Leo*'s Craft, Ambition, and Addreſs. To him therefore he applied, and, having by many falſe and malicious Inſinuations ſtrangely prejudiced him againſt *Hilarius*, as a Diſturber of the public Peace, nay, as a Rebel not only to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, but to the Majeſty of the Empire (for he ſtuck at nothing), he obtained the famous Reſcript, veſting the Biſhops of *Rome* with an abſolute and uncontrouled Authority over the *Gallican* Churches and Biſhops. It was addreſſed to *Aetius*, General of the *Roman* Forces in *Gaul*; and, under Pretence of maintaining the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, *Valentinian* there requires the *Gallican* Biſhops to pay an intire Obedience and Submiſſion to the Orders of the Apoſtolic See; which he ſuppoſes (as had been falſly ſuggeſted to him by *Leo)* to have been ever practiſed till the Time of *Hilarius*; he commands all Biſhops to hold and obſerve, as a Law, whatever it ſhall pleaſe the Biſhop of *Rome* to ordain or decree; and ſtrictly injoins the Magiſtrates to oblige thoſe, who ſhall be ſummoned to *Rome*, to obey the Summons. He adds, that as *Leo* has a Right to command what he pleaſes, with reſpect to the Diſcipline of the Church, there ought to have been Occaſion for no other Authority but his own, to make all Men concur in executing the Judgment which he had lately given againſt *Hilarius*, whom he ſtyles a Traitor, and an Enemy both to the Church and State, both to *Leo* and himſelf; nay, he imputes it to him as a Crime, that he had, by a bold and unprecedented Attempt, depoſed ſome Biſhops, and ordained others, without having firſt conſulted the Biſhop of *Rome* [k]. From this Reſcript, which was undoubtedly dictated, if not penned, by *Leo*, as ſome have thought, it appears, that, notwithſtanding his boaſted Sanctity, he carried his Pretenſions much higher than the moſt ambitious of his Predeceſſors had done; nay, that he aimed at nothing leſs than to have himſelf acknowleged as abſolute Monarch of the whole Church. The preceeding Popes had indeed claimed and exerciſed a far greater Power than was allowed them by the Canons; but yet that Power they pretended to derive from the Canons, as appears

What required of the Gallican *Biſhops by that Reſcript.*

[i] Leo ep. 10. [k] Concil. t. 3. p. 1401. Leo ep. 10.

from

from the long Diſpute between them and the *African* Biſhops, with reſpect to this very Point of Appeals now diſputed by the *Gallican* Biſhops *. But *Leo*, ſenſible that his Views were too extenſive to be any-ways countenanced by the Canons, however miſconſtrued, had the Aſſurance to command, without any Regard to them, *all Biſhops to obſerve as a Law, whatever it ſhould pleaſe the Biſhop of* Rome *to command*, and at the ſame time to declare, *That he had a Right to command what he pleaſed*; which was abrogating at once all Eccleſiaſtical Laws, ſubſtituting his own Will in their room, and aſſuming to himſelf, by that means, the ſole Monarchy of the Church. His daring to go ſuch a Length was owing to the Credit he had with the Emperor, both before and after his Elevation to the Popedom, and to the Weakneſs of that Prince, which, being well known to him, encouraged him to make an Attempt that would have been vain and abſurd under one of a different Character. But throughout his whole Papacy he never failed to make the utmoſt Advantage he could of his Favour with the Emperors both in the Weſt and the Eaſt, for the Advancement of the See of *Rome*; and in this his Example was followed, with all poſſible Care, by his Succeſſors.

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The Reſcript of *Valentinian* has been often quoted by the Advocates for the See of *Rome*, to prove, that the Popes have ever exerciſed an uncontrouled Authority and Juriſdiction over the *Gallican* Church. For the Emperor, ſay they, by this Reſcript, grants no new Privilege to the *Roman* See, but only confirms the Practice and Cuſtom that had obtained, Time out of Mind. But the Authority of the Emperor can be of no Weight here, ſince the Emperor believed what *Leo* told him; and what he told him was certainly falſe, as I have ſhewn above. It is true, that *Celidonius* was reſtored, according to the moſt probable Opinion [l], and *Importunus* driven out, who had been ordained by *Hilarius* in his room. But that was owing to the Imperial Reſcript, not to *Leo*'s Decree; for *Hilarius*, and with him the other *Gallican* Biſhops, oppoſed to the laſt the Papal Encroachments, and could never be induced to acknowlege the pretended Power in the See of *Rome*, of receiving Appeals, and re-examining a Cauſe which they had determined. As for *Leo*'s Decree, depriving the Church of *Arles* of its Primacy, it has been evidently ſhewn, by a learned Critic, that it never took place [m].

This Reſcript no Proof of the Pope's Authority over the Gallican *Church.*

* See Vol. I. p. 375. [l] Chifflet, t. 2. p. 115. [m] Queſnel diſſert. prima de S. Hil. c. 8, et 9.

While

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Hilarius *ſtrives to appeaſe* Leo.

While *Leo* was uſing his utmoſt Efforts to bring *Hilarius* into Diſgrace with the Emperor, and by that means compaſs his Ruin, the holy Prelate lay dangerouſly ill at *Arles*; and being greatly concerned to ſee a Man of *Leo*'s Rank and Character abandoning himſelf thus to Paſſion and Revenge, he left nothing unattempted, he could think of, to appeaſe him. He would not indeed yield to his lawleſs Ambition, and, out of a criminal Complaiſance, give up the juſt Rights and Liberties of the Church committed to his Care and Protection, but ſtrove, by all other lawful means, by all kinds of honeſt Submiſſion, to allay his Reſentment, and bring him to a more Chriſtian Temper.

He writes to him.

He firſt wrote to *Leo*, clearing himſelf, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Terms, from the many malicious and groundleſs Aſperſions of his Enemies, which the Pope had credited, without giving himſelf the Trouble to inquire whether they were true or falſe, and charged him with as real Crimes. As *Leo* did not condeſcend to anſwer this Letter, the Biſhop of *Arles*, actuated by a truly Chriſtian Spirit, and mindful of the Command of our Saviour [n], diſpatched to *Rome Ravennius*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Merit, at that Time one of his Presbyters, and afterwards his Succeſſor in the See of *Arles*, hoping, by his means, to remove the Prejudices which *Leo* had imbibed againſt him. But neither *Ravennius*, nor the Two Biſhops *Nectarius* and *Conſtantius*, both Men of eminent Sanctity, whom the Metropolitan of *Arles* ſent afterwards, with the Character of his Legates, to ſoften *Leo*, and incline him, if poſſible, to a Reconciliation, could make the leaſt Impreſſion on his obſtinate Mind. He was unalterably bent on having his Authority acknowleged by the *Gallican* Church, without Limitation, as required by the Imperial Reſcript, and would hearken to no other Terms till that was complied with.

And ſends Deputies to Rome *to ſoften* Leo.

But all in vain.

On the other hand, *Hilarius*, not caring to purchaſe the Favour of the Pope at the Expence of his Conſcience, had ſtrictly injoined his Legates not to agree to any Terms that might prove in the leaſt prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges which they enjoyed by the Canons, and of which he looked upon himſelf as the Guardian. With this Diſpoſition on either Side the Legates were ſoon convinced, that it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed in their Negotiation. However, before they left *Rome*, they reſolved to make one Attempt more, and try whether, by the Intereſt of ſome Man in Power, they might not prevail upon the Pope to relinquiſh his Pretenſions, or, at

[n] Matth. v. 23, 24.

leaſt,

leaſt, to be reconciled to a Man, who oppoſed them, not out of any Diſreſpect to the Apoſtolic See, but merely becauſe he thought them inconſiſtent with the Canons. Year of Chriſt 445.

Of all the great Men at that Time in *Rome*, *Auxiliarius* ſeemed to them the moſt proper to be employed on this Occaſion. He was Prefect of *Italy*, and had been formerly of *Gaul*, where he had contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Hilarius*, of whoſe Virtue he entertained the higheſt Opinion. To him therefore they applied, and he, glad of the Opportunity that offered of ſerving a Friend, whom he ſo much valued, readily took upon him the Office of Mediator between him and *Leo*. But his Mediation proved unſucceſsful; *Leo* could by no Reaſons or Remonſtrances be prevailed upon either to abate of his Pretenſions, or admit *Hilarius* to his Communion, till he had owned the Power, which he ſaid the *Roman* See had always enjoyed, and the moſt pious Emperors had lately confirmed, that is, an abſolute Power over all the Churches of *Gaul*. *Auxiliarius*, grieved to find that his good Offices had not anſwered his Expectation and Wiſhes, wrote the following Letter to *Hilarius*, ſoon after his Interview with *Leo*: "As you look upon all tranſitory things "with an Eye of Contempt, and are not capable of being elated "with Joy, when they ſucceed, or dejected with Grief, when they "miſcarry; I need not, in writing to you, diſguiſe the Truth, "out of an Apprehenſion of diſturbing the Tranquillity of your "Mind." He then acquaints him with the Diſpoſition and Temper, in which he had found *Leo* towards him; and adds, "I ſee not "the leaſt Appearance of Pride or Arrogance in the Conduct of your "Holineſs; but Men cannot bear plain Truth, and are offended, if "we ſpeak our Thoughts freely. The *Romans* muſt be courted, "and it is only by Condeſcenſion and Complaiſance that they are "to be gained. Could you bring yourſelf to that, you would loſe "nothing, but gain much by it. I therefore beg it as a particular Favour, that you would. A little Condeſcenſion on your Side "will lay the Storm, and reſtore the wiſhed for Tranquillity [o]". Thus *Auxiliarius*: But as *Hilarius* was better acquainted, than the Prefect ſeems to have been, with the Duty and Obligations incumbent on a Biſhop, he thanked him for his Advice, but did not embrace it. On the contrary he continued to the laſt ſteady and unalterable in his

Auxiliarius *employed to mediate a Reconciliation.*

Leo *inflexible.*

Auxiliarius's *Letter to* Hilarius.

Hilarius's *Steadineſs.*

[o] Concil. t. 3. p. 1401. Leon. ep. t. 1. c. 17. p. 744.

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former Reſolution, chuſing rather to die out of *Leo*'s Communion, than be reſtored to it by yielding up to his Ambition the Rights and Liberties which had been truſted to his Care.

The Conduct of Leo *repugnant to all Principles of Morality and Religion.*

The Conduct of *Leo* on this Occaſion was ſo remarkably ſcandalous, ſo inconſiſtent with all Principles of Morality or Religion, that the Church of *Rome*, which honours him not only as one of her greateſt Popes, but greateſt Saints, has thought herſelf obliged to employ ſome of her ableſt Pens to excuſe or rather diſguiſe it. But that it was altogether inexcuſable, may be eaſily made to appear: for, in the firſt Place, the Biſhop of *Rome* had no kind of Right, even by the Canons of *Sardica* (C), and much leſs by thoſe of any other Council, to the Power which *Leo* claimed, and at this Juncture exerciſed, over the *Gallican* Church. In the ſecond Place, becauſe the Biſhop of *Arles*, out of a conſcientious Regard to the Canons and eſtabliſhed Laws of the Church, refuſed to acknowlege ſuch a Power, *Leo* upon that Provocation alone, giving, or pretending to give, an entire Credit to every Report he heard to his Prejudice, without inquiring whether they were true or falſe, without leaving him room to clear himſelf, or allowing any one to ſpeak in his Defence, condemned him as guilty, cut him off from his Communion, and, depriving him of all Authority and Juriſdiction, reduced the Firſt Biſhop of *Gaul*, ſo far as in him lay, to the State of a Layman. 3dly, In order to compaſs the Ruin of the innocent Prelate the more effectually, he applied to the Emperor, though he had imputed as a Crime to *Hilarius* his having had recourſe (as he falſly ſuppoſed) in Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the ſecular Power; and, repreſenting him not only as a Man of an inſufferable Pride and Preſumption, but as a Rebel to the State, brought him into Danger even of his Life; and this irreconcileable Averſion, this implacable Hatred, he maintained to the laſt, in ſpite of all the Submiſſions *Hilarius* could make, compatible with his Conſcience and Duty, to appeaſe him. Laſtly, giving full Scope to his unbounded Ambition, and moſt egregiouſly abuſing the Confidence which the young and unexperienced Prince repoſed

(C) By the Canons of *Sardica*, the moſt favourable to the See of *Rome*, and fatal to the Church, that ever were made, the Pope was only impowered, upon an Appeal to him, to order the Cauſe to be re-examined, not at *Rome*, but in the Province, and by ſuch of the neighbouring Biſhops as he ſhould name (1). But *Leo* claimed a Power of ſummoning Biſhops to *Rome*, and judging their Cauſe anew there.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 121.

in him, he made him believe what he himſelf knew, and could not but know, to be falſe, and by that means ſurreptitiouſly obtained a Reſcript, highly derogatory to the Liberties of the Church, utterly repugnant to the Canons of all the Councils, that had been held to that Time, and calculated only to eſtabliſh the Papal Power on the Ruins of the antient Diſcipline, and all Eccleſiaſtical Laws. As for *Hilarius*, the Church of *Rome* herſelf has cleared him from the many Calumnies, with which *Leo*, and his other Enemies, ſtrove to blacken his Reputation; for by that Church he is now honoured as a Saint of the firſt Claſs; nay, even *Leo* ſeems, in the End, to have acknowleged his Innocence; for ſpeaking of him after his Death, he calls him *Hilarius of holy Memory* [p]; which was, in a manner, retracting all he had written againſt him. Year of Chriſt 445.

The Jeſuit *Papebrok*, convinced, on one hand, of the Innocence of *Hilarius*, but on the other, not daring to find Fault with *Leo*, pretends to juſtify both, ſaying, that the Metropolitan of *Arles* was *guilty before* Leo, *but not before God*, that is, in other Words, *Leo* believed him guilty, though he really was not. And was it excuſable in *Leo*, to believe him guilty, to condemn him as guilty, upon the bare Teſtimony of his avowed Enemies, as he certainly did? Ought he not, in Conſcience and Juſtice, to have heard both Parties, as he ſet up for a Judge, before he condemned or abſolved either? Beſides, it may be very much queſtioned, whether or no *Leo* did believe him guilty of the Faults, which he lays to his Charge, it being almoſt incredible, that a Man of his Senſe and Penetration ſhould not, at leaſt, ſuſpect the Truth of what he had heard againſt a Prelate of *Hilarius*'s Reputation and Character from thoſe only, whoſe Intereſt it was, as he well knew, to have him condemned. *Not to be excuſed.*

The Zeal which *Leo* exerted againſt the *Manichees*, the worſt of Heretics (D), might atone, if any thing could, for his unaccountable Conduct *to* Rome. *The* Manichees *fly from* Africa

[p] Leo ep. 50.

(D) As the Hereſy of the *Manichees* made a great Noiſe in the Church for many Ages, and is much ſpoken of by the Fathers, it may not be improper to give a ſuccinct Acccount here of the Author, or rather the Authors, of that Sect, and their Tenets. The firſt Principles of the *Manichees* were broached about the Middle of the Second Century, by one *Scythianus*, a Native of *Arabia*, who, obſerving many Beings in the Univerſe, oppoſite to, and incompatible with one another, argued from thence, that the Cauſes, from which they proceeded, were, in like manner, oppoſite and incompatible. To prove this Doctrine, he wrote four ſmall Books; the Firſt ſtyled, *The Myſteries*; the Second, *The Chapters*; the Third, *The Goſpel*; and the Fourth, *The Treaſure*. As he had but one Diſciple, named *Terbinthus*, he travelled

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Conduct on this Occaſion. The *Manichees*, who were ſtill a very numerous Sect, flying from the Provinces, which the Barbarians had ſeized,

velled to *Jeruſalem*, hoping to gain ſome Proſelytes there, but died ſoon after his Arrival in that City (4). He was a Man of a ſprightly Genius, and, though he had applied himſelf to Trade from his Youth, and by that means, acquired great Wealth, he had not ſuffered himſelf, by his Application to Buſineſs, to be diverted from the Study of the *Greek* and the *Egyptian* Sciences; and is ſaid to have addicted himſelf chiefly to the Study of Magic, at that Time in great Requeſt all over the *Eaſt* (5). Upon his Death, *Terbinthus*, ſeizing his Books, and all the Gold and Silver he had brought with him, fled into *Perſia*, and there took the Name of *Buddas*, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered by his true Name, and ſued by the Widow of his deceaſed Maſter for the Effects he had ſeized. Among the *Perſians* he paſſed for a Prophet, giving out, that he was born of a Virgin, and brought up among the Mountains by an Angel, who had inſtructed him in all the Sciences of the *Egyptians:* but having one Day ventured to enter into a public Diſpute about his two oppoſite Principles, with the Prieſts of *Mithra*, or the *Sun*, he was by them ſo ſhamefully ſilenced, that, not preſuming ever after to appear, he lived retired in the Houſe of a Widow, and left to her, at his Death, both the Books, and the Money, of which he had defrauded his Maſter's Widow. The Woman, ſeeing herſelf thus enriched at once (for *Buddas* left her very conſiderable Sums) ſhe purchaſed a Slave about Seven Years old, named *Cubrichus*, gave him his Liberty, adopted him, and, grudging no Expence to have him well educated, and inſtructed in the Sciences and Philoſophy of the *Perſians*, ſhe bequeathed to him the Books, and whatever elſe ſhe poſſeſſed at the Time of her Death. *Cubrichus*, who neither wanted Parts nor Addreſs, ſtudied the Books, with the greateſt Application; and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Doctrine they contained, and improved it with many new Opinions of his own, he began to preach it in the City, where the King of *Perſia* reſided, that is, in *Seleucia*, or *Cteſiphon*. But firſt, to conceal his original Meanneſs, he took care to change the Name of *Cubrichus* into that of *Manes*, ſignifying, in the *Perſian* Language, Speech, and alluding to the Talent, which he certainly had, of ſpeaking well (6). And this is the Man, who became afterwards ſo famous, or rather infamous, by founding a Sect, which ſoon ſpread all over the Empire, had great Numbers of Followers, both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, and kept its Ground for the Space of at leaſt 700 Years, in ſpite of the utmoſt Efforts of the Temporal, as well as the Spiritual Power, combined to ſuppreſs and deſtroy it. His Doctrine was, at firſt univerſally rejected with Indignation and Contempt, eſpecially by the *Chriſtians*; and, therefore, to render them the leſs averſe to it, he began to mix ſome of their Doctrines with his own, ſtyling himſelf, in his Letters, *Manes, the Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*; and ſometimes, the Paraclet ſent into the World to reform the Manners of Mankind, agreeably to the Promiſe which Chriſt had made to his Apoſtles (7). Having made his Eſcape out of Priſon, to which he had been confined by the King of *Perſia*, probably *Sapor*, for killing his Son, whom he had undertaken to cure, he fled into *Meſopotamia*, where he was ſo confounded, in a public Diſpute with *Archelaus* Biſhop of *Caſcar*, or *Carræ*, that he withdrew to a ſmall Village on the River *Stanga*, with a Deſign to keep himſelf there for ſome time concealed: but as that Village ſtood within the Bounds of the *Perſian* Dominions, he was ſeized there, and carried to the King, who, to revenge the Death of the Prince he had murdered, cauſed him to be flayed alive, his Body to be thrown to the Dogs, and his Skin ſtuffed with Straw, to be ex-

(4) Archelai Epiſ. contra Manet. diſp. a Valeſ. edit. p. 94—96. Epiph. hær. 66. c. 1. et 2. Socr. l. 1. c. 22. (5) Epiph. c. 3. Arch. p. 96. (6) Epiph. c. 4 r. Hieru. cat. catech. 6. Arch. p. 98. Euſeb. chron. (7) Epiph. Arch. Cyr. ibid. Aug. hær. 46.

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ſeized, eſpecially from *Africa*, after the taking of *Carthage*, in 439. by *Genſeric* King of the *Vandals*, had repaired, in great Numbers, to *Rome*, Year of Chriſt 445.

poſed to public View, on one of the Gates of the City, where it was ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Epiphanius* (8). After his Death, *Archelaus*, having aſſembled all the Chriſtians and Biſhops in that Neighbourhood, with great Solemnity, anathematized him, his new Opinions, and all his Followers (9). Such was the End of the chief Author and Founder of the famous Sect of the *Manichees*.

As for the Tenets of this Sect; 1. They held two oppoſite Principles, or Natures; the one the Author of Good, whom they called *God*; the other the Author of Evil, whom they ſtyled *Satan*, but both eternal, immortal, and independent of each other, which was, in reality, admitting two Gods. They believed the Light in the Sun and the Moon, to be the Subſtance of God; and, therefore, adored the Sun as the Throne of his Power, and the Moon as the Seat of his Wiſdom (10). And it was in Oppoſition to that idolatrous Worſhip, that *Leo* endeavoured to ſuppreſs the Cuſtom, that had long obtained among the Chriſtians, of turning to the Eaſt when they prayed. He alleges two Reaſons why it ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and both worthy of particular Notice; the firſt, becauſe Men may eaſily paſs from worſhiping God in the Sun, to worſhip the Sun itſelf; for he ſuppoſes ſome, who in his Time, uſed to kneel down before the Sun, to have paid that Reſpect, not to the Sun, but to God in the brighteſt Work of his Hands. The ſecond Reaſon he alleges is, becauſe it is a wicked Profanation of the Worſhip of the true God, to uſe the ſame Ceremonies in worſhiping him, that are uſed by the Pagans, when they worſhip their Idols (11). By the firſt of theſe Reaſons, Images ought to be baniſhed from all Places of Worſhip, at leaſt for the ſake of the groſs and ignorant Vulgar, who may eaſily, and commonly do, paſs from the worſhiping of God, or our Saviour, in an Image or Statue, to worſhip the Image or Statue itſelf; and I may ſafely ſay, that among the *Roman* Catholics, there is ſcarce one in a thouſand, who does not immediately addreſs, in his Prayers, the Image itſelf, which is rank Idolatry. Of the Images of the Saints, and the Worſhip that is paid them, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. By *Leo*'s ſecond Reaſon, the far greater Part of the Ceremonies, uſed at preſent by the Church of *Rome*, are evidently condemned, as a wicked Profanation of the Worſhip of the true God, ſince moſt of them have been borrowed of the *Pagans*, as is notorious, and has been demonſtrated, by an eminent Writer of our own Time (12). But to return to the *Manichees*; they taught, that in a Combat between the good and the evil Principle, the former had been obliged to yield Part of its own Subſtance to the latter; that the two Natures were mixed together, and that to the Mixture of the two Natures, the Soul of Man owed its Origin; inſomuch, that each Man had two Souls, the one conſiſting of the Subſtance of the good Principle, the other of the Subſtance of the Evil. The Particles of the good Nature were, according to them, in all the Beings of this Univerſe, mixed with, and chained to the Particles of the evil Nature; ſuch however, as happened to be in the Food, which they uſed, were, in being uſed by them, delivered for ever from ſo painful a Bondage. Thus was Gluttony, with them, a cardinal Virtue, and eating to Exceſs highly meritorious. They rejected the *Old Teſtament*, and ſome Parts of the *New*, eſpecially the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; pretending the *Old Teſtament*, by reaſon of the different Spirit that appeared in it from that of the *New*, to have been dictated by the evil Principle, and the *New* to have been, in many Places, interpolated and corrupted. They denied the Myſtery of the Incarnation, maintaining Chriſt to have been born, to have ſuffered and died, only in Appearance. They acknowleged no Free-will, aſcribing all ſinful Actions to

(8) Cyril. Epiph. Arch. ibid. Socr. l. 1. c. 22. (9) Arch. p. 100. (10) Aug. hær. 46. in Fauſt. l. 5. c. 11. (11) Leo ſer. 7. in Natal. Domini. (12) Dr. Middleton, in his *Exact Conformity between Popery and Paganiſm.*

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Rome, as to a Place of Safety. They did not publicly own their impious Doctrine; but, pretending to be Catholics, frequented the Churches;

the evil Principle, and to the good Principle all good Actions. They held the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls, believing, that even the Trees, Fruits, Herbs, and all other Vegetables, had Souls, by which they were rendered capable of Grief and Pain. Of this they thought the Juice, that issues from them, especially from the Fig, when first cut or gathered, and which they called Tears, a sufficient Proof. Upon this Principle, they condemned Husbandry and Gardening as sinful Professions; and used to say, that an Usurer was less guilty, than a Husbandman or Gardener. They seem to have entertained the same Opinion of a military Life, and to have held it unlawful to make War; for on that Score *Moses* was greatly blamed by *Faustus*, one of the most renowned Teachers they ever had: and yet the famous General *Sebastian* professed their Tenets; but he was, probably, only one of their *Auditors*, and not of their *Elect*. To Marriage they professed the greatest Abhorrence; and to the begetting of Children, because the Particles of the good Principle were, by Generation, more streightly united, according to their Doctrine, to the Particles of the Evil (13). These were, so far as I have been able to gather from the Antients, the fundamental Principles of a Sect the most famous, after that of the *Arians*, of all that ever sprung up in the Church.

Their Sect consisted of two Sorts of Persons, *viz.* of their *Auditors*, or Hearers, whom they called *Catechumens*, and their *Elect*, who were thoroughly instructed in their Doctrine, and professed to conform their Lives to it (14). The latter were, by their Rule, to abstain from Wine, Meat, Eggs, Milk, and Fish. Had an Elect plucked up but one Blade of Grass, gathered a single Fruit or Flower, or pulled a Leaf off of a Tree, he had been immediately excommunicated, had it been proved, and never re-admited to their Communion. Such was their Institution. But St. *Austin*, who was one of their Auditors for the Space of Nine Years, declares, that he never knew one of their Elect, who had not been convicted, or at least, suspected of some Transgression; he adds, that he had himself informed against some of them, but that he could never prevail upon the rest to take the least Notice of his Information (15). They pretended to observe the Gospel in the literal and strictest Sense, not possessing Money, Houses or Lands; but if we believe St. *Austin* (16), though their Pockets were empty, their Coffers were full. As they held Marriage to be sinful, they preached up Virginity, acting, in that respect, more agreeably to Reason and good Sense, than their Opposers the Catholics, who, owning with the Apostles Marriage to be honourable in all, yet preached up Virginity, and decried Marriage, with as much Zeal as the *Manichees* themselves; nay, and excluded from it, in spite of the Apostle, great Numbers of the one and the other Sex. The *Manichees* had their sacred Virgins as well as the Catholics; and St. *Chrysostom* does them the Justice to own, that they observed a strict Poverty, that they kept their Fasts with great Rigor; and, what is still more, lived chaste and undefiled (17). The *Manichees* abstained from Wine, as I have observed above, calling it *the Gall of the Prince of Darkness*, but rioted, says *Austin* (19), in other Liquors, that had the same Effect as Wine; and in other Viands, says St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* (20), no less pleasing to the Palate, than those which they were commanded to forbear. Though it was a Crime with them to gather Fruit, yet they did not scruple to eat that which others had gathered, nor even to force others to gather it for them (21). They not only taught, that the Par-

(13) Aug. hær. 46. et in Faust. per tot. Theodoret. hær. fab. l. 1. c. 26. Arch. p. 196—199, &c. (14) Aug. hær. 4. (15) Aug. de morib. Manich. l. 1. c. 34. et l. 2. c. 19. (16) Aug. in Faust. l. 5. c. 5. (17) Chrys. de virg. c. 4. (19) Aug. de morib. Manich. c. 16. (20) Cyril. catech. 6. (21) Cyril. ibid. Epiph. hær. 66. c. 28.

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Churches; assisted at the sacred Mysteries, and even received the Eucharist; so that they not only lived undisturbed, notwithstanding the severe Laws that had been enacted against them; but by an external

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ticles of the good Principle, in the Food they used, were redeemed by them from their Slavery, flying from their Stomachs up to Heaven; but held, that the same Particles, when used by others, were tied with a new and stronger Tie to the evil Matter. Hence it was an unpardonable Crime with them, and a kind of Sacrilege, to let others have any Share of the Eatables, that were given to them; and, therefore, when they had eaten till they could not possibly eat any more, but were upon the point of regorging what they had eaten, they used to cram the Children, who were of their Sect, till they were ready to burst; nay, they were accused at *Rome*, of having forced some Children to eat, till they actually did burst (21).

The Laws or Rules which I have mentioned here, were only binding with respect to their Elect. As for their Auditors, or Catechumens, they were allowed to eat Meat, to drink Wine, to cultivate the Ground, and even to marry, if they chose it, but were, by all means, to avoid the begetting of Children, and the killing of any living Creature, let the Occasion be ever so urgent (22). Though the *Manichees* eat to Excess, by Principle; yet their Auditors, as well as their Elect, kept Two Fasts in the Week, the one on *Sunday*, in Honour of the Sun; and the other on *Monday*, in Honour of the Moon (23). They seem to have admitted Baptism; but did not look upon it either as a Sacrament, or a necessary Ceremony. The great and chief Mystery of their Sect was their Eucharist; and it was in celebrating the Eucharist that they committed the Abominations, with which the Fathers have reproached them. We might indeed suspect the Testimony of the Fathers, it being well known, that in declaiming against Heretics they were apt to exaggerate, and did not always scrupulously adhere to Truth. But that the *Manichees* abandoned themselves, in the Celebration of their Eucharist, to the most impure and infamous Practices, is not only attested by them, but has been often proved by unexceptionable Witnesses, nay, and owned by themselves, before the civil Magistrates in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Paphlagonia*, and in *Africa*. To that Mystery of Iniquity none but their Elect were admitted, and what passed on that Occasion was concealed with so much Secrecy from the rest, that St. *Austin*, tho' he had been Nine Years their Auditor, did not even know at what Time they used to celebrate their Eucharist, or in what Place (24).

As to their Hierarchy, they had, in Imitation of Christ and his Apostles, a College, consisting of Thirteen Elect, of whom Twelve were called *the Masters*, and the Thirteenth *the Chief*. By the Masters their Bishops were ordained, and their Presbyters and Deacons by the Bishops. The other Elect, as well as the Masters, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, were employed in instructing their Catechumens, propagating their Doctrine, and preaching it in the Countries, where it had not yet been received. *Manes* himself had Three famous Disciples, *Hermias*, *Addas*, and *Thomas*. *Hermias* preached his Doctrine in *Egypt*; *Addas*, called also *Adimantus*, in *Syria*; and *Thomas* in *India*. They were succeeded by others, who, being sent into different Countries, gained every-where, and even in *Rome*, considerable Numbers of Proselytes: insomuch that *Epiphanius*, who flourished about the Middle of the Fourth Century, speaks of the *Manichees* as a famous Sect, that had already got Footing in many Places (25). And thus much of the Origin, Tenets, and Practices of a Sect that has made, for so many Ages, so great a Noise in the World, and could brag of having once had among its Followers one of the brightest Lights of the Church.

(21) Aug. de morib. Manich. c. 16, 17. c. 17. in Faust. l. 20. c. 23. hær. 46. collat. cum Fortunat. Manich. c. 25.

(22) Aug. contra Lit. Petil. l. 3.
(23) Aug. ep. 86. (24) Aug. in
(25) Epiph. hær. 66. c. 1.

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Appearance of an extraordinary Piety and Devotion, gained daily new Proſelytes to their abominable Sect. There were *Manichees* in *Rome* when St. *Auſtin* went firſt to that City, that is, in the Year 383. for he lodged in the Houſe of a *Manichee*, and moſt frequently converſed with thoſe, who profeſſed their Doctrine q. However, they were obliged, even then, to keep themſelves concealed, ſeveral ſevere Laws having been publiſhed againſt them before that Time (E).

q Aug. confeſſ. c. 5.

(E) *Julian* Proconſul of *Africa*, having informed the Emperor *Dioclesian*, that a new Religion, brought from *Perſia*, countenanced the greateſt Abominations, and thereby occaſioned great Diſturbances in the Province, the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, by a Reſcript dated from *Alexandria*, the laſt Day of *March* 290. commanded the leading Men among the *Manichees* to be burnt alive, and all their Writings with them; the Perſons of Quality, who had embraced, or ſhould embrace, their impious Doctrine, to be condemned to work in the Mines, and the reſt to be all beheaded (25). *Valentinian* I. in 372. declared all Places confiſcated, where the *Manichees* ſhould meet to teach their profane Doctrine, ordering, at the ſame Time, their Teachers, where-ever they ſhould be found, to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity (26). The Emperor *Gratian*, by a Law iſſued in the Year 379. granted to Chriſtians of all Perſuaſions the free Exerciſe of their Religion, except the *Manichees*, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians* (27). In 381. *Theodoſius* I. declared all *Manichees* infamous, and incapable of giveing or receiving any things by Will, even of inheriting their paternal or maternal Eſtates (28). This Law he confirmed the following Year, adding, that thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt by a particular Profeſſion of Piety, meaning, no doubt, their Elect, ſhould be puniſhed with Death; and commanding them to be everywhere carefully ſought for. In virtue of this Law, *Meſſianus* Proconſul of *Africa* in 389. cauſed ſome, whom he had diſcovered, to be immediately executed (29). *Honorius* declared the *Manichees* in general Traitors to the State, and ordered them to be treated as ſuch (30).

The *Manichees* were not only perſecuted by the *Roman* Emperors, but by other Princes too and with no leſs Severity. *Huneric*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Genſeric* King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, cauſed great Numbers of their Elect to be burnt alive, and drove the reſt out of his Dominions (31). They were very numerous in *Perſia*, and in greater Repute there than the Chriſtians, till the Reign of *Cabades*; and he too countenanced them at firſt; but the Chriſtians having afterwards gained his Favour by a great Miracle, which they were ſuppoſed to have wrought, he began to perſecute the *Manichees* with great Cruelty, and in the Year 525. made a general Maſſacre of all who were found in his Dominions to profeſs their Doctrine (32). They met with no better Quarter from the *Sueves* in *Spain*, from the *Franks* in *Gaul*, or the other Nations, that ſettled in the different Provinces of the Empire. And yet they were, tho' thus univerſally deteſted, abhorred, and perſecuted, ſtill a numerous Sect in the Beginning of the Ninth Century. The *Waldenſes*, who ſprung up in the Twelfth Century, were ſtigmatized by their Enemies with the odious Name of *Manichees*; but that their Doctrine was very different from that of the *Manichees*, nay, that it was altogether Orthodox, I ſhall ſhew in a more proper Place.

(25) Bar. ad ann. 287. n. 3. (26) Cod. Theod. l. 3. p. 113. (27) Cod. Theod. l. 7. p. 120. Socr. l. 5. c. 2. (28) Cod. Theod. l. 9. p. 124. (29) Aug. contra Lit. Petil. l. 3. c. 25. (30) Cod. Theod. l. 35. p. 152. (31) Victor Vitenſis de perſec. Vandal. l. 2. p. 17. (32) Cedren. p. 364. Zonar. l. 3. p. 49. Miſc. hiſt. l. 15. p. 458, 459.

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But though they had lived, and exercised their Religion in *Rome*, undiscovered by other Popes, they could not long escape the Vigilance of *Leo*; for as he kept a watchful Eye over the Flock committed to his Care, he soon discovered, in some, an uncommon Depravation of Manners; and inquiring, with great Care and Application, to what it was owing, he found that there were *Manichees* in *Rome*, and that Part of his Flock was infected with their poisonous Doctrines. Upon that Discovery, he spared no Pains to find them out; and, being informed by some, whom they had attempted to seduce, where they assembled, he caused great Numbers of them to be seized, in virtue of the Imperial Edicts, and among the rest, their Bishop, and some of their Teachers. Having them thus in his Power, his first Care was, to learn of them their true Tenets, and the secret Practices of their Sect; which he had no sooner done, than he assembled the neighbouring Bishops, and those who happened to be then in *Rome*, with a great Number of Presbyters; inviting to the Assembly, even the Laymen of any Rank, the great Officers of the Empire, and the Senate. *Baronius* bestows on this Assembly the Name of a Council [r]; but the Emperor styles it only *Leo*'s *Audience* [s]. Being all met and in great Expectation, *Leo* ordered the *Elect* of the *Manichees*, that is, their Teachers and chief Men among them, to be brought forth. Great was their Confusion, when they first appeared before so grand an Assembly; but, being encouraged by *Leo*, they first owned their impious Tenets, their superstitious Practices, and discovered a Crime, which Modesty, says *Leo*, would not allow him even to name; but it was so fully proved, adds he, that the most incredulous were throughly satisfied it was true: for all those who had been concerned in that abominable Act, were present; *viz.* a Girl of Twelve Years old, the two Women who had brought her up, and prepared her for the Crime; the Youth who debauched her; and the Bishop, who presided at that detestable Ceremony, and directed it. All agreed, without the least Contradiction or Variation, in their Depositions; but the Act was so abominable in itself, says *Leo*, that we could hardly bear to hear it, nor can we relate it, without offending the chaste Ears of those who hear us. It appeared from the Confession, which their Bishop made openly, and gave in Writing, that they committed those Abominations chiefly on their Festivals. Of all that passed on this

Are discovered there by Leo.

And many of them seized with their Bishop.

Their abominable Mysteries, declared by Leo, *in a grand Assembly.*

And owned by them.

[r] Bar. ad ann. 444.

[s] Leon. op. t. 1. p. 426. et ep. 15.

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Occaſion, authentic Acts were drawn up, and ſent by *Leo* into all the Provinces of the Empire, that they might ſerve for an Antidote againſt the abominable Doctrines of that Sect [s]. Some of the *Manichees*, whom *Leo* had cauſed to be arreſted, abjured their Errors; and, having firſt performed the due Penance, were received by him into the Church. But againſt thoſe who continued obſtinate, the Imperial Laws were put into Execution, and they condemned to perpetual Baniſhment. They deſerved, ſays *Leo*, a more ſevere Puniſhment; but to puniſh them more ſeverely, was repugnant to the Spirit of the Church, and to that Lenity in which ſhe places her chief Glory, abhorring to ſhed the Blood even of the moſt deteſtable Heretics [t]. How different the Spirit of that Church is now, thoſe too well know, who have ever had the Misfortune to be any ways concerned with that Tribunal, of all that ever were heard of, the moſt cruel and ſanguinary, the Tribunal of the *Inquiſition*. But, even in *Leo*'s Time, the Lenity of the Church was not ſo very remarkable, as much to be boaſted; I do not mean with reſpect to the *Manichees*, whoſe Immoralities, if not exaggerated, deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity; but with reſpect to thoſe, who for holding Opinions ever ſo harmleſs, but not intirely agreeing with the Doctrines then in Vogue, were ſtripped of all their Effects, driven from their Habitations, and condemned to periſh for Want, in the Deſerts, or the moſt inhoſpitable Places of the Empire. Theſe Puniſhments, it is true, were inflicted by the Imperial Edicts and Laws, for the Church had not yet acquired any temporal Power; but they were procured (as is well known) by the Rulers of the Church, eſpecially by the Biſhops of *Rome*; and it was generally ſpeaking, at their Requeſt and Solicitation, that they were put in Execution. As ſeveral *Manichees* found Means to make their Eſcape from *Rome*, *Leo* took care to warn, by a circular Letter, all Biſhops to be upon their Guard againſt them, to cauſe them to be ſeized, when diſcovered, and to proſecute them without Mercy, according to the utmoſt Rigour of the Imperial Laws [u]. Thoſe of that Sect, who had been apprehended in *Rome*, having been forced to declare who were their Biſhops, who their Teachers, and their Elect, in the other Cities and Provinces, they too were all ſeized, and baniſhed, with the reſt, to the moſt diſtant Parts of the Empire. *Leo*'s Zeal did not ſtop here, but applying to the

Some of them converted, others perſiſt in their Errors, and are baniſhed.

Leo warns all Biſhops by a circular Letter, to be upon their Guard againſt them.

[s] Proſp. chron. Leo ep. 8. et 15. [t] Leo ep. 8. [u] Leo ep. 8. Proſp. chron.

Emperor

Emperor *Valentinian* III. who was then in *Rome*, and informing him of the wicked Doctrine, and abominable Practices of that Sect, obtained a Law, dated the 19th of *June* 445. confirming all the Laws enacted againſt them by his Predeceſſors, and commanding them to be treated as ſacrilegious Perſons, baniſhing them from the Cities, excluding them from all Employments both Civil and Military, declaring them incapable of giving or receiving any thing by Will or Teſtament, of ſuing any one at Law, or making any Contract; and ordering all Perſons to inform againſt them, without being bound, in giving their Information, to obſerve the uſual Forms of the Law [w]. But the *Manichees* were ſo far from being retrieved from their Errors by the Severity of theſe Laws, that they gloried in them, as St. *Auſtin* informs us [x], and boaſting that they ſuffered for the Sake of Juſtice, the more they ſuffered, the more obſtinately they adhered to the Doctrine for which they ſuffered. That *Leo* did not extirpate this wicked Sect, as his Panegyriſts pretended that he did, is very certain; for not to mention other Countries, where they were very numerous long after his Death, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, many, who profeſſed their Doctrine, were diſcovered in *Sicily*, though one of the Suburbicarian Provinces, and immediately ſubject to the See of *Rome*, nay, on the very Lands belonging to that See, nor could *Gregory the Great*, notwithſtanding the Pains he took, drive them quite out of the Iſland [y]. In the Ninth Century their Doctrine obtained, almoſt univerſally, in the Two Provinces of *Lycaonia* and *Phrygia*, being greatly countenanced by the Emperor *Nicephorus* [z]. But ſoon after his Death they ſeem to have failed of themſelves, no farther Mention being made of them in Hiſtory.

Year of Chriſt 445. *And procures a ſevere Law from the Emperor againſt them.*

The Reader muſt have obſerved [a] a wonderful Conformity, with reſpect to Abſtinence from Meats, between the Elect among the *Manichees*, and the Monkiſh Orders. For ſome of them abſtain by Rule, as the *Manichees* did, not only from Meat, and every thing that comes from Meat, but from all Sorts of Fiſh too, chuſing rather to die than to taſte any kind of animal Food, though preſcribed as the beſt, and ſometimes as the only Means of ſaving their Lives. The Abſtinence of the *Manichees* was in ſome degree more rational than that of the Monks; for they abſtained from ſuch Food only, as

A great Conformity between the Elect of the Manichees *and the Monkiſh Orders.*

[w] Leon. op. t. 1. p. 426, 427. [x] Aug. in Fauſt. l. 5. c. 1. [y] Greg. l. 2. ep. 25. [z] Miſcel. hiſt. l. 24. p. 779. Zonar. t. 3. p. 100. [a] See Note D.

Year of Christ 445. in their Opinion, proceeded from the evil Principle, to whom they aſcribed a Dominion equal with that of God, or had in its Mixture a greater Number of the evil Particles than of the good; and was therefore held by them to be unclean. But, to believe that ſo many good things have been given us by God for our Uſe and Pleaſure, yet think it criminal, as the Founders of ſome of the Monkiſh Orders have done, ever to uſe them, or meritorious conſtantly to abſtain from them, is not only abſurd and ridiculous, but wicked and blaſphemous, ſince it can be only owing to a Notion highly injurious to God, as if he took Delight in vexing and tormenting his Creatures, or ſeeing them vex and torment themſelves. Had they not better acknowlege, with the *Manichees*, a good and bad Principle, than thus transform, with their heatheniſh Notions, the good Principle into a bad one?

The Hereſy of Priſcillian *revived in* Spain.

It was not againſt the *Manichees* alone, that *Leo* exerciſed his Zeal for the Purity of the Faith. In his Time the *Priſcillianiſts*, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere [a], were grown very numerous in *Spain*, the long Wars between the *Romans* and the Barbarians, who entered that Province in 409. having given them an Opportunity of propagating their Doctrine, without the leaſt Check either from the ſpiritual or the temporal Power. When the Troubles were ſomewhat compoſed, *Turibius*, Biſhop of *Aſtorga*, apprehending that the Church had ſuffered by the late Diſtractions, as much as the State, the better to inform himſelf of the Diſorders that might have crept in during the War, undertook a Viſitation throughout the Province. On this Occaſion he diſcovered, to his great Surprize, the extraordinary Progreſs which the Doctrine of *Priſcillian*, however infamous, had inſenſibly made in moſt Churches, eſpecially in thoſe of *Galicia*, which at this Time was ſubject to the *Sueves*. In ſome Places it was countenanced by the Biſhops themſelves; at leaſt they could not be prevailed upon to join their Collegues in the vigorous Meaſures ſuggeſted by *Turibius* to ſuppreſs it. He therefore had recourſe to *Leo*, giving him a particular Account of the Doctrine taught by the *Priſcillianiſts* (F), and imploring his Aſſiſtance againſt the ſpreading Evil.

Turibius of Aſtorga *implores the Aſſiſtance of* Leo *to ſuppreſs it.*

Leo

[a] See Vol. I. p. 245.

Year of Chriſt 447. (F) He reduces their whole Doctrine to the following Articles: I. That the ſpiritual Beings proceed from the Eſſence of God. II. That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are but one Perſon. III. That *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Son of God, merely becauſe he was born of a Virgin. IV. That all ought to faſt on Chriſtmas-Day,

Leo in his Anſwer commends the Zeal of *Turibius*; condemns the Doctrine of *Priſcillian*, as impious and deteſtable; and declares all, who tolerate Hereſies, no leſs guilty than thoſe who embrace them. Agreeably to this, in the ſame Letter he approves of the Death of *Priſcillian*, and ſome of his Diſciplies, formerly executed by an Order from *Maximus*, who had uſurped the Sovereignty in *Gaul* [b]. On this Letter of *Leo*, F. *Maimbourg* lays great Streſs to prove, that Hereſy is a capital Crime, and may be juſtly puniſhed with Death [c]; as if the Authority of *Leo* could counter-balance that of the Goſpel, diſcountenancing all kind of Perſecution, and recommending Mercy, even towards thoſe, who rejected our Saviour in Perſon, becauſe he *came not to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to ſave them.* Year of Chriſt 447.

Indeed, the Crimes aſcribed to *Priſcillian*, and his Adherents, were ſuch as merited Death, from the Civil Laws, and were only more dangerous by being perpetrated under a Notion of Religion; ſo that the puniſhing them, in any manner, was not Perſecution; but *Leo*'s Doctrine extended to ſuch religious Opinions, as, though erroneous, did not impel thoſe who held them, to commit any Crimes, and with which therefore the Civil Magiſtrate had nothing to do: this is properly Perſecution; and the want of attending to this plain Diſtinction, is what has ſometimes led even good Men to favour that Practice, ſo contrary to Reaſon, and the Goſpel of Chriſt.

Leo, with his Anſwer to *Turibius*, ſent into *Spain* a circular Letter to all the Biſhops of that Province, earneſtly intreating, or rather commanding them, to aſſemble, without Delay, a general Council, or if that could not be conveniently done, at leaſt a provincial Synod, and there, by condemning the Doctrine of *Priſcillian*, clear

Priſcillian *anathematized, and his Doctrine condemned by Two Councils in* Spain.

[b] See Vol. I. p. 245, 246. [c] Maimb. hiſt. du Pontificat de St. Leon, l. 1.

Day, and on *Sundays*. V. That the evil Spirits were never good; that they were not created by God, but formed out of the Chaos, and Darkneſs. VI. That Marriage is unlawful, and the begetting of Children highly criminal. VII. That our Bodies were formed by the Devil, and are not to riſe from the Dead. VIII. That the Elect are born of Women, but conceived of the Holy Ghoſt. IX. That our Souls were created in Heaven, but confined to our Bodies, by way of Puniſhment for the Crimes they had committed. X. That the Planets and Stars govern all things by an unavoidable Fatality. This Summary of their Doctrine was, by *Turibius*, extracted out of their own Books, and ſent by him to *Leo* (1). In Practice they did not much differ from the *Manichees*, the ſame, or almoſt the ſame, infamous Myſteries being common to both; for, in the Tryal of *Priſcillian* before the Emperor *Maximus*, it appeared, that he had countenanced all manner of Debauchery, that he had held nocturnal Aſſemblies of lewd Women, and that he uſed to pray naked among them.

(1) Conc. t. 4. p. 1737. Leon. op. t. 1. p. 460.

them-

Year of Christ 447.

themſelves in the Eyes of the World, from all Suſpicion of their adhering to, or conniving at, his Errors. In Compliance with his Deſire or Command, Two Councils were held, the one at *Toledo*, the other at *Braga*, then the Metropolis of *Galicia*; and in both *Priſcillian* was anathematized with his Doctrine, and all who received or approved it; Seventeen Articles were drawn up to be ſigned by all Biſhops, on Pain of Depoſition, and ſuch Meaſures taken, at the Suggeſtion of *Leo*, as put an immediate Stop to the Growth of that Hereſy, and would have utterly ſuppreſſed it, if they had been more ſteadily purſued [d].

The Doctrine of Eutyches *begins to make a great Noiſe in the Church.*

Year of Chriſt 448.

But the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, which began about this Time to make a great Noiſe in the Eaſt, opened a larger Field for the Zeal of *Leo*, than the exploded Hereſies of *Priſcillian* or *Manes*. *Eutyches* was a Monk, and Abbot of a Monaſtery of 300 Monks, in the Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, where he had led a chaſte and continent Life, for the Space of 70 Years, as he himſelf declared in a Letter, which he wrote this very Year. He had even taken a Reſolution of never ſetting his Foot out of the Doors of his Monaſtery, but upon the moſt urgent Occaſions. He was, after *Cyril*, the moſt inveterate Enemy *Neſtorius* had, and therefore one of that Prelate's chief Favourites; for to him, tho' no Biſhop, *Cyril* ſent, as a Token of his Friendſhip, a Copy of the Acts of the Council of *Epheſus*. He uſed to brag, that he was grown hoary in combating Hereſies, and defending the Faith. When *Neſtorius* firſt broached his Doctrine, he did not ſcruple to quit his Monaſtery, notwithſtanding the Reſolution he had taken to live ever ſhut up in it as in his Tomb, and repair to Court, in order to prejudice the Emperor, ſo far as in him lay, againſt the pretended Hereſiarch. He was looked upon by thoſe of his own Party, that is, by the *Egyptians*, and the other Enemies of *Neſtorius*, and the Orientals, as a Man of extraordinary Sanctity; and, in the Inſtruction which *Epiphanius*, Archdeacon of *Alexandria*, ſent to *Maximian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, he is ſtyled, *The Holy and moſt Reverend* Eutyches [e]. As to his Parts, he is ſaid to have had little Knowlege, and to have been very ſlow of Apprehenſion. Pope *Leo* aſcribes his Errors not to Malice, but Ignorance, ſtyling him an *old, imprudent, and ignorant Dotard* [f]; and F. *Petau* paints

Who Eutyches *was.*

[d] Leo ep. 15. Leon. op. t. 1. p. 459. Concil. t. 2. p. 1227. et t. 5. p. 837. [e] Leo ep. 52. Liberat. c. 11. Proſp. chron. Concil. t. 4. p. 273—275. [f] Leo ep. 24. 26, 27.

him

him as a Man of a ſtupid and unſettled Mind g. However, he ſeems to have been better acquainted with the Subtleties then in Vogue, than moſt of thoſe who oppoſed him. Year of Chriſt 448.

As to the Doctrine he taught, it may be reduced to the Two following Heads: 1. That as there was but one Chriſt, ſo there was but one Nature in Chriſt. 2. That this Nature conſiſted of the human and the divine Natures, become one by the hypoſtatical Union. This he maintained to be the genuine Doctrine of *Cyril*, and intirely agreeable to an Expreſſion which that Father had frequently uſed, *The one incarnate Nature of the Word.* And truly it would be no eaſy Task to prove the Doctrine of *Eutyches* heretical, and, at the ſame Time, admit the Expreſſion of *Cyril* as orthodox, which ſome have attempted to do, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. That the Soul of Chriſt had been created in Heaven, and had remained there till the Time of the Incarnation; that his Body was of a different Subſtance from ours, not taken of the Virgin *Mary*, but brought from Heaven; that Chriſt had been once a mere Man, but was become God, by being united to the Divine Nature; that the Divinity itſelf had ſuffered, and been crucified, were no Part of his Doctrine, but only Inferences drawn from it by his Enemies, and denied by him. He even admitted of Two Natures in Chriſt, the human and the divine; but theſe Two Natures, by being united, were, according to him, in an ineffable manner, become one, there being, as he often repeated, but one Chriſt, and not Two. His Meaning therefore was certainly orthodox; for he meant no more than that there was but one Chriſt; and this Catholic Truth he thought could be no otherwiſe maintained than by ſuppoſing, that the Two Natures were become one, in a manner which he did not comprehend, nor pretend to explain. But it was not his Doctrine alone, or rather his Expreſſions, that gave Offence; he was charged with ſpeaking contemptuouſly of the Fathers, nay, with having called them Heretics, and having, on a certain Occaſion, declared, that he did not take them, but the Holy Scripture, for his Guide; and that he was ſatisfied with ſtudying the Scripture, without troubling himſelf about the Opinions and Sentiments of the Fathers h. A heinous Crime indeed! *His Doctrine.* *Charged with teaching Doctrines which he never taught.*

As *Eutyches* had greatly diſobliged the Orientals, that is, the Biſhops of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, charging them with Neſto- *The Orientals declare againſt his Doctrine.*

g Pet. dog. t. 4. l. 1. c. 14. h Concil. t. 4. p. 193. Leo ep. 24, 25. 27. 59. 77.

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rianism, because they would not admit the Expressions of *Cyril*, and had even procured from the Emperor *Theodosius* II. with whom he was in great Favour, an Edict, driving several of them from their Sees, and sending them into Exile, he no sooner began to teach his Doctrine, than they, all to a Man, declared against it. *Domnus*, the Nephew and Successor of *John* in the See of *Antioch*, put himself at the Head of the Party; and having assembled a Council without Loss of Time, it was there declared, with one Consent, that the Doctrine of *Eutyches* was the same with that of *Apollinaris*, and altogether incapable of being understood, or expounded, in a Catholic Sense. Before they broke up, to lessen the Credit of *Eutyches* at Court, they wrote to the Emperor, informing him of what had passed, and giving him a particular Account of the pretended Errors of the new Heresiarch [i]. To this Letter the Emperor returned no Answer, nor did he take the least notice of the Charge it contained, ascribing it perhaps to what it may be but too truly ascribed to, a Spirit of Revenge.

And declare it heretical.

The Egyptians *in Opposition to the Orientals, declare for it.*

In the mean time *Dioscorus*, the Successor of *Cyril* in the See of *Alexandria*, hearing that the Orientals had declared against *Eutyches*, thought that a sufficient Motive to declare in his favour. For the antient Animosities between the *Egyptians* and the Orientals still subsisted, and the latter had but very lately sided with the Bishop of *Constantinople* in a Dispute between him and *Dioscorus* about Jurisdiction. The Bishops of *Egypt* all ranged themselves under the Banner of their Patriarch, and with them a whole Army of Monks, zealous in the Defence of one of their own Profession, tho', generally speaking, utterly unacquainted with the Merits of the Cause. And thus, after a few Years of a very precarious and unsettled Peace, was War again openly declared between the Two rival Patriarchs and their Suffragans; a War, which did not end as the other Ecclesiastical Wars, which I have hitherto had Occasion to mention, in Councils only, and the Result of Councils, Curses, Anathemas, Depositions, Exiles; but in Slaughter and Bloodshed, one of the most eminent Prelates of his Age having lost his Life in the Quarrel: and all this for Words or Expressions, in speaking of a Mystery, which neither Party understood, or pretended to explain.

Domnus *of* Antioch *at the Head of the Orientals.*

The Heads of the Two opposite Parties, *Domnus* and *Dioscorus*, were but ill matched. *Domnus*, who had spent great Part of his

[i] Facund. l. 12. c. 5.

Life

Life in the Deſart, was a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, and very ſlender Parts; had little Knowlege, leſs Reſolution, and no Foreſight to avoid Difficulties, or Addreſs to extricate himſelf out of thoſe which he could not avoid [k]. *Dioſcorus*, on the contrary, was a Prelate of excellent Parts, of great Subtlety, Penetration, and Addreſs, well verſed in moſt Branches of Learning, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by an apparent Piety before his Elevation, than he was by an apparent Moderation for ſome time after it. *Leo* ſtyles him, in one of his Letters, *a Prelate adorned with many Virtues, and enriched with the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt* [l]; and another very eminent Writer of that Time paints him as a Man, who deſpiſed all worldly Grandeur, and was wholly intent upon ſecuring a Place for himſelf in the Kingdom of Heaven [m]. But he ſoon changed; or rather pulled off the Mask, when it could ſerve no End to wear it any longer, and ſwelled with Pride, in ſeeing himſelf raiſed to ſo high a Station, and veſted with ſo much Power, he committed ſuch Exceſſes in the Uſe of it, as procured him the Surname of *Dioſcorus the Tyrant* [n]. As the See of *Alexandria* had been held for the Space of Threeſcore Years by one Family, that of *Cyril*, the Biſhops had, by the Indulgence of the Emperors, the Connivance of the Governors unwilling to quarrel with them, and the Support of the Monks, and their own Relations, whom they had enriched with the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, greatly encroached on the Secular Power, and made themſelves in a manner Sovereigns of that City. But *Dioſcorus* carried his Uſurpations far beyond the Bounds, at which the moſt ambitious of his Predeceſſors, even *Cyril* himſelf, had thought it adviſeable to ſtop. For without any regard to the Governors who repreſented the Emperor, and acted in his Place, he impriſoned, fined, and even condemned to Baniſhment, all whom he diſliked, or who ſeemed to diſlike him. He began with the Relations of his Predeceſſor, whom he ſtript of the immenſe Wealth they poſſeſſed, and reduced to Beggary, pretending they had been enriched with the Revenues of the Church, the Patrimony of the Poor [o]. And indeed this Charge ſeems not to have been groundleſs; at leaſt *Cyril* gave Reaſon to think it was not; for by his Will he bequeathed a very conſiderable Sum to his Succeſſor, conjuring him not to moleſt his Relations: and why ſhould he have been under any Apprehenſion that his Succeſſor would moleſt them, had he not

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His Character, and the Character of Dioſcorus *of* Alexandria, *who headed the* Egyptians.

His Pride, Ambition, and tyrannical Government.

He perſecutes the Relations of Cyril.

[k] Concil. t. 4. p. 727. Bolland. 20. Jan. p. 308. [l] Leo ep. 11. c. 1. [m] Theodoret. ep. 60. [n] Concil. t. 4. p. 414. [o] Liberat. c. 10.

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known that the Wealth they were poſſeſſed of belonged, at leaſt in part, to the Church, and might be claimed by his Succeſſors? However that may be, while *Dioſcorus* was thus proſecuting the Relations of *Cyril*, under Pretence that they had been enriched with what he called the Patrimony of the Poor, he was enriching himſelf with what truly was the Patrimony of the Poor: for a Lady of great Diſtinction, named *Periſteria*, having bequeathed a very large Sum to the Hoſpitals, and the Poor of *Egypt*, he ſeized the Whole for himſelf; nay, and cauſed the Corn, which was given yearly by the Emperor for the Support of the poor Chriſtians in *Libya*, where no Corn grew, to be conveyed into his own Granaries; and there kept it, while they were ſtarving, till a Year of great Dearth, when he ſold it at moſt exorbitant Prices, without beſtowing a ſingle Grain on the Poor, for whoſe Uſe it was given p. His Conduct, with reſpect to the People of *Alexandria*, was that of a perfect Tyrant; for he did not ſcruple, upon the leaſt Provocation, to ſeize by Force on their Eſtates, to cauſe their Houſes to be ſet on fire, their Trees to be cut down, their pleaſant Gardens to be deſtroyed, and ſuch of them as were moſt obnoxious to him, to be ſometimes privately, and ſometimes publicly, murdered by a Band of Ruffians, whom he kept conſtantly in his Pay; inſomuch that had not *Theodorus*, then Governor of *Egypt*, from time to time, ventured to check him, and flattered the People with the Hopes of a ſpeedy Redreſs, he would, in a very ſhort time, have turned that populous City into a Deſart q. He was powerfully ſupported, at Court, by the Eunuch *Chryſaphius*, who had an intire Aſcendant over the Emperor, and a large Share in the Spoils of the *Alexandrians*; and it was on that Conſideration, that the Governor did not chuſe to break with the Biſhop; being ſenſible, that he would thereby hurt, if not intirely ruin, his own Fortune, without bettering the Condition of the People. However, by his good Offices in behalf of the Citizens, and his great Complaiſance, and condeſcending Behaviour towards *Dioſcorus*, he had the Satisfaction of ſaving the Eſtates, and even the Lives, of many, whom the cruel and avaritious Prelate had deſtined to Death or Beggary. *Dioſcorus* was ſo elated with the extraordinary Deference and Reſpect the Governor paid him, that, blind with Pride and Ambition, he began to look upon himſelf as Sovereign of *Alexandria*, and King

Applies to his own Uſe what was given and deſigned for the Support of the Poor.

He treats the Alexandrians *with great Cruelty.*

Is ſupported at Court by the Eunuch Chryſaphius.

Acts as Sovereign of all Egypt.

p Concil. t. 4. p. 399—402. q Concil. t. 4. p. 395—399.

of

of all *Egypt*; inſomuch that he cauſed thoſe, who, upon the Death of *Theodoſius* II. came to *Alexandria* to proclaim *Marcian* in his room, to be driven out of the City, for preſuming to proclaim another Emperor in *Egypt* while he was alive[r]. Thus much of the Character and Conduct of a Man whom I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention in the Sequel, as the chief Author of the Diſturbances I am to relate, and the Evils attending them. And now to reſume the Thread of the Hiſtory. Year of Chriſt 448.

The Emperor, as I have related above, returned no Anſwer to the Letter of *Domnus*, and the other Orientals, charging *Eutyches* with heretical Opinions concerning the Incarnation. But, in the mean time, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* in *Phrygia*, being informed that *Eutyches* taught a new Doctrine, which had given great Offence to the Orientals, reſolved to learn of *Eutyches* himſelf his true Sentiments; for, as to the Orientals, he knew them to be greatly prejudiced againſt him, and therefore capable of having been ſwayed, in cenſuring his Opinion, with Paſſion and Revenge. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he had ſeveral private Conferences with *Eutyches*, who opened his Mind to him with great Freedom and Candor, not thinking that any Exception could be made againſt his Doctrine, by one who had defended *Cyril*, and oppoſed *Neſtorius*, with ſo much Zeal as *Euſebius* had done. But, to his great Surprize, he found him ſo ſhocked at the bare Mention of *one Nature in Chriſt*, that, inſtead of allowing him room to explain or defend his Opinion, he began to treat him as a Heretic, and exhort him to abjure ſuch an impious Tenet, leſt, by obſtinately defending it, he ſhould involve both the Church and himſelf in endleſs Troubles. *Eutyches*, unmoved by his Exhortations, maintained his Doctrine to be the pure Doctrine of *Cyril*, and his Expreſſions to be intirely agreeable to the Expreſſions of that Father, which had been approved by the Council of *Epheſus*. *Euſebius*, finding his Exhortations and Remonſtrances made no Impreſſion on the Mind of *Eutyches*, reſolved to apply to *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and arraign him of Hereſy at his Tribunal. *Flavianus* had aſſembled ſeveral Biſhops to examine a Judgment that had been given by the Metropolitan of *Lydia*, againſt Two of his Suffragans. At that Aſſembly aſſiſted *Euſebius* among the reſt, who, riſing from his Seat, when the Buſineſs was diſpatched, for which

Eutyches opens his Mind, and owns his Doctrine to Euſebius *of* Dorylæum.

Who treats him as a Heretic.

And charges him with Hereſy, before Flavianus *of* Conſtantinople.

[r] Concil. ibid. p. 414, 415.

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they had met, presented unexpectedly a Memorial, requiring them to summon *Eutyches*, and oblige him to give an Account of his Faith, and answer the Charge of Heresy, which he was ready to prove against him. *Flavianus* was not a little alarmed at this Accusation. *Eutyches* was in great Credit at Court; *Chrysaphius*, the reigning Eunuch, professed a particular Friendship for him; the *Egyptians*, with *Dioscorus*, whom every Man dreaded, at their Head, had declared in his Favour; and the Orientals, who had condemned him in their Synod, were, on that very score, thought by the Emperor still to adhere to the Doctrine of *Nestorius*. Upon these Considerations *Flavianus* was for leaving the Orientals to pursue the Accusation they had begun, in what manner they pleased, without taking Part either with them against *Eutyches*, or with the *Egyptians* in his favour. He therefore pressed *Eusebius*, with great Earnestness, to drop his Accusation, or at least to defer it to a more proper Season, but to no Effect: *Eusebius*, in spite of all he could say, still insisted upon his Memorial being registred, and *Eutyches* summoned to give an Account of his Faith. *Flavianus*, finding him unalterable in his Resolution, complied in the End with his Request; and *Eutyches* was accordingly summoned to appear, on an appointed Day, before the Council, and there answer the Charge brought against him by the Bishop of *Dorylæum*. He refused to obey the First and the Second Summons, pleading the Resolution he had taken, never to set Foot out of his Monastery; but complied with the Third, finding the Council was determined to proceed against him according to the Canons, if he did not, that is, to excommunicate and degrade him from the Priesthood. The Day appointed for his Appearance in the last Summons, was the 22d of *November*; and on that Day he appeared accordingly; but, surrounded and guarded by a great Number of Monks, Officers, and Soldiers, not knowing to what Extremities the Fathers of the Council might suffer themselves to be carried by their great Zeal for what they called the Purity of the Faith. Being admitted, and examined on several Articles relating to the Mystery of the Incarnation, he returned such Answers to the Questions that were put to him, as fully satisfied the whole Assembly. But being at last pressed by *Florentius*, Metropolitan of *Sardes*, to declare, without Ambiguity, and in the plainest Terms, his real Sentiments concerning the Nature of Christ, he confessed, with great Candor,

Flavianus *unwilling to receive the Accusation.*

But receives it, and summons Eutyches *to appear before the Council then sitting.*

He appears and owns his Doctrine.

dor, that he acknowleged Two Natures before the Union, and but One after it. Year of Christ 448.

At these Words the whole Council was in an Uproar, and nothing was heard but Anathemas and Curses, each Bishop there present striving to distinguish himself above the rest, by being the foremost in uttering the most bitter and severe his Zeal could suggest. When the Tumult and Noise began to abate, *Flavianus* addressing *Eutyches*, let him know, that unless he acknowleged two Natures after the Union as well as before it, and anathematized all who held the contrary Opinion, he should be obliged to proceed against him according to the Canons. *Eutyches* replied, that he believed Christ to be perfect God and perfect Man; that nothing more had been required by the Fathers of *Nice* and *Ephesus*; that he had read in St. *Cyril*, in St. *Athanasius*, and in the other Fathers, of two Natures in Christ, abstracting from the Union or Incarnation, but in none the least Hint that could countenance the Doctrine of the two Natures after the Union; but nevertheless that he was ready to confess them, should the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* desire or command it. This was plainly appealing to those two Bishops; but the Fathers of the Council, without taking the least notice of such an Appeal, no doubt because they did not think it worthy of their Notice, proceeded to the Sentence, and declared *Eutyches* fully convicted of having revived the Heresies of *Valentine* and *Apollinaris*, and therefore degraded from the Sacerdotal Dignity, cut off from the Communion of the Church, deprived of the Government of his Monastery; and all, who for the future should converse with him, were in like manner separated from the Communion of the Faithful. This Sentence was signed by 32 Bishops, and 23 Abbots [s].

Is anathematized by the whole Council.

Refuses to retract his Doctrine; and is condemned, and deposed.

Eutyches, seeing himself thus condemned by the Council, appealed from their Sentence to the Patriarchs of *Rome*, of *Alexandria*, of *Jerusalem*, to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and other Bishops, that is, to an *Oecumenical* Council. At the same Time, he wrote a long Letter to *Leo*, informing him of his having been condemned by the Council of *Constantinople*, which he ascribed to the Intrigues of his avowed Enemy, *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum*, assuring him, that he held none of the Errors for which he had been condemned, but sincerely anathematized the Doctrine of *Valentine* and *Apollinaris*; and complaining,

He appeals to an Oecumenical Council, and writes to Leo.

[s] Concil. t. 4. p. 220—243. Liberat. c. 11.

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plaining, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, of the Conduct of *Flavianus*, who he ſaid, had condemned him, without allowing him to explain his Doctrine, or deigning to read a Confeſſion of Faith, which he had preſented to the Council. In the ſame Letter he not only owns his Opinion, without the leaſt Diſſimulation or Diſguiſe; but alleges ſeveral Paſſages out of the Fathers, and ſome from two of *Leo*'s Predeceſſors, *Felix* and *Julius*, to confirm it. The Words of *Julius*, as quoted by him out of one of that Pope's Letters, are as follows: *It muſt not be ſaid that there are two Natures in Chriſt after their Union; for as the Body and Soul form but one Nature in Man, ſo the Divinity and Humanity form but one Nature in Chriſt* [t]. The very Doctrine of *Eutyches*. Indeed the Advocates for Infallibility will not allow that Letter to be genuine; but none of them have been yet able to prove it ſuppoſititious; and it is not at all probable that *Eutyches*, in writing to *Leo*, would have quoted a Letter of one of his Predeceſſors, who had lived but in the preceeding Century, had he not known it to be genuine. At leaſt *Leo* never reproached him with quoting Writings that were not genuine, but only with ignorantly miſinterpreting the Fathers he quoted.

His Doctrine taught by two Popes.

Eutyches could hardly believe, that *Leo* would condemn a Doctrine that had been taught, in the plaineſt Terms, by one of his Predeceſſors. However, not to depend intirely upon his Judgment, as he had great Intereſt at Court, he applied at the ſame Time to the Emperor, for the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council. *Theodoſius* had nothing more at Heart than the Peace of the Church; and no Prince was ever more ready to concur in the Meaſures, that were thought the moſt proper to produce or maintain it. But he knew by Experience, that the aſſembling of Councils was, of all others, the leaſt proper for the attaining of ſo deſirable an End; and therefore, notwithſtanding the great Regard he had for *Eutyches*, he rejected at firſt, his Reqneſt, being determined to try whether he could not, by ſome other Means, divert the Storm, which he ſaw, with great Concern, beginning to gather. The Means he choſe was, to mediate a Reconciliation between *Eutyches* and *Flavianus*, and perſuade the former to make ſome Submiſſions to his Biſhop, and the latter to accept them, and reſtore *Eutyches* to the Government of his Monaſtery, and the Communion of the Church. With this View, he

He applies to the Emperor, for the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council.

The Emperor, unwilling to aſſemble a Council, ſtrives to reconcile Eutyches *and* Flavianus.

[t] Lup. coll. c. 225.

ſent a friendly Meſſage to *Flavianus*, exhorting, and even condeſcending to beg him to be ſatisfied with the Symbol of *Nice*, without perplexing himſelf with Subtilties and Diſtinctions, concerning a Myſtery, which he could not pretend to underſtand or explain. But *Flavianus* could by no Intreaties, be prevailed upon to hearken to the Propoſal; ſo that *Theodoſius* was obliged, in the End, to have recourſe to a Council; and accordingly, by a circular Letter, dated the 30th of *March* 449. he ſummoned all the Heads of the Dioceſes in his Dominions to meet at *Epheſus*, on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, each of them with Ten Metropolitans, and the like Number of other Biſhops, under their Juriſdiction [u]: ſo that the Biſhops, who aſſiſted at this Council, muſt in all have been 120, the Eaſtern Empire conſiſting, at this Time, of Six Dioceſes, *viz. Egypt*, the Eaſt, properly ſo called, or the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, *Aſia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. At the ſame time, the Emperor wrote to *Leo*, acquainting him, with the Reſolution he had taken of aſſembling an Oecumenical Council, wich the Place and Time, at which it was to meet; and inviting him to it, in order to concur with his Brethren in examining a Difficulty, in point of Faith, that had been lately ſtarted. *Leo*, in his Anſwer to this Letter, commended the Zeal which the Emperor had ſhewn, on all Occaſions, for the Purity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church; but begged he might be excuſed from attending in Perſon, ſince the Affairs of his own Church required his Preſence, and beſides, none of his Predeceſſors had ever aſſiſted in Perſon at Councils held out of *Italy*. However, he promiſed to ſend Legates, who ſhould act in his Name; and the Perſons he choſe for that Purpoſe were, *Julius* Biſhop of *Puteoli*, now *Pozzoli*, *Renatus*, and *Hilarius*, the former Presbyter, and the latter Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and afterward his Succeſſor in that See. Theſe he ſtyles, and it is the firſt Time the Pope's Legates were ſo ſtyled, Legates *de latere ſuo* [w], that is, belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or under her immediate Juriſdiction.

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Flavianus *will hearken to no Terms.*

The Council ſummoned.

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Leo *invited to it.*

His Anſwer to the Emperor's Invitation.

Theodoſius, having thus ſummoned the Biſhops to *Epheſus*, diſpatched thither *Elpidius*, one of his Privy Council, and *Eulogius*, Secretary of State, with an Order for the Proconſul of *Aſia* to aſſiſt them, with all the Troops under his Command, in maintaining the public Peace, and keeping the City quiet while the Council was ſitting.

The Inſtructions given by the Emperor to his Commiſſioners.

[u] Concil. t. 4. p. 101—104. [w] Leo ep. 28.

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ting. Their private Inſtructions were, to aſſiſt at the Council, and ſuffer nothing to be tranſacted there raſhly, and without due Deliberation; to take into Arreſt, without Diſtinction, or regard to their Rank, ſuch as ſhould attempt to raiſe Diſturbances in the Council; to oblige thoſe, by whom *Eutyches* had been condemned, to be preſent at the Council, but not allow them to vote, ſince the Council was aſſembled chiefly to examine the Judgment which they had given; and laſtly, to tranſmit to Court a diſtinct and impartial Account of every thing that ſhould be propoſed, debated, or tranſacted in the Council [x].

Leo *condemns the Doctrine of* Eutyches.

In the mean time, *Leo*, being informed by *Flavianus*, of what had paſſed in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, highly approved of the Proceedings and Deciſions of that Aſſembly, openly declared againſt *Eutyches*, condemned his Doctrine as heretical and blaſphemous, and ſtrictly injoined his Legates, at their ſetting out for the Eaſt, to agree in all Things, and act in concert with the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Faith he knew to be orthodox. He anſwered that Prelate by a Letter, which is deemed one of the moſt valuable Monuments of Antiquity, and is thought to have contributed more than any thing elſe, to the great Fame and Reputation which he afterwards acquired. For he there explains at Length, and with all the Perſpicuity the Subject can bear, the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Myſtery of the Incarnation, and alleges from the Scripture, and the Fathers, all that can be ſaid to confirm it. This Letter was afterwards received by the Oecumenical Council of *Chalcedon*, and by all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church; nay, in the Weſtern Churches it was conſtantly read, during the Advent, together with the Goſpel. The Council of *Rome* under *Gelaſius* anathematized all, who ſhould reject but a ſingle Word it contained [y]; and *Gregory the Great* would allow none to be truly orthodox, who did not admit the Definitions of the Four Firſt Oecumenical Councils, and *Leo*'s Letter [z]. It was received by the Council of *Apamea* about the Year 535. and ſtyled, by the Fathers of that Aſſembly, *the true Column of the Orthodox Faith* [a]. Some even cauſed it to be read to them at the Point of Death, to ſhew that they died in the Faith of the Church [b]. But what Reception it met with from the preſent Council, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

His famous Letter to Flavianus.

[x] Concil. t. 4. p. 108. [y] Concil. t. 4. p. 1263. [z] Greg. l. 5. ep. 2.
[a] Concil. t. 5. p. 101. [b] Vigil. Tapſenſ. in Eutych. p. 83.

Leo

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Several other Letters, written by Leo, *on this Occaſion.*

Leo wrote ſeveral other Letters on this Occaſion, all bearing the ſame Date with that to *Flavianus*, the 13th of *June* 449. *viz.* one to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, one to the Empreſs *Pulcheria*, one to the Abbots of *Conſtantinople*, and one to the Council [c]. Theſe Letters were all calculated to prove the Doctrine of the two Natures, to confute the oppoſite Opinion, and to encourage thoſe, to whom they were addreſſed, to contribute ſo far as in them lay, towards extinguiſhing the Flame, which *Eutyches* had ignorantly kindled. For *Leo* conſtantly aſcribes the Errors of *Eutyches* to his Ignorance; and ſpeaks of him in his Letters, as a Man altogether incapable of underſtanding either the Catholic Syſtem, or his own. Theſe Letters were all delivered to the Legates, who ſet out for *Epheſus* about the latter End of *June*.

Chryſologus's *Anſwer to* Eutyches.

Eutyches had not written to *Leo* alone, but, at the ſame time, to all the Biſhops of the chief Sees in the Weſt; and among the reſt, to the famous *Petrus Chryſologus* Biſhop of *Ravenna:* And that Prelate returned him the following Anſwer; That he was greatly ſurpriſed to hear of Diſputes about a Point, that ſhould no more be queſtioned than the Incarnation itſelf; that as to the Quarrel between him and *Flavianus*, he was not ſufficiently informed to determine who was in the right, and who in the wrong, having heard but one Party; that if any thing relating to the Faith ſtill remained undecided, the Deſire he had of maintaining the Peace and Unity of the Church, engaged him to decide it jointly with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and not by his own Authority alone; and therefore, he could only adviſe him to hearken, with Submiſſion, to the Doctrine, which that Biſhop had already declared in his Writings [d]. On this Letter ſome of the Advocates for the See of *Rome* have laid great Streſs; as if *Chryſologus* had thought it unlawful, in any Caſe whatever, for a Biſhop to judge in Matters of Faith, without the Conſent of the Biſhop of *Rome*. But ſurely, they can by no Prejudice be ſo blinded as not to ſee, that *Chryſologus* ſpeaks here, only with reſpect to the preſent Caſe; and that in the preſent Caſe, it had been great Temerity in him, and contrary to the Union and Concord, that ought to reign among Biſhops, to have ſet up for a Judge, or even to have delivered his Opinion, without conſulting the firſt Biſhop of the Catholic Church, who was near at hand, and to whom *Eutyches* had

[c] Leo ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. [d] Concil. t. 1. ante Concil. Chalced.

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appealed, as well as to him. Beſides, what Right had the Biſhop of *Ravenna* to judge, without the Conſent and Concurrence of *Leo*, and his other Brethren in the Weſt, to whom *Eutyches* had appealed, a Cauſe that had been already judged and determined by a whole Council? *Leo* himſelf was an utter Stranger to the Doctrine which the Friends of his See endeavour to prove from the Letter of *Chryſologus*; for though no Pope was ever more jealous than he of the Authority of St. *Peter's Throne*, as he ſtyled it, yet he never found fault with *Flavianus* for judging and condemning *Eutyches*, without either his Conſent, or his Knowlege. I might add, that the Biſhops of *Ravenna* were bound, on a particular Account, to act in Concert with, and in ſome kind of Dependence upon the See of *Rome*, ſince it was chiefly by the Intereſt of the Biſhops of *Rome*, that their City was raiſed, about this very time, to the Rank of a Metropolis, and they veſted with the Metropolitan Juriſdiction.

The Council meets at Epheſus.

The Council had been appointed to meet on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, as I have related above, but they did not aſſemble till the 8th of that Month, when they met, for the Firſt time, in the great Church, where the Firſt Council of *Epheſus* had been held 18 Years before. They were in all 149, counting the Biſhops who aſſiſted in Perſon, and the Deputies of thoſe, who did not. *Dioſcorus* preſided, by the Emperor's expreſs Order, ſeated on a high Throne. *Julius* of *Puteoli*, the Pope's Firſt Legate, held the Second Place; *Domnus* of *Antioch* was placed after *Juvenalis* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Flavianus* of *Conſtantinople* after both. To the Deacon *Hilarius*, *Leo*'s other Legate, and *Dulcitius*, Notary of the *Roman* Church, was aſſigned the laſt Place of all. As for *Renatus*, the Pope's Second Legate, he died in the Iſland of *Cos*, on his Way to *Epheſus* [e]. *Flavianus*, and the other Biſhops, who, jointly with him, had condemned *Eutyches* in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, were declared Parties, and, as ſuch, excluded from voting in the preſent Council. This, however conſonant to Juſtice, was contrary to the Practice of the Church; for *Alexander*, and the other Biſhops of *Egypt*, who had condemned *Arius*, were nevertheleſs allowed to vote in the Council of *Nice*, aſſembled to examine their Judgment, and his Doctrine; and a few Years before, *Cyril*, and the Biſhops of his Dioceſe, were admitted among the Judges of *Neſtorius*, though they had already condemned him in a National Synod.

The Order in which they ſate.

Flavianus, *and the Biſhops of his Party, excluded from voting.*

[e] Concil. t. 4. p. 251. 254.

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The Biſhops being ſeated, and the Emperor's Letter for the Calling of the Council read, according to Cuſtom, *Hilarius* preſented *Leo*'s Letter to the Council, and *Dioſcorus* ordered it to be received, and read. But the Notary, who was ordered to read it, not having immediately complied with the Order, and ſome Diſputes ariſing in the mean time, it was laid aſide, and no more thought of. Some of the Biſhops, and among the reſt *Julius* the Legate, were for examining in the Firſt place, and ſettling the Point of Faith in Diſpute; but it being carried by a great Majority, that *Eutyches* ſhould be firſt heard, he was called in, and ordered to give an Account of his Faith. In Compliance with that Order, he preſented a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring, that he held the Doctrine of *Nice*, with that of *Cyril*, as approved by the Council of *Epheſus*, and ſincerely anathematized *Manes*, *Valentine*, *Apollinaris*, *Neſtorius*, and all who had been condemned by the Church, from the time of *Simon* the Magician, to the preſent. This Confeſſion being read, *Flavianus* riſing up, deſired that *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum*, his Accuſer, might be likewiſe heard; and this Motion was ſeconded by the Legates. But *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, who aſſiſted at the Council in the Emperor's Name, let them know, that they had been called together, not to judge *Eutyches* anew, but thoſe who had judged him; and therefore that their only Buſineſs was, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople*; which was done accordingly, without the leaſt Diſturbance, to the Seventh Seſſion, where *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* was ſaid to have preſſed *Eutyches* to acknowlege Two Natures in Chriſt after the Incarnation. But when that Paſſage was read, the ſame Tumult and Uproar was raiſed in the preſent Council, againſt *Euſebius*, for requiring Two Natures to be owned in Chriſt, as had been raiſed againſt *Eutyches* in the former, for refuſing to own them; nay, and in part, by the ſame Prelates. *Let* Euſebius *be burnt alive*, they all cried out with one Voice, *let him be cut aſunder; as he divides, ſo may he be divided*. *Dioſcorus*, not ſatisfied with theſe confuſed Cries, deſired, that thoſe, who could not raiſe their Voices ſo as to be heard, ſhould lift up their Hands, in Token of their concurring with the reſt in anathematizing the Doctrine of the two Natures. His Voice, his threatening Mien, the Preſence of the Soldiers, the Menaces of the Monks, who were more dreaded than the Soldiers themſelves, and had ſurrounded the Place, where the Council was held, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the whole Aſſembly, that, lifting up their Hands, they all

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Leo's *Letter to the Council not read.*

Eutyches *preſents a Confeſſion of Faith to the Council.*

Which is approved; and all are anathematized, who maintained the two Natures.

Year of Christ 449.

joined, as one Man, in crying out aloud, *Whoever admits of Two Natures, let him be anathematized, let him be driven out, torn in Pieces, maſſacred* [f]. The Doctrine of *Eutyches* being thus declared *Orthodox*, he was not only reſtored, with one Conſent, to the Communion of the Church, and the Government of his Monaſtery, but by all extolled with the moſt pompous and fulſome Encomiums on his Courage in daring to teach, and his Firmneſs in daring to defend, the true and genuine Doctrine of the Fathers; and on this Occaſion, thoſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt by their Panegyrics, who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Invectives before [g]. I do not find that either *Flavianus*, or the Legates, offered to oppoſe the Reſtoration of *Eutyches*, or ſpoke a ſingle Word in Defence of the Sentence pronounced againſt him by the Council of *Conſtantinople*.

Eutyches *abſolved and reſtored.*

Flavianus, *and* Euſebius *of* Dorylæum, *depoſed.*

Dioſcorus, finding the Prelates thus intimidated, and himſelf, through their Puſillanimity, abſolute Maſter of the Council, thought this a favourable Opportunity of cruſhing at once all the Enemies of *Eutyches*, and reſolved to uſe it. He began with *Flavianus*, and *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum*; and pretending that they had acted contrary to a Decree of the Firſt Council of *Epheſus* (A); the one in accuſing *Eutyches*, and the other in condemning him, he declared them both, in virtue of that Decree, anathematized and depoſed. *Flavianus*, in hearing the Sentence, appealed from *Dioſcorus*, ſaying, I *except againſt* you (παραιτοῦμαί σε); and he ſaid no more, but delivered his Appeal, in Writing, to the Pope's Legates [h] (B). *Victor* of *Tunes*, *Theodoret*, and *Leo* himſelf, write, that the Legates oppoſed the Depoſition of *Flavianus* with great Intrepidity, and proteſted aloud againſt the Injuſtice of the Sentence [i]. But *Proſper*, *Leo*'s Secretary, and the Acts of the Council, only take notice of the Oppoſition that was made by *Hilarius*, and of him they ſpeak with the greateſt Com-

Hilarius, *the Pope's Legate, proteſts againſt the Sentence.*

[f] Concil. t. 4. p. 188, 189. [g] Concil. ibid. p. 255. [h] Concil. t. 4. p. 305. [i] Concil. p. 39. 46. Theodoret. ep. 116.

(A) The Fathers of *Epheſus* only forbid any Symbol to be publicly made uſe of, beſides that of *Nice*. But their Decree *Dioſcorus* interpreted, as if they had forbidden any Article to be defined, that was not in expreſs Terms contained in that Symbol.

(B) *Bellarmine*, *Davidius*, and *Lupus*, make long Deſcants on this Appeal, pretending it was to *Leo Flavianus* appealed. But *Leo* himſelf ſuppoſes him to have appealed to an Oecumenical Council, ſince it was upon his Appeal, that he preſſed the Emperor to aſſemble one (1); which he would never have done, had *Flavianus* appealed to him alone.

(1) Leo ep. 39, 40.

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mendations, without ever mentioning the Biſhop *Julius* [k]. The other Friends of *Flavianus*, well appriſed of the Injuſtice of the Sentence, and unwilling to confirm it with their Suffrages, but apprehending, at the ſame time, the dreadful Conſequences of their oppoſing, or anyways diſobliging *Dioſcorus*, roſe from their Seats, and, proſtrating themſelves before him, begged, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, that he would conſider what he was doing, and not proceed to ſuch Extremities, which they could not approve without betraying their Conſciences, and rendering themſelves unworthy of the Rank they held in the Church. But the only Anſwer he returned to their Prayers and Intreaties was, that were his Tongue to be cut out, he would not order a ſingle Syllable to be altered in the Sentence they had heard. As the Biſhops, not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, continued in the ſame humble Poſture, to interceed for *Flavianus*, *Dioſcorus*, loſing all Patience, ſtarted up unexpectedly from his Throne, and with a ſtern Look, and angry Voice, *What!* ſaid he, *do you think to raiſe a Tumult? Where are the Counts?* meaning *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, the Imperial Commiſſioners. The Counts, who were both preſent, upon hearing themſelves called, immediately ordered the Doors of the Church to be ſet open; which was no ſooner done, than the Proconſul of *Aſia* entered, ſurrounded with a Band of Soldiers, and followed by a confuſed Multitude of the Rabble and Monks, ſome of them with Chains in their Hands, and others with Clubs and Stones, the uſual Arms of that Militia. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Terror and Confuſion which their Appearance occaſioned in the Aſſembly: ſome of the Biſhops took Refuge behind the Throne of *Dioſcorus*, while others either crept under the Benches, on which they were ſitting, or ſtrove to conceal themſelves, the beſt they could, in the moſt retired Places of the Church; for the Doors were all well guarded, and no Biſhop was allowed to go out. In the midſt of this Confuſion *Dioſcorus*, raiſing his Voice, cried out, with an imperious Tone, *The Sentence muſt be ſigned: if any one objects to it, let him take care, for it is with me he has to deal.* At theſe Words the Biſhops, trembling and pale with Fear, reſumed their Places; when *Dioſcorus*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jeruſalem*, attended by an armed Multitude, carried about a blank Paper, and preſenting it to each Biſhop, obliged all to ſign it. *Juvenalis* ſigned it the firſt, *Dommus* of *Antioch*

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The other Biſhops interceed for Flavianus.

The Soldiers, Monks, and Rabble, break into the Council.

The Terror and Conſternation of the Biſhops.

Dioſcorus *obliges all the Biſhops to ſign a blank Paper.*

[k] Proſp. chron.

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tioch signed after him, and the reſt after *Domnus*, in the Order they ſate, except the *Egyptians*, who were not required to ſign till all the reſt had, that they might have ſomething to plead, in caſe, upon a Change of Affairs, they ſhould be obliged to give an Account of their Conduct; and it was upon this Conſideration that *Dioſcorus* himſelf choſe to ſign the laſt of all [l]. The Defection was general; for out of 149 Biſhops, and their Deputies, not one was found, beſides the Pope's Legates, who had the Courage to withſtand the Menaces of *Dioſcorus*, and his Satellites. They indeed ſtood up to the laſt, in Defence of *Flavianus*; nor could they by any Menaces be prevailed upon to follow the Example of the reſt, declaring, with great Intrepidity, when threatened by *Dioſcorus*, that they had rather ſuffer a Thouſand Deaths, than it ſhould ever be ſaid, that he had been countenanced in his Wickedneſs by the Repreſentatives of the Apoſtolic See [m]. *Dioſcorus* however ſpared them; but ſome other Biſhops, who, animated by them, refuſed at firſt to ſign the above-mentioned Paper, he cauſed to be inhumanly beaten; and one among the reſt, for only pointing at the Soldiers, while he was upon the Point of ſigning, to declare, that he did not do it freely, but merely out of Fear. The Treatment theſe met with, ſo awed the reſt, that they all ſigned, without betraying the leaſt Reluctance or Scruple [n]; and then the Paper, to which they had all ſet their Names, was filled up by *Dioſcorus* with the Charge of Hereſy againſt *Flavianus* for acknowleging Two Natures in Chriſt, and with the Sentence of his Depoſition for preſuming to condemn *Eutyches*, in Defiance of an expreſs Canon of the Council of *Epheſus*, becauſe he acknowleged but One; which was there declared the true Catholic and Orthodox Doctrine. *Flavianus*, in hearing the Sentence read, excepted anew againſt *Dioſcorus*; which ſo provoked that haughty Prelate, that he, and others of his Party, falling upon him, in a Tranſport of Paſſion, firſt beat him in a moſt barbarous manner, as it were in Emulation of one another, and then, throwing him on the Ground, trampled upon him till he was ready to expire; when *Dioſcorus*, not thinking he had yet his full Revenge, ordered him to be carried, in that Condition, to Priſon, and the next Morning, when he was ſcarce able to ſtir, into Exile. The Soldiers, appointed to attend him, dragged him as far as *Epipus* in *Lydia*, Two Days Journey from *Epheſus*, where

The Pope's Legates refuſe to ſign it.

Some of the Biſhops inhumanly beaten.

The blank Paper, how filled up by Dioſcorus.

Flavianus *treated with great Barbarity.*

Is ſent into Exile, but dies on the Road.

[l] Concil. t. 4. p. 113. Liberat. c. 12. [m] Concil. ibid. p. 39. [n] Concil. t. 4. p. 939.

he

he died of the Bruiſes he had received in the Council, Three Days before, and the Fatigues he had been forced to undergo in his Journey [o]. He is now honoured as a Saint, by the Church of *Rome*, and his Feſtival is kept, with great Solemnity, on the 24th of *November*, at *Recanati*, between *Loreto* and *Macerata*, and at *Giulia-nuova* in *Abruzzo*, the former City pretending to have one of his Arms, and the latter the reſt of his Body. Upon the Death of *Theodoſius*, the Emperor *Marcian*, his Succeſſor, cauſed the Body of *Flavianus* to be tranſlated from *Epipus* to *Conſtantinople*, and to be depoſited there in the Church of the Apoſtles [p]: but of a Second Tranſlation no mention is made by any credible Writer.

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Is honoured as a Saint.

Hilarius, the Pope's Legate, terrified at the Treatment *Flavianus* met with in the Council, withdrew unexpectedly from *Epheſus*, before the Death of that Prelate, and, travelling only in the Night, and through By-roads, got ſafe out of the Reach of *Dioſcorus*, who, as he ſuſpected, was determined to treat him no better than he had done *Flavianus*, if he could, by no other Means, prevail upon him to conſent to his Condemnation [q]. With *Flavianus* were condemned, depoſed, and ſent into Exile, the greater Part of the Orientals, and *Domnus*, their Patriarch, though both he and his Suffragans had, through Fear of forfeiting their Sees, ſigned the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, anathematized the Doctrine of Two Natures, and conſented to every thing elſe, that *Dioſcorus* had required of them. The Crime laid to their Charge was, their having formerly oppoſed *Cyril*, and lately *Eutyches*, whoſe Doctrine, it was pretended, they could not condemn as heterodox, without approving and admitting that of *Neſtorius*, as Catholic and Orthodox. The Day after the Depoſition of the Orientals, *Dioſcorus* unexpectedly left *Epheſus*, and by his Departure diſſolved the Council.

Hilarius *the Pope's Legate eſcapes from* Epheſus.

Many of the Orientals depoſed, with their Patriarch, and ſent into Exile.

The Council diſſolved.

This Council, though Oecumenical, and lawfully aſſembled, was never received, as the Reader may well imagine, by *Leo* and the other Biſhops in the Weſt; nay, they would not even allow it to be ſtyled a Council, but ſtigmatized it with the Name of *Latrocinium Epheſinum*, the Name by which it is generally known, on account of the Violence, peculiar to Robbers, that was uſed there by *Dioſcorus*, and thoſe of his Party. *Facundus* Biſhop of *Hermiana* in *Africa*, who

This Council never received in the Weſt.

[o] Concil. ibid. p. 403. Liberat. c. 12. Proſp. chron. [p] Leo ep. 59. [q] Liberat. c. 12.

flouriſhed

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flouriſhed in the Time of *Juſtinian*, alleges this Council, and that of *Rimini*, to ſhew, that there is no depending on the Definitions of Councils, when the Biſhops, who compoſe them, are not free, but awed either by Princes or their own Brethren [r]. There are but very few, if any, Oecumenical Councils, whoſe Definitions can, by this Rule, be depended on. The Definitions of this Council were ſoon after declared null by that of *Chalcedon*; and *Leo* did all that lay in his Power to procure an Edict from the Emperor *Marcian*, forbidding it even to be mentioned, leſt Poſterity ſhould know, that ſuch a Judgment had ever been given, that ſuch an Aſſembly, or Conventicle, as he ſtyles it, had ever been held [s]. However, *Dioſcorus* and *Eutyches* had Intereſt enough at Court to obtain an Edict of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, not only confirming the Condemnation and Depoſition of *Flavianus*, and the other Biſhops, but commanding all, who profeſſed the ſame Doctrine, which he there ſuppoſes to be the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, to be treated in the ſame manner. By the ſame Edict, Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions were forbidden, on Pain of perpetual Baniſhment, to harbour or conceal any, who taught, held, or favoured the Tenets of *Neſtorius*, *Flavianus*, and the depoſed Biſhops; and the Books, Comments, Homilies, and other Works, written by them, or paſſing under their Names, were ordered to be publicly burnt [t]. The good Emperor was utterly unacquainted with the Circumſtances attending the Depoſition of *Flavianus*; nay, the Friends of *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* at Court, eſpecially the favourite Eunuch *Chryſaphius*, concealed from him, with ſo much Care, every Circumſtance that could any-ways prejudice him againſt the Council, that in the Height of the Diſturbances, and univerſal Confuſion, which reigned all over the Eaſt, and had been occaſioned by the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, he wrote to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that by the Depoſition of ſo turbulent a Prelate, Peace had, in the End, been happily reſtored to all the Churches in his Dominions [u].

The Depoſition of Flavianus *confirmed by the Emperor.*

All condemned who held the ſame Doctrine, and likewiſe their Books and Writings.

In the mean time *Leo*, being informed by his Legate *Hilarius*, who had eſcaped from *Epheſus*, of what had paſſed there before his Departure, aſſembled, without Delay, a Council at *Rome*, conſiſting of almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops; and, with their Advice, wrote to *Theodoſius*, in his own and their Name, complaining of the Violences that had been committed at *Epheſus*, and intreating him, in

Leo *aſſembles a Council in the Weſt.*

[r] Facund. l. 12. c. 3. [s] Concil. t. 4. p. 674. [t] Concil. ibid. p. 864. Theodoret. ep. 140. [u] Theodoret. ep. ad Joan. Germaniciæ Epiſ. p. 702.

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the Name of the Holy Trinity, to declare null what had been done there, and leave all things in the Condition they were in before the Council of *Conſtantinople*, till a greater Number of Biſhops ſhould aſſemble from all Parts of the World, to give their Opinion concerning a Point, in which they were all equally concerned. He begs, that they may be allowed to aſſemble in *Italy*, ſince his Legates had proteſted againſt the Deciſions of the Council of *Epheſus*, and to them *Flavianus* had delivered his Appeal. As he was not a Subject of *Theodoſius*, but *Valentinian*, over whom he had a great Aſcendent, he ſpeaks, throughout his whole Letter, with great Freedom, of the Council of *Epheſus*, though approved by *Theodoſius*, and even warns that Prince to be more upon his Guard againſt thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it was to deceive him, becauſe the Sins that were committed by Men acting with his Authority, would, on the laſt Day, be imputed to him [w]. Not ſatisfied with writing to the Emperor, he wrote at the ſame time to the Empreſs *Pulcheria* his Siſter, to the Clergy, Nobility, and People of *Conſtantinople*; to the Abbots of that City; to *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, and to *Julianus* Biſhop of the Iſland of *Cos* [x]. In all theſe Letters he encourages, exhorts, intreats thoſe, to whom they were addreſſed, to continue in the Communion of *Flavianus*, for he had not yet heard of his Death, to adhere ſtedfaſtly to the antient Faith, in Defiance of all the Powers combined againſt it, and to join him in defending the Truth, and combating, even at the Expence of their Lives, the oppoſite Errors. In his Letter to *Pulcheria*, who was greatly addicted to the See of *Rome*, and has therefore been ſainted, he intreats her to employ all her Intereſt with the Emperor to obtain the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council, and all her Authority to prevent the Evils, that would be otherwiſe occaſioned by the War, which had been lately declared againſt the Faith of the Church, veſting her for that Pupoſe *with the Legation of St.* Peter. The Deacon *Hilarius* wrote likewiſe to the Empreſs *Pulcheria*, and in his Letter had the Vanity to brag, as if the vigorous Reſolutions taken by *Leo* were chiefly owing to him.

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Writes to the Emperor for the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council.

Writes to the Empreſs Pulcheria, *and ſeveral others.*

Not long after *Leo* had written theſe Letters, the Emperor *Valentinian*, with his Mother *Placidia*, and his Wife *Eudoxia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius*, came from *Ravenna*, the uſual Place of their Re-

The Emperor Valentinian, *at* Rome.

[w] Leo ep. 40. [x] Idem ep. 41. 43, 44, 45. 47.

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sidence, to visit the Churches of the Saints in *Rome*, according to a superstitious Custom which began to obtain about this Time. They arrived in that City on the Eve of the Chair of St. *Peter*, a Festival, which was then kept, as it is to this Day, with great Solemnity, on the 21st of *February*. The very next Morning they went to perform their Devotions in the Church of that Apostle; and in entering it were received by *Leo*, attended by a great Number of Bishops, whom he had assembled from the different Provinces of *Italy*, to make, on that Occasion, a more grand and awful Appearance. He no sooner came into the Presence of the Imperial Family, than he burst into Tears; and when he began to speak, his Words were so interrupted with Sighs, as not to be understood by any that heard him. Having thus, like a skilful Orator, disposed the Emperor to hearken to him with Attention, and intirely gained the Two Empresses, who are said to have mixed their Tears with his, though they could not yet know why he shed them, he restrained for a while the Excess of his Grief, and addressing the Emperor with a more intelligible Voice, first represented with his usual Eloquence, the great Danger the Church was in, and the Calamities she had Reason to apprehend from the Violences committed at *Ephesus*, and the Deposition of the holy Bishop *Flavianus*. Then resuming his Sighs and Tears, he conjured the Emperor and the Empresses, by the Apostle to whom they were going to pay their Respects, by their own Salvation, and the Salvation of *Theodosius*, to write to that Prince, and spare no Pains, since the true Faith and Religion were at Stake, to persuade him to declare null, whatever had been done by the unhappy Council of *Ephesus*, to restore *Flavianus*, whom he still believed alive, to his former Dignity, and refer the whole Affair to the Judgment of the Apostolic See. A modest Demand indeed! But he immediately added, that Bishops being allowed to assemble in *Italy* from all Parts of the World, he (the Pope) might hear them, and together with them, impartially examine every Step that had been hitherto taken by either Party. His Grief did not make him forget his own Dignity, or that of his See. For in the Close of his Speech he put the Emperor in mind of the eminent Rank he held in the Church, of his being raised above all other Bishops; and its being, on that Consideration, incumbent upon him, as *Flavianus* had appealed, to apply for the assembling of a Council [y]. In Compliance with his Request, *Valentinian*, as well as

Leo applies to him for the assembling of an Oecumenical Council.

In his Grief not forgetful of the Dignity of his See.

[y] Concil. t. 4. p. 52. 55.

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the Two Empreſſes, wrote to *Theodoſius* before they left *Rome*, intreating him, by all that was holy, to agree to the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council in *Italy*, as the only means of healing the Diviſions, which the violent and irregular Proceedings of the Council of *Epheſus* had already occaſioned in the Eaſt, and would ſoon produce in the Weſt, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the other Weſtern Biſhops, being determined never to acquieſce in the Deciſions of that Aſſembly; ſo that a general Schiſm would enſue, and an intire Separation between the Eaſt and the Weſt, unleſs an Oecumenical Council were quickly aſſembled. In all theſe Letters long Deſcants are made on the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the *Roman* See; which has induced ſome to think, that they were dictated by *Leo* himſelf. And indeed the Sentiments are his; for he inſinuates them in ſeveral of his Letters; but the Style comes far ſhort of the Propriety and Elegance ſo remarkable in the Writings, which all agree to be his. To theſe Letters *Theodoſius* returned no other Anſwer, than that he had done already all that could be done, to procure and maintain the Peace and Unity of the Church, which he had as much at heart as they; that *Flavianus*, the Author and Fire-brand of the late Diſturbances, having been depoſed, the ſo much wiſhed for Calm and Tranquillity had, by that means, been reſtored to all the Churches in his Dominions; and therefore as there could be no Occaſion for the aſſembling of any more Councils, he begged they would lay aſide all Thoughts of that kind [z].

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The Emperor and the Empreſſes write to Theodoſius, *and intreat him to aſſemble an Oecumenical Council.*

But in vain.

In the mean time ſeveral Biſhops, who had been aſſiſting to *Dioſcorus* in the Violences committed at *Epheſus*, being informed of the Meaſures that *Leo* was purſuing to procure the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council, which they well knew would give them no Quarter; and apprehending from his Courage and Zeal, as well as from the great Intereſt he had not only with the Imperial Family in the Weſt, but likewiſe with *Pulcheria* the Siſter of *Theodoſius*, that he might prevail in the End; began to abandon the Party of *Eutyches*, and make ſome Overtures towards an Accommodation with the Friends of *Leo* in the oppoſite Party.

Some through Fear abandon the Party of Eutyches.

Of this *Dioſcorus* was well appriſed, and therefore as he was himſelf a Stranger to all Fear, to ſhew how little he valued the Biſhop of *Rome*, and thereby inſpire with new Courage thoſe, whom

[z] Concil. p. 52. Liberat. c. 12.

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he ſaw inclined to draw back, he ſolemnly excommunicated *Leo*, in an Aſſembly of Ten Biſhops, for preſuming to judge anew, and annul what had been by the Eaſtern Biſhops already judged, and finally determined. The Sentence was ſigned by the Ten Biſhops, who all ſeparated themſelves from the Communion of *Leo*; much againſt their Will, ſays *Theodoret*, but *Dioſcorus* was ſo dreaded by all, that not even his Friends had Courage enough to ſpeak or act freely before him [a]. Of theſe Proceedings *Leo* took no notice for the preſent; but ſteadily purſuing the ſame Meaſures, he wrote anew to *Theodoſius*, notwithſtanding the diſcouraging Anſwer that Prince had returned to *Valentinian* and the Empreſſes; and in that, as well as in the Letter which he ſent at the ſame time to the Empreſs *Pulcheria*, he may be truly ſaid to have omitted no Reaſon or Argument, that could poſſibly be offered to convince both, that it was abſolutely neceſſary an Oecumenical Council ſhould be convened without Delay, and that *Italy* was the moſt proper Place for it they could chuſe [b].

Dioſcorus, *to encourage the reſt, excommunicates* Leo.

Leo *writes anew to* Theodoſius *and* Pulcheria.

Leo was not ſatisfied with Letters alone; he diſpatched, at the ſame time, Four Legates to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, *viz.* Two Biſhops *Abundius* and *Aſterius*, and Two Presbyters *Baſilius* and *Senator*. Their Inſtructions were to acquaint the Emperor, by Word of Mouth, with the irregular and violent Proceedings of the Council of *Epheſus*, to which he ſeemed, and really was, an utter Stranger; and to inform him of the dreadful Effects it had produced in his own Dominions; for at this time a general Schiſm, occaſioned by that Council, reigned in the Eaſt, the Biſhops of *Thrace*, of *Egypt*, and *Palæſtine*, ſiding with *Dioſcorus*; and thoſe of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, of *Aſia*, and *Pontus*, ſtanding up in Defence of the Innocence of *Flavianus*.

Diſpatches Four Legates to the Court of Conſtantinople.

Theodoſius *dies.*

This had proved a dangerous Legation, had *Dioſcorus* been ſtill in Power; but before the Legates reached *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* was dead, *Marcian* was declared Emperor in his room, and *Chryſaphius*, the great Friend and Supporter of *Eutyches* and his Party, publicly executed. As *Theodoſius* left no Iſſue Male behind him, his Siſter *Pulcheria*, who had ſhared the Sovereignty with him, and bore the Title of *Auguſta*, during his Life, remained by his Death ſole Miſtreſs of the Empire; and no Perſon was more capable of governing it well. However, as no Woman had yet reigned alone in either

[a] Concil. t. 4. p. 398. Lupi notæ in Can. t. 1. p. 893, 894. [b] Leo ep. 52. et 54.

Empire,

Empire, ſhe thought it adviſable to marry, notwithſtanding the Reſolution ſhe had taken to continue a Virgin to her Death; and the Perſon ſhe choſe for her Husband was *Marcian*, a Man of extraordinary Qualifications, though deſcended from a Family of no great Diſtinction. To him therefore ſhe was married, after he had, at her Requeſt, ſolemnly promiſed to ſuffer her, agreeably to the Reſolution ſhe had taken, to live and die a Virgin. As *Pulcheria* was greatly attached to the See of *Rome*, and had a particular Veneration for *Leo*, the new Emperor, out of Complaiſance to her, not only received his Legates with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, but wrote him a moſt obliging Letter to acquaint him with his Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne, to implore the Aſſiſtance of his Prayers, and aſſure him, that he had nothing ſo much at Heart as the Unity of the Church, and the Extirpation of Hereſies, and that in order to procure the one and the other he was determined to aſſemble an Oecumenical Council, of which the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom he ſtyles the Firſt Biſhop, ſhould be abſolute Maſter [c]. Not long after he wrote anew to *Leo*, inviting him into the Eaſt to aſſiſt in Perſon at the Council, which he propoſed to aſſemble, and deſiring him, if he did not care to undertake ſuch a Journey, to acquaint him with it, that he might ſummon all the Biſhops in his Dominions to meet at the Place, which *Leo* ſhould chuſe [d]. *Thus wrote* Marcian, *ſays* Baronius [e], *well knowing, that it is by the Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome *alone that Oecumenical Councils can be lawfully aſſembled.* I ſhould be glad to know what Records helped *Marcian* to that Knowlege. It would puzzle *Baronius* to point them out, nothing being better known, nothing more certain, if there is any Truth in Hiſtory, than that all the Oecumenical Councils held till *Marcian's* time in the Church, were aſſembled by the Imperial Authority, and not by the Papal. To deny, or even to queſtion this Truth would be arrant Scepticiſm; and therefore of all the Pretenſions of the Biſhops of *Rome*, that of their being veſted, by divine Right, with the Power of aſſembling, tranſlating, and diſſolving Councils, as *Leo* X. defined it, may perhaps be juſtly reckoned the moſt intolerably impudent, ſince it gives the Lye at once to all the Monuments of Antiquity; nay, and to the Councils themſelves, where it is ſaid, and often repeated, that they met *by the Authority, by the Decree, by the Com-*

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Pulcheria *marries* Marcian, *on whom ſhe beſtows the Empire.*

The new Emperor's obliging Letter to Leo.

He promiſes to aſſemble a Council, and to make Leo *abſolute Maſter of it.*

He writes again to Leo.

Oecumenical Councils aſſembled by the Emperor, not by the Pope.

[c] Leo t. 1. p. 550, 551. Theodoret. t. 1. p. 551.
[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 61.
[e] Bar. ad ann. 450. p. 121. edit. Antwerp.

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mand of the moſt pious Emperors, without the leaſt Notice being ever taken of the Biſhop of *Rome* or his Authority. The Biſhops who compoſed this very Council, that was held under *Marcian*, when they were aſſembled, owned themſelves *to have been gathered together by the Grace of God, and the Command of the Emperors.* Not a Word of the Pope, by whoſe Authority alone they were aſſembled, according to *Baronius*. *Leo* indeed, in ſpeaking of this Council, cunningly brings in the *Apoſtolic See: It has been thought fit*, ſays he, *that a general Council ſhould be convened by the Command of the Chriſtian Princes, and with the Conſent of the Apoſtolic See* [a]. He could ſay no more, and every other Biſhop might have ſaid as much with reſpect to his See. And yet Pope *Gelaſius* had the Aſſurance to affirm, that this very Council was convened *by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See alone* [b]. As for the Annaliſt, he ſufficiently confutes elſewhere what he advances here; for he owns, that the Second and Fifth Oecumenical Councils were convened and held, the one againſt the Will of *Damaſus*, and the other of *Vigilius* [c], and conſequently not by their Authority.

Eutyches *and* Dioſcorus *abandoned by moſt of their Friends.*

The extraordinary Deference and Regard paid both by *Marcian* and *Pulcheria* to the Biſhop of *Rome*, changed at once the Face of Affairs all over the Eaſt. The Change began at Court, and the Example of the Court was ſoon followed by the Church. Such of the Miniſters as had, in the late Reign, eſpouſed with moſt Warmth the Cauſe of *Eutyches*, and pretended moſt Zeal for his Doctrine, became all on a ſudden the moſt implacable Enemies both of him and his Doctrine [d]. And no wonder, ſays *Theodoret*, ſince they had no other Rule of Faith but the Will of the Emperor. It were to be wiſhed the Church had given no Occaſion for the like Reproach. But the Change was no leſs ſudden, no leſs remarkable in the Church than it was in the Court. For the Inclinations of the Imperial Family were no ſooner known, than *Anatolius*, who had been choſen Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in the room of *Flavianus*, and had been ordained by *Dioſcorus*, and the Biſhops of his Party, aſſembled in great Haſte all the Biſhops, Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were then in *Conſtantinople*, and in their Preſence not only received and ſigned the famous Letter of *Leo* to *Flavianus* concerning the Incarnation, but at the ſame time anathematized *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches*, their Do-

Anatolius *of* Conſtantinople *receives the Letter of* Leo, *and anathematizes* Neſtorius, Eutyches, *&c.*

[a] Leo ep. 61. [b] Gelaſ. ep. ad epiſ. Dardaniæ. [c] Bar. ad ann. 553.
[d] Theodoret. ep. 138, 139.

ſtrine, and all their Followers, declaring, that he profeſſed no other Faith but what was held and profeſſed by the *Roman* Church, and by *Leo*, meaning by the Court, and the Emperor. The Example of *Anatolius* was followed by the other Biſhops, and the reſt of the Aſſembly, except Three Abbots, and a few of the Clergy, and nothing was heard but Anathemas againſt *Eutyches*, whom moſt of thoſe, who uttered them, had but a few Months before honoured as *a new Apoſtle*, as the *true Interpreter of the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers* [i]. Thoſe, who allege the Declaration made at this time by *Anatolius*, and his Council, to prove, that they acknowleged the Infallibility of *Leo* and the *Roman* Church, deſerve no Anſwer; it being manifeſt, that the Compliment (for ſo I may ſtyle it) was not paid to *Leo*, or his Church, but to *Marcian* and *Pulcheria*. Year of Chriſt 450.

The Letter of *Leo* being thus received by the Biſhop and Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, and ſoon after by all the Biſhops of the Eaſt, excepting thoſe of *Illyricum*, *Palæſtine*, and *Egypt*; *Marcian*, at the Requeſt of *Leo*, recalled, by a ſpecial Law, the Biſhops, who had been baniſhed by the Council of *Epheſus* for defending the Doctrine it contained, removed *Eutyches* from the Government of his Monaſtery, and confined him to a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, till the Meeting of the Council, which he intended to aſſemble [k]. *Leo* had begged both of *Theodoſius* and *Marcian*, that the Council might be aſſembled in *Italy*, and *Marcian*, in the very firſt Letter he wrote to him, had left the Place to his Choice; but afterwards, changing his Mind, probably on Account of the Irruption made at this time by *Attila* in the Weſtern Empire, by a circular Letter, dated the 17th of *May* 451. he ſummoned all the Biſhops in his Dominions to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, by the Firſt of *September*. This was a great Diſappointment to *Leo*: however, he immediately diſpatched into the Eaſt *Paſchaſinus* Biſhop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, and the Presbyter *Bonifacius* to aſſiſt at the Council as his Legates, together with *Lucentius* Biſhop of *Aſculum*, and *Baſilius*, a Presbyter, whom he had ſent already to *Conſtantinople*. By the Two former he wrote to *Marcian*, to *Pulcheria*, and to the Fathers of the Council, to excuſe his not aſſiſting in Perſon, and beg, that ſince the far greater Part of the Biſhops, by receiving his Letter, had already condemned the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, they would, to avoid all Diſputes, con-

The exiled Biſhops recalled, and Eutyches *confined.*

Marcian *ſummons all the Biſhops to meet at* Nice *in* Bithynia. Year of Chriſt 451.

Leo *ſends Legates to aſſiſt at the Council in his room.*

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 531. Leo ep. 60, 61. 68. p. 66. Theodoret. ep. 139.

[k] Leo ep. 60. 63. Concil. ibid.

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demn it anew, without any further Examination, without hearkening any who ſhould offer to defend or explain it [l].

The Council transferred from Nice *to* Chalcedon.

The Biſhops met at *Nice*, on the Firſt of *September*, agreeably to the Emperor's Summons and Command. But, in the mean time, the *Hunns* breaking into *Illyricum*, *Marcian*, who had promiſed to aſſiſt at the Council in Perſon, did not think it adviſeable to quit the Metropolis at that Juncture; and therefore wrote a very obliging Letter to the Biſhops at *Nice*, requiring them to remove from that City to *Chalcedon*, ſeparated from *Conſtantinople* only by the *Boſporus*, which in that Place is not a Mile over. They readily complied with his Requeſt, and the Council met, for the firſt time, in the great Church of St. *Euphemia* in *Chalcedon*, on the 8th of *October* 451 [m].

The Number of the Biſhops.

It was the moſt numerous Council that had been yet held; for it is ſaid, by moſt Writers, to have conſiſted of 630 Biſhops, all, beſides the Pope's Legates, Two Biſhops from *Africa*, and one from *Perſia*, Subjects of the Eaſtern Empire. *Marcian* propoſed, and had a great Deſire, to be preſent in Perſon; but, thinking his Preſence more neceſſary in *Illyricum*, where the Barbarians were committing dreadful Ravages, he appointed the Six firſt Officers of the Empire, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed Men in the Senate, to ſupply his room at the Council, with the Character of his Commiſſioners; and marched himſelf at the Head of his Army to the Relief of the oppreſſed Province [n].

The Imperial Commiſſioners.

The Order in which the Biſhops were placed.

When the Council met, the Commiſſioners placed themſelves in the midſt of the Aſſembly, near the Baniſters of the Altar. On their Left, the moſt honourable Place after theirs, ſate the Biſhops *Paſchaſinus* and *Lucentius*, with the Presbyter *Bonifacius*, the Pope's Legates. Of the Presbyter *Baſilius*, the Fourth Legate, no Mention is made in the Acts of the Council, or by any Writer; whence we may, with better Reaſon, ſuppoſe him to have been dead or indiſpoſed, than imagine, with *De Marca*, that he abſented himſelf becauſe *Anatolius* of *Conſtantinople* would ſuffer Three Legates, but not Four, to ſit above him [o]. Next to the Legates were *Anatolius*, *Maximus* of *Antioch*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, *Stephanus* of *Epheſus*, and all the Biſhops of the Dioceſes of *Pontus*, of *Aſia*, of *Thrace*, and of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, except thoſe of *Palæſtine*. On the Right were ſeated *Dioſcorus* of *Alexandria*, *Juvenalis* of *Jeruſalem*, *Quintillus* of *Heraclea* in *Macedon*, in the room of *Anaſtaſius* of *Theſſalonica*, *Peter*

[l] Leo ep. 62. 73, 74, 75. [m] Concil t. 4. p. 69. Liberat. c. 13. [n] Concil. ibid. p. 77, 78. Facund. [o] Pet. de Marc. de Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. l. 5. c. 6.

of

of *Corinth*, with the Biſhops of *Egypt*, of *Illyricum*, of *Palæſtine*. In the middle of the Aſſembly was placed, on a high and ſtately Throne, the Book of the Goſpels. At this grand Aſſembly the Pope's Legates held the firſt Place among the Biſhops, and preſided, not in virtue of any Right which they had, or even pretended to have, of preſiding at an Oecumenical Council held in the Eaſt; but becauſe thoſe, who might have claimed that Honour as their Due, had all forfeited it by their late Conduct. And it was their late Conduct, not his Right, that *Leo* alleged in one of his Letters to the Emperor, as a Reaſon, why his Legates ſhould be allowed to preſide. *It is fit*, ſays he, *that* Paſchaſinus *ſhould preſide at the Council in my Name; becauſe ſome Biſhops have not withſtood the Efforts of Error with due Firmneſs and Conſtancy* [p]. And truly, if we reflect on the Conduct of the chief Biſhops in the Eaſt, we ſhall find them all equally exceptionable, all equally unworthy of being placed at the Head of ſuch an Aſſembly. *Dioſcorus*, *Juvenalis*, and *Thalaſſius* were the chief Authors of the Violences committed at *Epheſus*; *Stephen* of *Epheſus* had not only yielded to their Violences himſelf, but forced others to yield; and beſides, was not a lawful Biſhop, having ſeized on the See of *Epheſus* by Force, and by Force kept himſelf in it; and was afterwards, on that account, depoſed by the Council. *Maximus* of *Antioch* had been ordained in the room of *Domnus*, who had been unjuſtly depoſed by the Council of *Epheſus*. *Anaſtaſius* of *Theſſalonica* did not aſſiſt in Perſon, and if he had, he would never have pretended to preſide, when the Legates of the Pope were preſent, whoſe Vicar he was for the Provinces of *Eaſt Illyricum*. *Anatolius* of *Conſtantinople* might indeed have claimed the Right of preſiding at a Council held within the Limits of his Juriſdiction, and perhaps did; for he was canonically choſen upon the Death of *Flavianus*, and canonically ordained. But as he had been ordained by *Dioſcorus*, and had formerly lived in great Friendſhip with that Prelate (for he was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and his Nuncio at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, when he was raiſed to that See), it was juſtly apprehended he would not judge impartially, but might be ſomewhat biaſſed in favour of his old Friend. From what I have ſaid it is manifeſt, that *Calvin* was, at leaſt, better acquainted with the Hiſtory of the Church, and the State of Affairs at this time in the Eaſt, then the great Champion

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Reaſon why the Pope's Legates preſided at this Council.

The chief Biſhops all alike exceptionable.

Calvin *better acquainted with the State of Affairs at this time than* Bellarmine.

[p] Leo ep. 69.

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pion of the *Roman* See, *Bellarmine:* for the former having written, that *Leo* begged it of the Emperor as a Favour, that his Legates might be allowed to preside at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and that the Emperor granted him his Request, because he found none besides them, on whom he thought proper to confer such an Honour at that Juncture; the latter styles both these Assertions *bare-faced and most impudent Lyes*, adding, *That* Leo *sent his Legates to preside without asking the Emperor's Leave, or any body's else* q. But which of the Two was guilty of a bare-faced and most impudent Lye, I leave the Reader to judge. And after all the Imperial Commissioners may be properly said to have presided; for the Council was intirely governed by them, and by the Pope's Legates only in their Absence. Hence they are always named the first, and the Bishops after them, in the Order they were placed.

The great Arrogance of the Pope's Legates.

When the Bishops were all seated, the Pope's Legates rising up, and advancing into the middle of the Assembly, *We have here*, said *Paschasinus*, holding a Paper in his Hand, *an Order from the most Blessed and Apostolic Pope of the City of* Rome, *which is the Head of all Churches, by which his Apostleship had been pleased to command* (præcipere dignatus est ejus Apostolatus), *that* Dioscorus, *Bishop of* Alexandria, *should not be allowed to sit in the Council. Let him therefore be ordered to withdraw, else we must withdraw.* The Commissioners asked, what they had to object against *Dioscorus* in particular. *He must*, replied *Lucentius*, *be called to account for the Judgment he gave at* Ephesus, *where he presumed to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See; which has never been thought lawful, which has never been done: as he is therefore to be judged, he ought not to sit as a Judge.* Here one of the Commissioners interrupting him, *Neither ought you*, said he, *to sit as a Judge, since you take upon you to act as a Party. However, let us know what particular Crime you lay to the Charge of* Dioscorus; *for it is not agreeable to Justice or Reason that he alone should be charged with a Crime, of which many others are no less guilty than he.* To this the Legates made no other Reply, than that *Leo* would by no means suffer *Dioscorus* to sit or act in that Assembly as a Judge, and that they must withdraw, if he did, agreeably to their Instructions. The Commissioners finding them unalterable, and apprehending the

They will not allow Dioscorus *to sit as a Judge.*

q Bellar. de Concil. et Eccl. l. 1. c. 19.

Disturbances,

Disturbances, which their absenting themselves from the Council would occasion, yielded at last; and, ordering *Dioscorus* to quit his Seat, placed him by himself, as a Person accused, in the midst of the Assembly [r].

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Who is placed in the middle of the Assembly.

It is hard to conceive what the Legates meant, by charging it as a Crime upon *Dioscorus*, that he had presumed to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See: for it was not by him, but by the Emperor *Theodosius*, that the Council of *Ephesus*, and they could mean no other, was assembled; and to the assembling of that Council *Leo* consented; that is, he obeyed the Summons of the Emperor, inviting him to it, and was present in the Legates, whom he sent to act in his room; and no other Consent had been hitherto required of the Bishops of *Rome*, or any other Bishop. As to what the Legates added, that it had never been thought lawful to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Bishops of *Rome*, that it had never been done, it is so repugnant to Truth, that might the Authenticity of the Acts of the Council be questioned, no Man, who has but dipt into Ecclesiallical History, would believe they could have had the Assurance gravely to advance, in an Assembly of 630 Bishops, such notorious and palpable Falshoods. And yet their Authority is alleged by *Bellarmine* [s], and after him by all the *Roman* Catholic Divines, to prove, that the Power of assembling Oecumenical Councils is vested in the Pope alone, as if their Authority could be of any Weight, or deserve the least Regard, when it evidently contradicts the most unexceptionable Monuments Antiquity can produce.

Dioscorus *falsly charged by the Legates, with having assembled the Council of* Ephesus.

But to return to the Council, in the first Session *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum*, appearing against *Dioscorus*, charged him with having approved, in the late Council of *Ephesus*, the Doctrine of One Nature in Christ, with having condemned the Doctrine of Two Natures, deposed *Flavianus* for maintaining it, and forced, by introducing armed Men into the Council, all the Bishops there present to sign the unjust Sentence which he had pronounced. In answer to the first Part of the Charge, he owned, without betraying the least Fear or Concern, that he had condemned, still did, and ever would condemn the Doctrine of Two Natutes in Christ, and all who maintained it; that he held no other Doctrine, but what he had learned of the Fathers, especially of *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, and *Cyril*; that he had chosen

Charge brought against Dioscorus.

His Firmness and Intrepidity.

[r] Concil. t. 4. p. 93. 96. [s] Bellar. de Concil. et eccl. l. 1. c. 12.

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rather to condemn *Flavianus* than them; and that thoſe who did not like his Doctrine might uſe him as they pleaſed, now they were uppermoſt, and had the Power in their Hands, but in what manner ſoever they ſhould think fit to uſe him, he was unalterably determined, his Soul being at ſtake, to live and die in the Faith which he had hitherto profeſſed. As to his having forced the Biſhops to ſign the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, he anſwered, that the Conſtancy of every Chriſtian, and much more of a Biſhop, ought to be Proof againſt all kind of Violence, and Death itſelf; that the Charge brought by *Euſebius* lay heavier againſt them than it did againſt him, and therefore it was incumbent upon them, as the more guilty, to anſwer it [t]. In the ſecond Seſſion were received and read ſeveral Memorials, charging *Dioſcorus* with many enormous Crimes, with leading a lewd and debauched Life, to the great Scandal of his Flock, and even with attempting to uſurp the Sovereignty, and ſtyling himſelf King of *Egypt*. Theſe Memorials were all addreſſed, *To* Leo *the moſt Holy, Bleſſed, and Univerſal Patriarch of the great City of* Rome, *and to the Holy and Oecumenical Council of* Chalcedon [u]. Some have laid great Streſs on the Title of *Univerſal Patriarch* given here to *Leo*, not reflecting, that in the Council of *Epheſus* the ſame Title was given to *Dioſcorus* [w], and conſequently, that it was, with reſpect to both, a mere Compliment, owing to that Flattery which has been in all Ages peculiar to the *Greeks*. At this Seſſion *Dioſcorus* was not preſent, but nevertheleſs as he had been Three times ſummoned, the Legates, after a ſhort Recapitulation of the Crimes laid to his Charge, with the Conſent of the Council, proceeded to the Sentence, and declared him depoſed from the Epiſcopal Dignity. The Sentence was pronounced in *Leo*'s Name, and thus worded; Leo *Archbiſhop of the great and antient* Rome, *by us, and the preſent Synod, with the Authority of St.* Peter, *on whom the Catholic Church and Orthodox Faith are founded, deveſts* Dioſcorus *of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and declares him henceforth incapable of exerciſing any Sacerdotal or Epiſcopal Functions.* This Sentence was ſigned by the whole Council, and immediately tranſmitted to the Emperor, who not only confirmed it, but ſoon after confined *Dioſcorus* to the City of *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, where he died in the Year 454. the Third of his Exile, anathematizing to his laſt Breath the Doctrine of Two

He is charged with many enormous Crimes.

Dioſcorus *condemned, and depoſed.*

He is baniſhed.

[t] Concil. t. 4. p. 173—181. [u] Concil. ibid. p. 394. [w] Concil. ibid. p. 270.

Natures,

Natures, and all who held it [x]. The remaining Seſſions were chiefly employed in reſtoring to their Sees the Biſhops, who had been depoſed by the Council of *Epheſus*; in deciding Controverſies between neighbouring Biſhops in point of Juriſdiction; and above all in ſettling the Catholic Belief, with reſpect to the Myſtery of the Incarnation, which occaſioned warm Diſputes. But at laſt a Symbol or Creed was happily compoſed, to which they all agreed; and the Subſtance of it was; That there is but one Chriſt, perfect God, and perfect Man, in his Divinity conſubſtantial with God, and conſubſtantial with us in his Humanity; that in him the Two Natures were united without Change, Diviſion, or Mixture; and ſubſiſted not in Two Perſons, but in One, agreeably to the Symbol of *Nice* [y]. This the Fathers of the Council would not allow to be called a *Symbol* or *Creed*, but only a *Decree*, the compoſing of any new Symbols or Creeds having been ſtrictly forbidden by the Firſt Council of *Epheſus*, which was univerſally received.

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The Decree or Symbol compoſed by this Council.

If we compare the Doctrine, contained in this Symbol or Decree, with that which was taught by *Eutyches*, we ſhall find the pretended Hereſiarch to have been, at the Bottom, no leſs orthodox than *Leo* himſelf. For *Dioſcorus*, whom we may ſuppoſe to have been well acquainted with his Doctrine, in the very firſt Seſſion of the preſent Council, anathematized all, *who admitted in the Incarnation any Change of the divine Nature, any Confuſion or Mixture of the Two Natures* [z]; which was confeſſing *the Two Natures to have been united in Chriſt without Change, Diviſion, or Mixture.* In the ſame Seſſion *Euſtathius* of *Berytus*, who maintained the Doctrine of *Eutyches* with no leſs Warmth than *Dioſcorus*, anathematized *all, who, by acknowleging but one Nature, denied Chriſt to be conſubſtantial with us according to his Humanity, or, by acknowleging Two, divided Chriſt* [a], which was owning Chriſt *to be conſubſtantial with us in his Humanity*, agreeably to the preſent Decree. That Chriſt was perfect God and perfect Man, that in him there was but one Perſon or Hypoſtaſis, was never denied or even queſtioned by *Eutyches*, or any of his Followers. As to the Expreſſion of *the one incarnate Nature of the Word*, it had been uſed by *Cyril*; *Flavianus* himſelf owned, that in one Senſe he did not reject it [b]; and F. *Pe-*

Eutyches *no leſs Orthodox than* Leo.

[x] Concil. t. 4. p. 426. Leo ep. 81. Evag. l. 2. c. 3. [y] Concil. ibid. p. 566.
[z] Concil. t. 4. p. 173. [a] Ibid. p. 176. [b] Concil. ibid. p. 16.

tau

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tau plainly shews, that it may be understood in a Catholic, as well as in an heretical Sense [a]. And yet when *Eustathius* of *Berytus* was charged before the Council with having used that Expression, they all cried out, without requiring or allowing him to explain it, that he was guilty of Heresy; which so provoked that Prelate that having then in his Hand the Book, in which *Cyril* had used the same Expression, he threw it at them, saying, *Read what* Cyril *says; it is* Cyril *you anathematize, and I am proud of being anathematized with him* [b]. From what I have said it is manifest, that the contending Parties agreed in the Substance, and only quarreled, as they had done in the Case of *Nestorius*, about Words and Expressions. *Eutyches*, it is true, maintained, that there was only One Nature in Christ; but he thereby meant no more than that there was but One Christ, as evidently appears from the Inferences which he and his Followers drew from the admitting of Two Natures. But as the Expressions he used might be easily wrested to an heretical Sense (and so might the Expressions of those who opposed him), his Enemies, especially the Orientals, whom he had greatly disobliged, understood them in that, deduced from them, and would not understand them in any other Sense. As for *Leo*, it was only upon the Information, which *Flavianus*, and those who with him had condemned *Eutyches*, were pleased to give him, that he could judge of his Doctrine: and by them he was so far imposed upon as to believe, that the Sentiments, which they ascribed to him, because deducible, as they thought, from his Doctrine, were really his, and owned by him. This plainly appears from his famous Letter; for he employs the far greater Part of it in combating a Heretic of *Flavianus*'s making, and confuting Opinions, which *Eutyches* was no less ready to anathematize than he. When the Point in Dispute was examined in the present Council with more Attention, and less Prejudice, than it had been in those of *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*, it appeared, that the only Difference between the *Eutychians* and their Adversaries was, that the latter maintained Christ to be *in Two Natures*, and *of Two Natures* (ἐν δύο φύσεσι, καὶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων), whereas the former would not allow him to be *in*, but only *of*, *Two Natures*. And it was this small Difference, in speaking of a Mystery so much above the Comprehension of human Understanding, that set all the Bishops of the

The Two Parties quarreled about Words.

And held the same Doctrine.

[a] Pet. dog. t. 4. l. 1. c. 14. [b] Concil. t. 4. p. 173.

Church at Variance, and inflamed them to the Degree we have ſeen, againſt each other, that occaſioned the aſſembling of ſo many Councils, the depoſing and perſecuting of ſo many Biſhops, and was likely to have produced no leſs Diſturbances in the State than it did in the Church, as the Princes in thoſe Days intereſted themſelves warmly in the Quarrels of the Eccleſiaſtics. How many Evils would have been prevented, had *Flavianus* followed the friendly Advice which *Eutyches* gave him? For the latter being interrogated by him in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, whether he believed in Two Natures after the Incarnation, *I believe*, he replied, *that Chriſt is perfect God, and perfect Man; but here I ſtop, and adviſe you to do ſo too.* But it was the Miſery and Vice of theſe Times that in all Church Diſputes they ſought for Contention and Victory, not for Peace, and would never ſtop till by Deductions and Conſequences, often very unfair, they had drawn their Adverſaries into ſome Trap of Words, which might implicate them in the Hereſy laid to their Charge. The moſt Orthodox of the Clergy could not ſpeak or write on the Myſteries of our Faith, without imminent Danger of having their Expreſſions miſunderſtood, or wilfully wreſted, by their Enemies, into an heretical Senſe; which was no ſooner done than they were accuſed, and Councils aſſembled to judge of their Doctrine, or rather to condemn it, upon their own Interpretations; the Peace of the whole Church, and ſometimes of the State, was diſturbed by the Flame, that was raiſed upon theſe Diſputes; and at laſt the contending Parties were found to have differed only in Words, and about Points which neither was able to explain. Upon the Whole, it may truly be ſaid, that it was in theſe Times no leſs dangerous to ſpeak or write upon Matters of Faith, than under the greateſt Tyrants, upon Matters of State: for as every thing there, that is ſaid or written, may be called Treaſon, ſo every thing here was called Hereſy, and puniſhed as ſuch: nor are innocent Men in more Danger there from Informers or *Delatores*, than they were here from every Prieſt or Monk with whom they converſed, or who read their Books, eſpecially when the Zeal of the latter was ſharpened, as in theſe Times it generally was, by Deſire of Revenge for ſome former Perſecution, which they had ſuffered themſelves.

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On the 25th of *October*, when the Sixth Seſſion was held, the Emperor *Marcian* came in Perſon to the Council, and in his Preſence the Symbol or Decree, which I have mentioned above, was read, approved, and ſigned, by all the Members of the Aſſembly. The

The Emperor Marcian *comes in Perſon to the Council.*

Pope's

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Pope's Legates signed the first in the Name of *Leo*, whom *Lucentius* styled *Bishop of the whole Church*, and the other Two *Bishop of the universal Church of* Rome [c]. The other Bishops signed, according to the Rank of their Sees, declaring, that they did it freely, and of their own Accord, because they believed that, and no other, to be the genuine Doctrine of the Apostles [d].

The Symbol or Decree signed by all.

Matters of Faith being thus settled to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the Council took next the Discipline of the Church into Consideration; when the famous Canon was enacted, vesting the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who had long since begun to rival the Bishop of *Rome*, with a new Power, or rather confirming to him that, which in Imitation of the Bishop of *Rome*, he had already assumed. The Bishop of *Byzantium* was at first but a Suffragan to the Bishop of *Heraclea* Exarch of the Diocese of *Thrace*, comprehending Six Provinces; *viz. Thrace*, *Rhodope*, *Europa*, *Hæmimontis*, *Mœsia Secunda*, and *Scythia*. But *Byzantium* being chosen by *Constantine* for the Place of his Residence, honoured with his Name, and made the Seat of another Empire, the Bishops of this new Metropolis, thinking their See raised with the City, not only withdrew all Subjection to their Exarch, but taking great State upon them, began to act as if they had been as much exalted above other Bishops, as their City was above other Cities. This gave, as we may well imagine, no small Umbrage to their Brethren; but the great Interest the Bishops of *Constantinople* had at Court, enabling them to oblige or disoblige whom they pleased, the other Prelates chose rather to gain their Favour by yielding to their Ambition, than incur their Displeasure by opposing it. Hence the Grandeur of the See of *Constantinople*, and the Splendor the Bishop of that City lived in, began very early to dazle the Eyes of those, who most panted after Honour and Promotion. *Eusebius* strove, even in *Constantine*'s Time, to exchange the Metropolitan See of *Nicomedia* for that of *Constantinople*, though the latter had not yet been distinguished by the Canons with any particular Mark of Dignity: and a few Years after *Eudoxius*, a Prelate of an unbounded Ambition, was translated to the same See from that of *Antioch*, which was one of the Three great Patriarchal Sees. In the Year 383. the Bishops of *Constantinople* were already so far exalted, by the Connivance and tacit Consent of their Collegues, as

The Rise of the See of Constantinople.

[c] Concil. t. 4. p. 576. Facund. l. 5. c. 3.

[d] Concil. ibid. p. 607.

to

to take place of all the Biſhops in the Eaſt. Hence at the Second Oecumenical Council, held in that Year at *Conſtantinople*, *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, then Biſhop of that City, was allowed to preſide, though the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Firſt, by the Canons, after that of *Rome*, was preſent; an Honour which *Gregory*, who was an utter Enemy to all Pride and Oſtentation, would never have claimed, nor even accepted, had he not been intitled to it by an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, and the unanimous Conſent of his Brethren. From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that the Second Oecumenical Council only confirmed to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* an Honour for which he had already the Sanction of an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, when the Fathers of that Aſſembly decreed, that *the Biſhop of new* Rome *ſhould have the firſt Place of Honour after the Biſhop of old* Rome [e]. It is obſervable, that *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*, who was preſent when this Canon was made, and had, by the Regulations obſerved till that time, an undoubted Right to the firſt Place of Honour after the Biſhop of *Rome*, never once offered to oppoſe this new Regulation, nor to diſpute with *Nectarius*, choſen in the room of *Gregory*, who reſigned while the Council was yet ſitting, the Honour of preſiding at ſuch an Aſſembly. And what elſe could inſpire that Prelate with ſo much Moderation, when his Rank and the Dignity of his See were at Stake, but his knowing, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* enjoyed already, by an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, which it was now in vain to oppoſe, the Honour conferred on him by that Canon? It is therefore altogether ſurpriſing, that *Leo* ſhould have roundly aſſerted, as he did in one of his Letters [f], that the above-mentioned Canon never took place. If he really believed it never did, he betrayed an Ignorance of what paſſed in the Eaſt quite unaccountable. For that the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* peaceably enjoyed the firſt Rank of Honour in the Eaſt, even before that Canon was made, has been ſufficiently ſhewn; and to ſuppoſe, that they would have parted with it, after it had been confirmed to them by the Decree of an Oecumenical Council, which gave them the ſame Right to the Second Place among the Prelates of the Church as the Biſhop of *Rome* had to the Firſt, is not only abſurd and ridiculous, but evidently repugnant to the known Practice, that obtained in the Eaſt. For not to ſpeak of Metropolitans, but only Patriarchs, who yielded the Precedency to

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[e] Concil. t. 4. p. 814. [f] Leo ep. 79.

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the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 394. *Nectarius* preſided at a Council which was compoſed of all the moſt eminent Prelates in the Eaſt, there being preſent, among the reſt, the famous *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, *Helladius* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and *Paul* of *Heraclea*, all Patriarchs [g]. *Theophilus* wanted neither Courage nor Ambition to maintain his Rank, and was not a Man tamely to yield what he could have diſputed. *Siſinnius* of *Conſtantinople*, a Prelate univerſally commended for his Moderation, and quite incapable of claiming any kind of Pre-eminence, to which he had not an undoubted Right, preſided at a Council held in the Year 426. at which ſeveral Patriarchs aſſiſted, and *Theodoſius* of *Antioch* among the reſt [h]. In all the Accounts we have of the Councils held in the Eaſt after the Second Oecumenical Council, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* is conſtantly named the firſt [i]. It is true that in the Second Council of *Epheſus* the Fifth Place was allotted to *Flavianus*; but he was there conſidered as a Party; and the Pope's Legates complained, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, of the Injuſtice that had been done him in Defiance of the Canons, meaning, no doubt, the Canon placing him next to the Biſhop of *old Rome*; and that Place was accordingly given to his Succeſſor *Anatolius*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, though many Patriarchs, and among the reſt thoſe of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were preſent. *Leo* therefore either advanced what he knew to be falſe, or was groſly miſtaken, and leſs acquainted with what had paſſed in the Eaſt than one would think he could poſſibly have been, when he ſo poſitively aſſerted, that the Canon in favour of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had never taken place.

The Biſhops of Conſtantinople *aſſume the Patriarchal Authority over the Dioceſe of* Thrace.

But, after all, no Power, no Authority or Juriſdiction, was granted by that Canon to the See of *Conſtantinople:* it was placed only in *Rank* and *Dignity* next to the See of *Rome*. However, as Dignity naturally inſpires a Deſire of Power, and is, at the ſame time, a moſt effectual means of attaining it, the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* no ſooner found themſelves thus raiſed above their Collegues, than they took upon them by Degrees to exerciſe a Power anſwering the Rank, to which they were raiſed. They began with *Thrace*, and alleging that *Conſtantinople*, which was the Head of that Dioceſe, according to the Civil Polity eſtabliſhed by *Conſtantine*, ought to be ſo too

[g] Concil. t. 2. p. 1151. [h] Phot. c. 55. [i] Concil. t. 3. p. 1059. Concil. ap. p. 887. et t. 4. p. 116. 234. 735. 738.

according

according to the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, which was founded on the Civil, they aſſumed at once the Title, claimed the Rights, and exerciſed, within the Limits of that Dioceſe, all Juriſdiction peculiar to a Patriarch. And thus was the Patriarch degraded almoſt into the Rank of a Suffragan, and the Suffragan raiſed to that of a Patriarch. As we read of no Oppoſition made to ſo great a Change by the Biſhop of *Heraclea*, till this time the Patriarchal See, we may well conclude it to have been effected with the Concurrence, or moſt probably, by the Command of the Court, where the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* bore a great Sway. They were not long ſatisfied with this new Juriſdiction. Their Ambition increaſing as their Power increaſed, they ſoon began to extend their Authority beyond the Limits of the Dioceſe of *Thrace*, and invade the neighbouring Dioceſes of *Pontus* and *Aſia*. The firſt, who paved the Way for theſe Encroachments of the See of *Conſtantinople* in thoſe Parts, was *Chryſoſtom*, who being invited by the Biſhops of *Aſia*, upon the Demiſe of their *Exarch Antoninus*, to ſettle the Affairs of that Church, which he had left in a deplorable Condition, aſſembled a Council at *Epheſus*, and there depoſed ſeveral Biſhops convicted of Simony, appointed others in their room, ordained the new Biſhop of *Epheſus*; and on his Return through the Dioceſe of *Pontus* took upon him to depoſe the Metropolitan of *Bithynia*, in ſpite of the ſtrong Oppoſition he met with there both from the People and Clergy, and to appoint him, by his own Authority, a Succeſſor [k]. With his Conduct in *Aſia* no Fault can be found; for he was invited thither by the *Aſiatics* themſelves, and acted in Concert with them. But his exercíſing the like Juriſdiction in the Dioceſe of *Pontus*, whither he had not been invited, was an open Violation of the Canons, and as ſuch alleged againſt him in the famous Council *ad Quercum*. However, *Atticus* his immediate Succeſſor, treading in his Footſteps, not only claimed the Power of ordaining Biſhops in the Two Dioceſes of *Pontus* and *Aſia*, but procured a Law from the Emperor veſting in him alone that Power [l]. But ſuch a Privilege was only perſonal, was granted to him, and not to his See [m]. Hence, upon his Death, the Biſhops of *Aſia* and *Pontus* reſuming the Exerciſe of the Right, which the Canons gave them, began to ſupply the vacant Sees, as they had formerly done, without the Conſent, or even the Knowlege of the Biſhop of

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Invade thoſe of Pontus *and* Aſia.

Chryſoſtom *the firſt who exerciſed Juriſdiction there.*

Which is veſted by Law in his immediate Succeſſor.

[k] Soz. l. 8. c. 6. Pallad. vit. Chryſ. [l] Socr. l. 9. c. 28. [m] Idem ibid.

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And maintained by the reſt.

Conſtantinople. But the Succeſſors of *Atticus*, pretending the above-mentioned Prerogative to have been granted to him, as Biſhop of the Imperial City, and therefore to his See, and all who ſhould ſucceed him in it, claimed it as their Right, and being ſupported in this, as they were in their other Uſurpations, by the Court, exerciſed, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, the ſame Power and Juriſdiction in the Dioceſes of *Pontus* and *Aſia*, as they did in *Thrace*. They had learnt, it ſeems, of the Biſhops of *Rome*, the important Leſſon, never to part with any Power which they had once acquired, by what Means, and upon what Terms ſoever, they had acquired it.

Their extenſive Power.

And now the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had raiſed himſelf, in the Courſe of a few Years, from the low Condition of a Suffragan, to that of a Patriarch, and the greateſt Patriarch in Power and Juriſdiction, then upon Earth, having under him not one Dioceſe only, as the other Patriarchs, but Three, compriſing Twenty-ſeven Provinces, and as many Metropolitans. And it is obſervable, that in all thoſe Provinces he exerciſed both the Metropolitan and Patriarchal Juriſdiction, ordaining the common Biſhops as well as the Metropolitans: nay, he carried his Uſurpations ſo far, as not only to ordain, but even to name, both the Metropolitans and other Biſhops, without conſulting either the People or Clergy, pretending thereby to prevent the Diſturbances often attending popular Elections, and the raiſing to the Epiſcopal Dignity Men incapable of diſcharging, as they ought, the Duties of that Office [n]. Such an extenſive, abſolute, and uncoutrouled Juriſdiction might, one would think, have ſatisfied the Ambition of thoſe Prelates. But the Deſire of Power, like that of Wealth, knows no Bounds, is ever reſtleſs, and whetted, rather than allayed, by the Acquiſitions it makes. The Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* no ſooner found themſelves in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Power they had uſurped, than they began to think of extending it further by new Uſurpations. They thought themſelves now a Match for the Biſhop of *Rome*; and accordingly made their firſt Attempt on *Eaſt Illyricum*, over which *Rome* had long exerciſed an uſurped Juriſdiction. Thus did the Two great Uſurpers firſt meet, when that of *Conſtantinople* was ſhamefully foiled, *Boniface*, who then governed the *Roman* Church, having, by better concerted Meaſures, utterly defeated thoſe of his Rival. The latter therefore, finding in the Biſhop of *Rome*

They invade the Provinces ſubject to the Biſhop of Rome.

But without Succeſs.

[n] Concil. t. 4. p. 838. Socr. l. 7. c. 37.

too

too ſubtle and powerful an Adverſary to contend with, abandoned the Enterprize for the preſent, and, turning his Efforts againſt the Patriarch of *Antioch*, leſs powerful than that of *Rome* or *Alexandria*, made himſelf in that Patriarchate ſufficient Amends for his late Diſappointment. For not long after *Flavianus* of *Conſtantinople* not only received an Appeal from a Council held at *Antioch*, but reſtored to their former Dignity Two Eccleſiaſtics, who had been depoſed by that Council [o]; which a Man of his Modeſty and Moderation [p] would never have attempted, had not his Predeceſſors extended their Juriſdiction over that Patriarchate. *Anatolius*, who ſucceeded *Flavianus*, and was at this time Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, not only took upon him to ordain *Maximus* of *Antioch*, but to divide the Province of *Phœnicia*, one of the chief Provinces of that Patriarchate, into Two, and even to excommunicate the Metropolitan of *Tyre*, becauſe he would not conſent to that Diviſion; and this without giving himſelf the Trouble, or thinking it neceſſary to conſult *Maximus*, though he was then at *Conſtantinople*, or even mention it to him [q].

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They extend their Juriſdiction over the Patriarchate of Antioch.

Thus did the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, out of the Five Dioceſes, into which the whole Eaſt was divided, ſubject, in the Courſe of a few Years, Four to their See. But this extenſive Juriſdiction was a bare-faced Uſurpation, repugnant to the Canons, and intirely owing to the Intereſt they had at Court, and the Deference, that was thereupon paid them by their Brethren. Of this *Anatolius*, the preſent Biſhop, was well appriſed, and therefore deſirous of building his Power on a more ſtable Foundation, he reſolved to apply to the Fathers aſſembled at *Chalcedon*; not doubting but, as his See had been declared the Second in Dignity, they would allow him Juriſdiction and Power ſuitable to his Rank. However, as he was a Prelate of excellent Parts, and great Penetration, he thought it adviſeable, in the firſt Place, to ſound the Diſpoſition of the Imperial Commiſſioners, as well as the Biſhops, who compoſed the Council; and theſe he found all highly incenſed againſt the Pope and his Legates, and ready to concur in any Meaſures that could more effectually enable the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to check the growing Power, and oppoſe the daily Encroachments of the Biſhop of *Rome*. What chiefly incenſed them againſt the Pope was the unſeaſonable Concern he betrayed,

Anatolius *applies to the Council of* Chalcedon *for a Confirmation of the Juriſdiction enjoyed by his See.*

The Imperial Commiſſioners, as well as the Biſhops, of the Council, incenſed againſt the Pope; and why.

[o] Concil. t. 4. p. 981. [p] Leo ep. 97. [q] Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

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trayed, at ſo critical a Juncture, for the Honour and Dignity of his See. For though he thought the Orthodox Faith to be in imminent Danger; though he had often declared, that nothing could ſave the Church but an Oecumenical Council; yet when he had in the End prevailed upon the Emperors, partly by his Letters, partly by his Sighs and Tears, to aſſemble one, he not only refuſed to aſſiſt in it in Perſon, becauſe it was not held in *Italy*, but would not ſend Legates to ſupply his room, till it was agreed, that they ſhould preſide; and that even the Presbyters, who repreſented him, ſhould take place of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and all the Patriarchs of the Eaſt. His ſtanding upon ſuch Punctilio's, when the Peace and Unity of the Church were at ſtake, gave great Offence both to his Friends and his Enemies.

Even his Friends provoked at the Conduct of his Legates.

To this was added the haughty Behaviour of his Legates, who preſuming on the Emperor's Favour, took ſuch State upon them in the Council, as neither the Commiſſioners, nor Biſhops could bear. But what moſt of all ſhocked them was, that the firſt Legate in giving Judgment againſt *Dioſcorus*, and pardoning thoſe, who had concurred with him in his violent Meaſures, aſcribed the one and the other chiefly to *Leo*, and only to the Council as acting by his Authority, and in his Name. Leo *depoſes*, Leo *forgives by us, and the preſent Council*, &c. were the Words of the Sentence, as if the whole Power had been lodged in him, and by him communicated to the Council, no otherwiſe than it was to his Legates. Such Arrogance and Preſumption eſtranged from the Biſhop of *Rome*, even thoſe whom he had perſonally obliged, and who, on that Score, had been hitherto greatly attached to his See. *Anatolius* therefore, thinking this a proper Seaſon to apply for a Confirmation of the Privileges, and Juriſdiction, which his See enjoyed only by Cuſtom, cauſed *Aetius*, Archdeacon of *Conſtantinople*, it not being proper that he himſelf ſhould appear in an Affair of that Nature, to move it in the Council. As, except the Pope's Legates, and the Biſhops of *Illyricum*, the Council intirely conſiſted of Eaſtern Biſhops; as they were all alike jealous of the growing Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and wanted, as ſome of them openly declared [r], a no leſs powerful Protector to defend them againſt his Encroachments, the Motion was approved, and the famous Canon, the 28th of the Council of *Chalcedon*, made and ſigned by all the Biſhops who were preſent.

[r] Concil. t. 4. p. 814, 815.

By

By that Canon was confirmed the Decree of the Second Oecumenical Council, placing the Biſhop of *New Rome* next, in Dignity, to the Biſhop of *Old Rome*. 2dly, The former was veſted with a Patriarchal Juriſdiction over the Three Dioceſes of *Pontus*, *Aſia*, and *Thrace*. 3dly, He was impowered to ordain all Biſhops in ſuch Places of thoſe Dioceſes as were in the Hands of the Barbarians; which was, in other Parts, the Privilege of the Metropolitans. And laſtly were granted to the See of *Conſtantinople* in general Terms, and without Reſtriction or Limitation, all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Privileges, that had ever been granted to, or enjoyed by the See of *Rome* [s]. Thus was the See of *Conſtantinople* equaled in all things, but Precedency, to the See of *Rome*; and the ſo much boaſted Supremacy of that See reduced to a mere Primacy of Order and Dignity. The Decree met at firſt with ſome Oppoſition from the Biſhops of *Aſia* and *Pontus*; but it was ſigned in the End by all but the Biſhops of *Illyricum*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, Exarch of *Aſia*, *Euſebius* of *Ancyra*, and perhaps a few more. *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* in *Syria*, one of the moſt pious and learned Prelates at that time in the Church, ſigned among the reſt, and likewiſe *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum*, though he had been received and entertained at *Rome* with great Kindneſs by *Leo*, when he was driven from his See, and had been reſtored to it chiefly by his Means and Intereſt [t].

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The Biſhop of Conſtantinople *equaled in every thing but Precedency to the Biſhop of* Rome.

As for the Legates; the Motion was no ſooner made by *Aetius*, than they quitted their Seats, and, declaring that they had no Directions *from the Archbiſhop of the great City of* Rome concerning Matters of that Nature, withdrew in great Haſte from the Council. And truly *Leo*, ſuſpecting ſome ſuch Deſign, had ſtrictly injoined them, in their ſecret Inſtructions, to remember the Dignity of him who ſent them; to repreſent him by a ſuitable Conduct and Behaviour, and to oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their Power, ſuch as, preſuming on the Dignity of their Cities, ſhould, on that Score, claim or arrogate to themſelves any Rights or Privileges that had not been yet granted them by the Canons [u]. It was in Compliance with theſe Inſtructions that they withdrew, vainly promiſing themſelves, that their Example would be followed by many others, and the Motion by that means be dropt. But, to their great Mortification, of the many

The Pope's Legates withdraw from the Council.

[s] Concil. ib. p. 795. 798. [t] Concil. ib. p. 798, 799. 803. [u] Concil. ib. p. 726.

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Bishops who were present, not one offered to stir from his Place: so that they retired alone, and in the utmost Confusion. Being thus withdrawn, they waited with Fear and Impatience to hear what had passed; and were no sooner informed, than they applied to the Commissioners, earnestly intreating them to order the Fathers of the Council to meet once more; for that was supposed to be the last Session. They met accordingly, and the very next Day; when *Paschasinus*, having first begged Leave of the Commissioners to speak, *We are informed*, said he, *that some Regulations were made Yesterday, which we apprehend to be repugnant to the Canons, and inconsistent with the Peace of the Church, which the Emperor has been labouring with so much Zeal and Application to settle; therefore, as they were made in our Absence, we beg they may be read. In your Absence?* replied *Aetius, you absented yourselves, and left the Council, though I intreated and even pressed you to stay.* He then delivered the Canon to be read, with the Names of all the Bishops who had signed it, which so surprised *Paschasinus*, that he could not utter one single Word. But his Collegue *Lucentius* rising up, said, *The Bishops have been imposed upon; they have not signed freely; they have been forced.* But that Reproach the Bishops answered, all crying out, with one Voice, *No kind of Violence has been used; we all knew what we were doing, and we did it freely; we did it of our own Accord.* Not satisfied with this Declaration in common, the chief Men among them protested in particular, that no Violence, no Artifice had been used, but that they had all signed of their own Motion [u]. And yet *Leo*, to prejudice the World against that Canon, maintained to the last, that it had been extorted by Force; and the Violence, that had been used with the Bishops, who signed it, he often alleges, in his Letters, as a Reason why it should be universally rejected [w]. Did his Legates never inform him of what had passed? Did he never peruse the Acts of the Council, though often referred to them by *Anatolius?* Or did he advance, because it best served his Purpose, what he himself knew to be false?

Their Example not followed by a single Bishop.

They oppose the Decree, falsly pretending it was surreptitious, or extorted by Force.

Or repugnant to the Canons of Nice.

The unanimous Declaration of the Bishops, that no kind of Force or Artifice had been used, leaving no room for the Legates to except against the Decree on that Score, they pretended in the next Place, that it was repugnant to the Sixth Canon of the Council of

[u] Ibid. p. 705, 809. [w] Leo ep. 79, 80. 87.

Nice.

Nice. But that Canon being read first by *Paschasinus*, and afterwards by *Aetius*; and the Bishops having all delivered it as their Opinion, that nothing had been enacted either by the present, or by the Second Oecumenical Council, that could be thought any way repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*; the Commissioners asked them, Whether they had willingly and freely signed the Canon in Dispute. Here they all protested anew, and called God to witness, that they had signed it of their own Accord, that no Compulsion had been used. The Commissioners therefore, finding the Legates had nothing further to offer, confirmed, in the Emperor's Name, what the Council had done, the Bishops applauding their Judgment, and all crying out, *This is a just Sentence; we are all of the same Opinion; we will all abide by the Judgment you give* [x]. The Legates complained of the Affront, as they styled it, that was offered to the Apostolic See in their Presence; protested against it; and addressing themselves to the Commissioners, desired, that their Protest might be entered in the Acts of the Council, that the Pope of the universal Church, knowing they had opposed such unlawful Proceedings, might judge himself of the Injustice that was done to his See, and take such Measures as he should think fit to redress it. The Commissioners returned them no Answer; but rising up, *What we have pronounced*, said they, *the whole Council has approved*; and thus put an End to that Session [y].

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The Canon is confirmed by the Imperial Commissioners.

The Bishops met again; but it was only to write to *Marcian* and *Leo*, and acquaint both with the Transactions of the Council. The Emperor, in hearing the Canons read, not only expressed the greatest Satisfaction at the Regard the Fathers had shewn for the See of the Imperial City; but apprehending from the Opposition, which the Pope's Legates had made to the 28th Canon, that the Pope himself might oppose it, and thereby involve the Church in new Troubles, he immediately dispatched *Lucianus* a Bishop of *Thrace*, and the Deacon *Basilius*, to *Rome*, charging them to leave nothing unattempted, that could divert *Leo* from opposing a Decree, that had been made, signed, and confirmed by so many Bishops. At the same time he wrote a very kind and friendly Letter to *Leo*, congratulating him on the good Success of the Council, and intreating him, with the greatest Condescension and Good-nature, to join the rest in what they had done in favour of the See of *Constantinople*, which he looked

The Emperor, the Empress, and Julian, *of* Cos *write to* Leo, *begging him to confirm the 28th Canon.*

[x] Concil. ibid. p. 809. 819. [y] Concil. ibid.

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upon as done to himſelf. The Emperor's Letter was accompanied by others from the Empreſs *Pulcheria*, from *Anatolius*, and from *Julian* of *Cos*, a Prelate, in whom *Leo* repoſed an intire Confidence, as being moſt zealouſly attached to the Orthodox Faith and his See. Theſe Letters were all calculated to ſooth *Leo*, and procure, by that Means, his Approbation of the above-mentioned Decree. *Julian* of *Cos*, in his Letter, alleged ſeveral Arguments to convince him, that ſuch a Regulation would, in the End, prove very advantageous even to thoſe Churches, that ſeemed to have moſt Reaſon to complain of it; and concluded with begging it as a Favour, for which he ſhould owe him an eternal Obligation, that he would not oppoſe the whole Body of the Eaſtern Biſhops in an Affair, that, properly ſpeaking, concerned them alone [z]. He was afraid, as appears from his Letter, that *Leo*, taking Umbrage at the extenſive Juriſdiction granted by the Council to the See of *Conſtantinople*, ſhould be thereby prompted, notwithſtanding his Prudence and Diſcretion, to enter into ſuch Meaſures as might endanger the Peace of the Church. Hence he was very preſſing with him not to condemn what a whole Council had approved, and the moſt numerous, and beſt conducted Council the World had yet ſeen. As for the Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the Council, he well knew they were unalterably determined to maintain their own Decree, whether the Pope approved it or no.

He oppoſes it with great Warmth.

It was by theſe Letters that *Leo* firſt heard of the Determination of the Council; and he no ſooner heard it, than, blind to all other Conſiderations, and only actuated by Jealouſy, Envy, and Ambition, he reſolved to oppoſe it with all his Might, and at all Events. He ſaw his Rival now but one Step behind him; he was apprehenſive he might ſoon get before him, and therefore, looking upon the Increaſe of his Power as a Diminution of his own, he determined to diſpute the former with the ſame Reſolution and Vigour he would the latter. He alſo ſaw the Conſequences of allowing the Dignity of the City to regulate that of the See, and was deſirous to eſtabliſh a different Notion for the Support of the pretended Dignity and Privileges of his See. That theſe were the Principles on which he acted, is but too plain; but to perſuade the World, that his Oppoſition was owing to more Chriſtian Motives, he took care to diſguiſe them with a pretended Zeal for the Decrees of *Nice*, for the Practice of Antiquity,

The true Reaſon why he oppoſed it.

[z] Concil. ibid. p. 798. Leo ep. 78, 79, 80, 81.

for

for the Rights and Privileges of the Patriarchal Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. And that Zeal, which he ſaid, it would be highly criminal in him not to exert, on ſuch an Occaſion, he alleged in his Anſwer to *Marcian* and *Pulcheria*, as the only Motive that reſtrained him from concurring with the reſt, in exalting, agreeably to their Inclination, the See of *Conſtantinople*. *Far be it from me*, ſaid he, in his Letter to *Marcian*, *to envy the See of* Conſtantinople *its due Luſtre: but as the Decree, lately enacted in favour of that See, is an open Violation of the Canons of* Nice; *as it is incumbent upon me to watch and ſee, that the Decrees of that great and venerable Aſſembly be punctually obſerved; I ſhould think myſelf guilty of an unpardonable Crime, ſhould I, upon any Conſideration whatever, connive at the leaſt Tranſgreſſion of thoſe ſacred Laws; Laws of eternal Authority, which no Council, however numerous, can ever abrogate or annul.* The ſame things he urges in his Anſwer to *Pulcheria*; only taking there more upon him, as he knew her to be greatly attached to his See, he declared, by the Authority of St. *Peter*, the late Decree void and null, as utterly inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed Diſcipline of the Church. In both Letters he aſcribes the procuring of ſuch unwarrantable Honours for the See of *Conſtantinople* to the Pride and Ambition of *Anatolius*; intreats both *Marcian* and *Pulcheria* to divert him, by their Authority, from purſuing ſuch wild Pretenſions; and concludes with declaring, that, as for himſelf, he is unalterably determined to withſtand them to his laſt Breath, thinking himſelf bound in Duty, as preſiding in the Apoſtolic See, to maintain the antient Cuſtoms, and oppoſe all Innovations, by whomſoever introduced [a]. In his Anſwer to *Anatolius* he even threatens to cut him off from his Communion, if he does not relinquiſh his Pretenſions [b], that is, if he does not renounce the Privileges and Honours, that had been quietly enjoyed by his Predeceſſors for a long Series of Years, and confirmed to his See, by the Decrees of Two Oecumenical Councils. Had the Privileges and Honours enjoyed by the See of *Rome* a better Sanction? Had *Leo* a better Right to the Firſt Place, than *Anatolius* had to the Second? In his Letter to *Julian* of *Cos*, he gently reprimands that Prelate for ſuffering his Good-nature to be impoſed upon, ſo far as to ask what it was alike criminal to ask and to grant. He expreſſes the greateſt

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The Reaſons he alleges.

[a] Leo ep. 78, 79. [b] Id. ep. 80.

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Friendſhip and Regard for him, as for one, who had hitherto ſo well deſerved of the Orthodox Faith, and the Apoſtolic See: but at the ſame time lets him know, that he prefers the Obſervance of the Canons to his Friendſhip; and therefore adviſes him, as a Friend, not to trouble him for the future with ſuch Requeſts, but rather ſtrive to divert *Anatolius* from attempting what it was impoſſible for him ever to accompliſh, and what he might ſoon repent his having ever attempted [c].

The Biſhops of the Council provoked at Leo's *Obſtinacy.*

The Preſumption, and invincible Obſtinacy, which *Leo* betrayed on this Occaſion, gave great Offence to all the Biſhops who had aſſiſted at the Council. They could not brook his Preſumption, taxing, as he did in all his Letters, ſo numerous a Council with a Breach of the Canons of *Nice*, as if he alone had reached the true Meaning of thoſe Canons, or alone had a due Regard for the Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by them in the Church. But the Emperor was ſo far from reſenting, as the Fathers of the Council thought he would do, *Leo*'s thus peremptorily refuſing to comply with his Requeſt, that on the contrary he commended him for his inviolable Attachment to the Canons of the Fathers [d]; nay, and obliged *Anatolius*, upon *Leo*'s threatening a Second time to cut him off from his Communion, to appeaſe the angry Pope by a Letter, well calculated indeed for that Purpoſe, but ill becoming a Prelate of *Anatolius*'s Dignity and Rank in the Church [e]. For in that Letter forgetting both, he addreſſed him with ſuch Terms and Expreſſions, as might be thought degrading in an Addreſs from the meaneſt Biſhop to his Metropolitan or Patriarch. He begins with expreſſing the greateſt Uneaſineſs and Concern at *Leo*'s forbearing to write to him; for *Leo* had declared he never would be reconciled to him, nor have any kind of Intercourſe or Communication with him, till he had aſſured him by his Letters, that he ſincerely renounced thoſe Claims and Pretenſions, that had rendered him unworthy of his Correſpondence. In the next place, *Anatolius* excuſes himſelf, as if he had been no-ways inſtrumental in procuring the controverted Decree, and lays the whole Blame on the Eccleſiaſtics of *Conſtantinople*, pretending it had been ſolicited by them alone. He adds, that, as for himſelf, he was a Stranger to all Ambition, but that of executing what his Holineſs ſhould think fit to command; and that, after all, the Validity of what had been done by

The Emperor commends him, and obliges Anatolius *to appeaſe him.*

Anatolius's *Letter to* Leo *unworthy of a Man of his Rank.*

[c] Idem ep. 81. [d] Facund. l. 5. c. 4. Concil. t. 4. p. 1207. [e] Leo ep. 105.

the

the Council depended on its being confirmed by his See [f] (A). The good Emperor thought himſelf bound both as a Chriſtian, and as Emperor, Year of Chriſt 451.

[f] Leo ibid.

(A) This Letter is frequently quoted to prove, 1*ſt*, That the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* acknowleged the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* over him, and his See. 2*dly*, That the Validity of Decrees, enacted even by Oecumenical Councils, depends on their being confirmed by the See of *Rome*. But as to the firſt, who can think, that *Anatolius*, ſaying *he had no other Ambition than that of executing the Commands of his Holineſs*, really meant what he ſaid? From the very Terms he made uſe of, it is manifeſt he did not; elſe we might conclude him to have acknowleged the Biſhop of *Rome* for his Lord and Maſter; ſince no Vaſſal can addreſs his Sovereign in Terms of greater Submiſſion and Duty. It is not from the Words of Men, eſpecially in Letters and Addreſſes to Perſons in high Stations of Life, but from their Actions, that we are to judge of their Sincerity; and in the preſent Caſe it is but too plain, that *Anatolius* had ſome other Ambition beſides that of executing the Commands of his Holineſs, nothing being more certain, than that he was the firſt and chief Promoter of the controverted Decree, though, in his Letter to *Leo*, he thought it adviſeable to diſown it. *Words of Honour or Reſpect*, that is, Compliments, *common among Men, are not to be interpreted, as importing real Dependence and Subjection in the one, or real Power and Authority in the other*, ſaid the *Greek* Emperor in the Council of *Florence*, when ſome Expreſſions, uſed by the Fathers in their Letters or Addreſſes to the Popes, were alleged to prove, that they had acknowleged the Papal Authority (1). The Pope ſtyles himſelf, in all his Bulls, *Servus Servorum Dei, the Servant of the Servants of God*; but, at the ſame time, he requires even his Collegues to acknowlege him for their Lord, and to ſwear Fealty to him as ſuch.

As to what *Anatolius* ſays, in the Second place, to the Pope, that *the Validity of what had been done by the Council, depended on its being confirmed by his See*; it is certain, that neither he, nor any of the Fathers of the Council thought ſo, elſe they would never have ordered the controverted Canon to be regiſtred, as they certainly did, among the other Canons of the Council, without waiting till it was confirmed by him, notwithſtanding the warm and repeated Proteſts and Remonſtrances of his Legates againſt it. But whatever *Anatolius* may have thought, or ſaid, on the preſent Occaſion, it is well known, that his Predeceſſors all maintained, and ſo did all the Biſhops in the Eaſt, the Decree of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, allotting the Second Place to the See of that City, to be valid and binding; and that none of his Succeſſors ever queſtioned the Validity either of that, or of the preſent Decree, tho' neither was confirmed, but both were ſtrongly oppoſed, by the See of *Rome*. It is true, the Fathers of *Chalcedon* wrote to *Leo*, intreating him to confirm the Decree they had made; and ſo they would have written, for the ſake of Peace, Unity, and Concord, to any other Biſhop of Rank and Character, who had taken upon him to oppoſe it. But it is obſervable, that in their Letter, though extremely complaiſant and reſpectful, they very induſtriouſly avoided all Terms and Expreſſions, that might incline *Leo*, or others, to imagine they thought the Validity of their Decree any-ways depended on its being confirmed by him, or his See (2). This Letter was ſigned by all the Biſhops, who were preſent at that Seſſion, and by *Anatolius* the Firſt of all; which was implicitly acknowleging the Decree to be valid, though oppoſed by the Pope's Legates, and not yet confirmed by him. At the ſame time *Anatolius* wrote ſeparately to *Leo*; but it was only to complain of the Oppoſition, made by his Legates, to what it had pleaſed an Oecumenical Council to ordain, in Behalf of his See (3). For in that Letter, he did not ſo much as deſire *Leo* to confirm what the Council had done. From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that, with reſpect to the Validity of the

(1) Con. Flor. Seſſ. 25. (2) Concil. t. 4. p. 834—838. (3) Leo ep. 80.

Decree,

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What prompted the Emperor to favour the Pope.

Emperor, to maintain the Peace of the Church at any Rate; and to prevent the Biſhops from quarreling about Power, after he had, with ſo much Trouble, brought them to agree about the Faith. But, on the other hand, he was too well acquainted with the jealous Temper of the Biſhop of *Rome*, too ſenſible of the Umbrage he took at the leaſt Increaſe of Power in his Rival of *Conſtantinople*, though he ſtrove to diſguiſe it with the ſpecious Name of Zeal for the Canons, to imagine he ever would yield. In order therefore to divert him from rekindling the War, and involving the Church in new Troubles, which his excommunicating *Anatolius* would unavoidably have done, he obliges the latter, who was his Subject, to ſubmit and write the Letter I have mentioned. Thus were many of the Prerogatives, which the Biſhops of *Rome* have ſince claimed as their Right, extorted either from Princes, or their own Collegues, chuſing rather to gratify them in their Demands, however unreaſonable, than to endanger the Peace of the Church, by oppoſing them as they ought to have done. Hence we may account for what *Baronius* often obſerves, though his Obſervation is very far from being univerſally true; *viz.* that the beſt Princes, as well as Prelates, have been the moſt complaiſant to the Popes; that Complaiſance was owing in them, as it was in *Marcian*, to their Love of Peace and Charity; and thoſe only were a Match for the Popes, who valued either as little as they.

Decree, *Anatolius* thought as the other Biſhops did. He expreſſed, it is true, very different Sentiments in his Letter to *Leo*. But that Letter he wrote in Obedience to the expreſs Command of the Emperor, requiring him to ſatisfy the Biſhop of *Rome*; and he was well appriſed, that he could by no other Means ſatisfy the Biſhop of *Rome*, but by pretending, contrary to his known and avowed Sentiments, the Decree of the Council to be null, unleſs it were confirmed by him. *Anatolius* therefore was not ſo much to blame for thus proſtituting, in ſome degree, the Dignity of his See, and the Independency of Councils, to the Ambition of his Rival, as the Emperor himſelf. He was indeed a pious and religious Prince, an excellent Soldier, and well acquainted with the Diſcipline of the Army, in which he had been brought up from his Youth, and had ſerved ſeveral Years as a private Man, but an intire Stranger to the Epiſcopal Rights, and the Diſcipline of the Church, as appears from his Conduct, not only on the preſent, but on ſeveral other Occaſions. Beſides, he had been wrought up by *Pulcheria*, as ſhe had been by *Leo*, who had an intire Aſcendent over her, into a mighty Opinion of the *Merit of St.* Peter above that of the other Apoſtles, of the Privileges, Dignity, and Pre-eminence of his *Throne*; and both were made to believe, that they were promoting the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Glory of St. *Peter*, while, to the utter Subverſion of all Order and Diſcipline, they were only feeding the unchriſtian Pride, and boundleſs Ambition, of the pretended Succeſſor of that Apoſtle.

I might add here, that *Anatolius* perhaps meant no more, than that as without the Conſent of the Emperor, the Decree of the Council could not be valid, the Validity of it would depend on the Pope, ſince, if he did not confirm it, the Emperor ſeemed inclined to revoke his Conſent, and ſo annul the Decree.

Leo expreſſed the greateſt Joy at the Receipt of *Anatolius*'s Letter, and, conſtruing the Expreſſions he uſed into an intire Submiſſion, as if he relinquiſhed his Pretenſions, and owned the Canon of *Chalcedon* to be a Violation of the Canons of *Nice*, he renewed his Correſpondence with him, and acquainted him by a very obliging Letter, that he was fully ſatisfied with his preſent, and had intirely forgot his paſt Conduct g. Some are of Opinion, that *Anatolius* really meant to renounce his Pretenſions; others, that he meant no more than to compliment *Leo*, by an apparent Submiſſion, into a better Humour, and by that means ſatisfy both him and the Emperor h. However that be, certain it is, that the Canon was put in Execution; that the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, in ſpite of all the Efforts of *Leo*, and his Succeſſors, continued to exerciſe a Patriarchal Juriſdiction over the Three Dioceſes of *Aſia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*; and that they claim, to this Day, the Precedency of the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. By this Canon was eſtabliſhed a kind of Warfare between the Sees of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, the Two firſt Biſhops of the Church, who ſhould have ſet a better Example to the reſt, diſputing, in Defiance of the Goſpel, and to the great Scandal of the Chriſtian Name and Religion, *who ſhould be the greateſt*, till they became irreconcileable Enemies, and renounced for ever all Communication with each other.

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Leo reconciled with Anatolius.

But the Canon put in Execution by the Succeſſors of Anatolius.

Before we diſmiſs this Subject, it may not be improper to obſerve, that out of the 630 Biſhops, who compoſed the preſent Aſſembly, not one knew, or had the leaſt Notion of any Honours, Privileges, or Prerogatives due to the See of *Rome* by Divine Right, or that were derived to it from its pretended Founder, St. *Peter*. On the contrary, they ſuppoſed every Prerogative, peculiar to that See, not only to be of human Inſtitution, but to have been granted merely in Conſideration of the City. This evidently appears from the Terms they uſed in confirming the Decree of the Second Oecumenical Council, placing the See of *Conſtantinople* next in Dignity to that of *Rome*: *Whereas the See of* Old Rome, ſaid they, *had been not undeſervedly diſtinguiſhed, by the Fathers, with ſome Privileges,* BECAUSE THAT CITY WAS THE SEAT OF THE EMPIRE; *the Fathers of* Conſtantinople *were prompted by the ſame Motive to diſtinguiſh the moſt Holy See of* New Rome *with equal Privileges, thinking it fit, that the*

All the Biſhops of the Council Strangers to any Privileges due to the See of Rome *by Divine Right, or that were derived from St.* Peter.

g Idem ep. 106, 107. h Concil. t. 4. per Queſnel, p. 1207. Liberat. Brev. c. 13.

City,

Year of Christ 451.

City, which they ſaw honoured with the Empire, and the Senate, and equalled in every Civil Privilege to Old Rome, *ſhould be likewiſe equalled to her in Eccleſiaſtical Matters* [i]. Not a Word here of St. *Peter*, of his Chair, of any Privileges, or Honours, derived from him to the See of *Old Rome*, or inherent in it by Divine Right. All the Privileges, then enjoyed by that See, are ſaid to have been granted by the Fathers, and the Dignity of the City is alleged as the only Motive that induced the Fathers to grant them. And indeed we need only dip into the Hiſtory of the Church, or the Writings of the Fathers, to be fully convinced, that no Privileges were originally enjoyed by one See, but what were common to all; that there were originally no Firſt or Second Sees, but that all were equal, intirely independent of each other; and conſequently that all Primacies, Superiorities, Dependencies, are of human Inſtitution, having been firſt introduced by Cuſtom, and afterwards confirmed by ſeveral Councils, as neceſſary or expedient for the better regulating of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and the maintaining of Unity and Concord among the Prelates of the Church. I have ſhewn elſewhere [k] the Eccleſiaſtical Polity to have been formed on the Plan of the Civil, and the Sees to have been ranked according to the Cities, without any kind of Regard to their Founders; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that the Fathers of *Conſtantinople*, in decreeing to that See the Second Place in Dignity, when the City had attained to that Honour, acted agreeably to the Principles on which the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy was grounded; and that the Fathers of *Chalcedon* acted likewiſe agreeably to the ſame Principles, in decreeing to the See, which had been thus exalted, a Juriſdiction ſuitable to its Dignity. And it is to be obſerved, that neither of theſe Decrees was in the leaſt derogatory to the Canons of *Nice*, though it was chiefly on that Conſideration they were both, by *Leo*, declared null, and as ſuch rejected by him and his Succeſſors. For in the original and authentic Copies of that Council no Mention at all is made of Rank, or the Precedency of one See with reſpect to another; ſo that the Council of *Conſtantinople* might, without derogating in the leaſt from the Canons of *Nice*, have decreed even the Firſt Place to the See of that City. I ſaid, *in the original and authentic Copies of that Council*; for in the *Latin* Tranſlation of the Sixth Canon, which *Leo*'s Legates had the Aſſu-

All Eccleſiaſtical Primacies, Superiorities, &c. of human Inſtitution.

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

[k] See Vol. I. p. 104, et ſeq.

rance

ance to produce in the Council of *Chalcedon*, the See of *Rome* was said *to have always enjoyed the Primacy* [l]. But these Words were looked upon by all the Fathers of that Assembly as an Interpolation and Forgery; and therefore have been since left out in the best Translations of those Canons, and even by *Dionysius Exiguus*, in his *Roman* Code. And indeed they are quite foreign to the Purpose of the Canon, to which they were added; a Canon relating only to Authority and Jurisdiction, as we shall see hereafter. I must add, that as nothing was determined by the First Oecumenical Council, that of *Nice*, concerning Rank or Precedency, but only by the Second, that of *Constantinople*, it was to the latter, and to the very Canon, which *Leo* opposed, as his Successors have done, with so much Warmth and Obstinacy, that *Rome* herself owed her Primacy; for nothing that concerned the whole Church, could be determined without the Concurrence of the whole Church, that is, of an Oecumenical Council. And the Council of *Constantinople* was the first, that made any Regulations concerning Rank or Precedency. And it was on the Canon of that very Council, especially after it had been confirmed by the Council of *Chalcedon*, that the Emperors founded their Edicts, declaring the See of *Rome* to be the First, and that of *Constantinople* the Second. *We declare*, says *Justinian* in one of his Laws [m], *the most holy Pope of* Old Rome *to be the First of all Bishops, agreeably to the Canons; and the most holy Archbishop of* Constantinople, *called* New Rome, *to hold the Second Place after the holy Apostolic See of* Old Rome. It is true, that at the time of the Council of *Constantinople* the See of *Rome* was already, by Custom or Prescription, in Possession of the First Place. But it is likewise true, that the See of *Constantinople* was, by Custom or Prescription, in Possession of the Second Place; and had been so ever since the Removal of the Imperial Seat to that City. Thus, after all, *Constantinople* held the Second Place by the same Charter as *Rome* did the First; or let the Popes produce a better, without recurring to the chimerical and exploded Notion of a Divine Right, to which the Fathers both of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* were utter Strangers, as I have shewn above.

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Rome *herself owes her Primacy to the Councils of* Constantinople *and* Chalcedon.

From what has been said it is manifest, that the First Part of the Canon of *Chalcedon*, confirming the Second Place of Honour to the

The 28*th Canon of* Chalcedon *no-ways derogatory to the Canons of* Nice.

[l] Concil. ibid. p. 812.

[m] Justin. novel. 131. tit. 14. c. 2.

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See of *Conſtantinople*, was no-ways derogatory, as *Leo* pretended, to the Canons of *Nice*. But neither was the Second Part of that Canon, veſting the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* with a Patriarchal Juriſdiction over the Three Dioceſes of *Pontus*, *Aſia*, and *Thrace*. For by the 6th Canon of *Nice*, and *Leo* could mean no other, was only confirmed to the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, a Power and Juriſdiction over certain Diſtricts, *like to that, which the Biſhop of the City of* Rome *was authorized by Cuſtom* (not by Divine Right, not as the Succeſſor and Heir of St. *Peter)* to exerciſe over the Suburbicarian Provinces. Not a Word there of *Aſia*, *Pontus*, or *Thrace*; and it was over theſe Dioceſes alone, that the Council of *Chalcedon* extended the Juriſdiction of the See of *Conſtantinople*; or rather *confirmed*, to uſe the Words of the Council, *the Cuſtom*, which obtained in the holy Church of *Conſtantinople*, *of ordaining Metropolitans in* Aſia, Pontus, *and* Thrace. But allowing the Canon of *Chalcedon* to have been derogatory to that of *Nice*, it was not ſurely more ſo than the 3d, 4th, and 5th of *Sardica*, allowing Appeals, under certain Reſtrictions, to the See of *Rome*, were to the 5th of *Nice*, ordaining all Cauſes to be finally decided by the Biſhops of each Province. And yet the Power of receiving Appeals *Leo* claimed, and maintained, perhaps with more Warmth than any of his Predeceſſors had done, though grounded on a Canon repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*, Canons, with him, *of an eternal and inviolable Authority*; for ſo he frequently ſtyles them, when they reſtrained the Ambition of others; but of none when they ſet Bounds to his own. And here, by the way, ſince *Leo*, in all his Letters, lays ſo great Streſs on *the eternal* and *irreverſible Authority of the Canons of* Nice, why ſhould the Canons of that, rather than thoſe of any other Oecumenical Council, be thought *unalterable*, *irreverſible*, *everlaſtingly binding?* I mean ſuch Canons as relate only to the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, or the Diſcipline of the Church. The Faith indeed is unalterable, and ſo are the Canons containing Definitions of Faith, becauſe what is true at one time, muſt be true in all times. But, in point of Diſcipline, Experience teaches us, that what is expedient, and even neceſſary, at one time, may be quite otherwiſe at another. Hence ſeveral Regulations, wiſely made by Oecumenical Councils, in antient Times, have been no leſs wiſely revoked by other Councils, in later Ages. And to ſuppoſe Decrees or Ordinances of any Council what-

Canons, repugnant to thoſe of Nice, *allowed by the Popes to be valid, when made in favour of their See.*

The Decrees of Nice *not more irreverſible than thoſe of any other Oecumenical Council.*

whatever to be *irrevocable*, and *everlaſtingly* binding, is ſuppoſing the Church, which is repreſented alike by all Oecumenical Councils lawfully aſſembled, to have a Power of modelling her Diſcipline, as ſhe thinks proper, but not of altering, let the Occaſion be ever ſo urgent, the Diſcipline ſhe has once eſtabliſhed; than which nothing can be more abſurd. Year of Chriſt 451.

As to *Leo*'s other Plea, *viz.* That *Conſtantinople* was not an Apoſtolic See, it is quite nugatory, and ſcarce worthy of our Notice. For neither was *Alexandria* an Apoſtolic See, and yet it was preferred to *Antioch*, that *moſt antient and truly Apoſtolic Church*, as *Sozomen* ſtyles it [n], ſuppoſed to have been founded, and governed, for Seven whole Years, by St. *Peter* himſelf. *Cæſarea* of *Palæſtine* was not an Apoſtolic See; and yet it was preferred to *Jeruſalem*, not only an Apoſtolic See, but *the Seat of our Lord himſelf, the Mother of all Churches, and of all Churches the moſt famous for the Myſteries of our Redemption, and the moſt revered* [o] (A). Here *Baronius* chimes in with *Leo*, in exclaiming againſt the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, for ſuppoſing the Dignity of the Sees to have any Dependence upon, or relation to, the Dignity of the Cities; not remembring, it ſeems, or thinking his Readers did not remember, that he had owned elſewhere [p] the See of *Alexandria* to have been

Leo's *Plea, that* Conſtantinople *was not an Apoſtolic See, quite nugatory.*

Baronius *contradicts himſelf.*

[n] Soz. l. 3. c. 8. [o] Epiph. ſyn. Conſt. Optat. l. 6. p. 169. [p] Bar. ad ann. 39. n. 10.

(A) All Biſhops were originally diſtinguiſhed from Presbyters, by the Name of *Apoſtles*; the Names *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* being, in the early times, common to them with mere Presbyters. *The ſame Perſons*, ſays *Theodoret* (1), *were antiently ſtyled Biſhops and Presbyters, while thoſe, who are now called Biſhops, were named Apoſtles. But, in Proceſs of Time, the Name of Apoſtle was appropriated to the firſt Apoſtles; and then the Name of Biſhop was given to thoſe who before were called Apoſtles.* This he repeats in ſeveral other Places of his Writings (2). The ſame thing is aſſerted in a Work, which is commonly aſcribed to St. *Ambroſe*. *All Biſhops*, ſays that Writer, *were at firſt called Apoſtles* (3); and elſewhere (4), *they, who are now called Biſhops, were originally called Apoſtles*. As all Biſhops were ſtyled Apoſtles, ſo were all Biſhops Sees dignified with the Title of Apoſtolic Sees. *The Catholic Church*, ſays *St.* Auſtin (5), *is ſpread and propagated over the whole World, by the Apoſtolic Sees, and by the Succeſſion of Biſhops, who ſit in them.* The Title of *Apoſtolic* is likewiſe given by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (6), by *Paulinus* (7), and many others, to the Sees of private Biſhops. However, it was afterwards appropriated to ſuch Sees as had been founded by ſome of the Apoſtles; and laſtly claimed by the Popes, as peculiar to their See, becauſe founded, as was ſuppoſed, by the Prince of the Apoſtles.

(1) Theodt. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. (2) Idem Comm. in Phil. i. 1. et in Phil. ii. 25. (3) Ambroſ. Com. in Eph. iv. (4) Idem Comm. in Gal. i. 1. Amularius de off. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 13. (5) Aug. ep. 42. ad Fratres Madaurenſ. (6) Sid. l. 6. ep. 1. (7) Paulin. ep. 45.

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preferred to that of *Antioch*, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe the Prefecture of *Egypt*, having *Alexandria* for its Metropolis, was more honourable than the Prefecture of *Syria*, whereof *Antioch* was the Metropolis; and that he had acknowleged, at the ſame time, *no other Rule to have been obſerved by the Antients, in inſtituting the Eccleſiaſtical Sees, than the Diviſion of Provinces, and the Prerogatives before eſtabliſhed by the* Romans [q].

The Biſhop of Conſtantinople *veſted with a moſt ample Power of receiving Appeals.*

The Fathers of *Chalcedon* were not ſatisfied with ranking the See of *Conſtantinople* next in Dignity to that of *Rome*, with equalling it in every other Prerogative and Privilege to the See of *Rome*, and extending its Patriarchal Juriſdiction over Three whole Dioceſes: but in order to raiſe the Biſhop of the Imperial City ſtill higher, and honour his See with a new Mark of Diſtinction, well becoming the Dignity of the City, and the Empire, they thought proper to veſt him with a moſt ample and unlimited Power of receiving Appeals from all other Eccleſiaſtical Tribunals, at leaſt in the Eaſt, and of finally deciding all Controverſies and Cauſes whatever. Theſe are the very Words of the Canon: *If any Biſhop ſhall have a Diſpute with the Metropolitan of his Province, he ſhall appeal to, and be judged by, the Exarch of the Dioceſe, or by the See of* Conſtantinople [r] (A). I ſaid, *at leaſt in the Eaſt*; for though ſuch a Power was granted, without any Exception, Reſtriction, or Reſervation; yet I cannot think it was the Intention of the Council to extend it beyond the Limits of the Eaſtern Empire. However that be, we may well challenge the Pope, and all the Advocates for the Papal Power, to produce any thing in favour of his Pretenſions, that can be compared with the preſent Decree; a Decree enacted by the moſt numerous, and moſt regular Council that had been held till that time in the Church; that was freely ſigned by all the Biſhops who com-

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Concil. t. 4. p. 763.

(A) This Canon was evidently repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*. And yet *Leo*, who, agreeably to his Principles, might have rejected it, on that Score, as null, took no more Notice of it, than if it had been intirely agreeable to thoſe Canons. And indeed he acted therein a very wiſe Part; ſince he well knew the Canons of *Sardica* allowing Appeals to the See of *Rome*, to be no leſs derogatory to the Canons of *Nice*, than that of *Chalcedon* allowing Appeals to the See of *Conſtantinople*. And to have pretended the Canons of *Nice* to be *irrevocable*, *irreverſible*, *everlaſtingly binding*, when they curtailed his own Power, as well as that of his Rival, had been carrying the Joke a little too far.

poſed it, and was afterwards confirmed by the Imperial Edicts. It was chiefly by this Decree, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was encouraged, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to aſſume the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch*, to ſtyle his Church *the Head of all Churches*, and to claim, on the Downfal of the Weſtern Empire, the Primacy itſelf (B). Year of Chriſt 451.

Before we proceed to the other Tranſactions of the preſent Pontificate, I muſt beg Leave to interrupt, for a while, the Thread of the Hiſtory, and obſerve, that it is chiefly from the Authority, aſſumed by the Pope's Legates, in the preſent Council, and the Acquieſcence of the Biſhops who compoſed it, as well as of the Imperial Commiſſioners, that *Bellarmine* [a], and after him the other Popiſh Writers argue the Superiority of the *Pope* to Oecumenical Councils, that is, to the whole Church. And it is in this pretended Superiority, that the arbitrary, deſpotic, and uncontroulable *Monarchy* of the Pope, commonly known by the leſs odious Name of *Supremacy*, is properly ſaid to conſiſt. For by ſuch a Superiority, thoſe who maintain it, that is, all true Papiſts, mean, 1. That the Authority of the Pope is greater than that of any Council, however numerous, though even compoſed of all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church; inſomuch that ſhould ſuch a Council and the Pope diſagree, all Men would be bound, on Pain of Damnation, to abandon the former, and adhere to the latter. 2. That no Council can make Laws, that are binding with reſpect to the Pope, or that the Pope may not abrogate and annul at his Pleaſure, let them be ever ſo expedient, juſt, or neceſſary, agreeably to the famous Aphoriſm of *Innocent* III. equally pregnant

The Authority aſſumed by the Pope's Legates, in this Council, no Argument of his Supremacy.

[a] Bell. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.

(B) One would hardly believe that the above-mentioned Decree could be ſo interpreted as to favour the Pretenſions of the Popes. And yet it was ſo interpreted by Pope *Nicholas* in one of his Letters (1): *To ſay the Primate, or Exarch of the Dioceſe*, theſe are his own Words, *is as much as to ſay the Primate of the Dioceſes, or of all the Dioceſes; and whom but the Vicar of the prime Apoſtle could the holy Synod ſtyle the Primate of all the Dioceſes?* Thence he concludes, that, agreeably to the Canon of *Chalcedon*, Appeals ſhould be firſt made to the Pope, and only with his Permiſſion, and the Conſent of the Party, to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. He choſe, it ſeems, rather to admit the Decree of ſo great an Aſſembly, and explain it away, if by any means he could, than abſolutely reject it; and after all, his Explanation, however abſurd and ridiculous, is not perhaps more ſo, than moſt of the Reaſons alleged by *Leo*, to colour the Ambition and Jealouſy, by which alone, as it is but too apparent, he was prompted to oppoſe and reject the unanimous Determination of ſo reſpectable and numerous a Council.

(1) Nich. I. ep. 8.

with

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with Nonsense and Blasphemy, *We, according to the Plenitude of our Power, have a Right to dispense with all Right* [a]; that is, in other Words, we have a Right to do Wrong, or a Power to change Wrong into Right. And truly *Bellarmine* is so complaisant to the Popes, as to allow them that Power; for, according to him, *should the Pope injoin Vice, and forbid Virtue, the Church would sin, if she did not believe Virtue to be Evil, and Vice to be good* [b]. But that infamous Doctrine was not first broached by *Bellarmine*. It was taught long before his time; for Cardinal *Zabarel*, who flourished near 400 Years ago, writes, that *in his, and in the preceeding times, the Popes had been persuaded, by their flattering Divines, that they might do whatever they pleased, even such things, as were in themselves, and with respect to others, unlawful; and so could do no more than God himself* [c]. 3. In virtue of the above-mentioned Superiority, the Pope, how profligate soever and wicked, can by no Council be judged, or deposed. *Should a Pope be so wicked*, says one of the Papal Canons, *as to carry with him innumerable Souls to Hell, let no Man presume to find fault with him, or reprove him, because he, who is to judge all Men, is to be judged by none* [d]. Such Propositions cannot be heard without Horror: and yet they alone are deemed true *Roman* Catholics, they alone are favoured and caressed by the Popes, who hold, teach, and maintain them. *Bellarmine* employs a whole Book to prove, that the Pope is not the Antichrist [e]. I will not take upon me to say, that he is (A), though that has been the Opinion of several Men of very great Learning. But whether he is the Antichrist or no, the Doctrines he teaches are certainly Antichristian, and the Antichrist, come when he will, cannot teach or countenance worse; nay, to be a complete Antichrist, or completely opposite to Christ, who was *meek and lowly in Heart*, who owned, that his *Kingdom was not of this World*, who fled, when the People would have made him King, he must copy from the Pope, suffering his Power to be called, in an Address to him, *infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible* [f], and claiming to himself *all*

[a] Inn. III. Decret. Greg. l. 3. tit. 8. c. 4. [b] Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5. [c] Zabar. de Schis. [d] *Si Papa suæ*, &c. Grat. dist. 40. c. 6. [e] Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 3. [f] Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccles. in præf. ad Joan. xxii.

(A) Our King *James* I. used jocularly to say, that he would not swear the Pope was the Antichrist; but if there were a Hue-and-cry after the Antichrist, the Pope would certainly be taken up.

Power

Power in Heaven, and in Earth, as having been conſtituted Prince over all Nations, and all Kingdoms, with a Plenitude of Power to root up, and to plant; to deſtroy, and to ſave; to raiſe up and pull down at his Pleaſure [a].

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To prove the ſpiritual Supremacy of the Pope (for of the Temporal we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak at Length hereafter), *Bellarmine* recurs in the firſt Place to Scripture; and having plainly deſcried the Pope in the *faithful and wiſe Steward* ſpoken of in St. *Luke* [b], and in *the good Shepherd*, mentioned by St. *John* [c], he argues thus; as the Steward is above the Houſhold, as the Shepherd is above the Flock, ſo is the Pope above the Church [d]. To the Authority of the Scripture he adds that of Two Councils, *viz.* of *Sinueſſa*, under *Marcellinus*, and of *Rome* under *Sylveſter*; both declaring that *the Firſt See is to be judged by none* (B). But that no ſuch Councils were ever

Blaſphemies of the Popes, and their flattering Divines, concerning their Power.

[a] Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz. [b] Luke xii. 42. [c] John x. 11. [d] Bell. ibid.

(B) It was natural for the Popiſh Writers, in the handling of ſuch a Subject, to recur in the firſt Place to the Council of *Jeruſalem*, and attempt to prove, from the Conduct of their firſt Pope St. *Peter*, who did not think it below him to aſſiſt at it in Perſon, his Superiority to that, and the Superiority of his pretended Succeſſors to all future Councils. And yet of that Council moſt of them take no more notice than if it had never been held: an inconteſtable Proof, that they could diſcover nothing in the Behaviour of St. *Peter* towards the other Apoſtles, or in the Behaviour of the other Apoſtles towards St. *Peter*, that could in the leaſt countenance the Doctrine, which they were ſtriving to eſtabliſh, or rather that did not abſolutely diſcountenance it. And, truly, what Mark of Diſtinction did St. *Peter* require; what Mark of Diſtinction did the others yield to him in that Aſſembly? In the firſt Place, it was not ſummoned or convened by him; but ſome pretending, that *it was needful to circumciſe the* Gentiles, *the Apoſtles and Elders came together*, by common Agreement, *to conſider of this Matter* (1). *2dly*, St. *Peter* did not preſide, but rather St. *James*, *to whom*, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, *as Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *the Government was committed* (2). 3dly, *When there had been much diſputing*, ſo that every one delivered his Opinion with great Freedom, St. *Peter* roſe up, and delivered his, backing it with Reaſons (3), and not exacting a blind Faith to what he ſaid, though undoubtedly grounded on a particular Revelation. After him ſpoke *Paul* and *Barnabas*; and, when they had done, St. *James* firſt confirmed, with Reaſons drawn from the Scripture, what they had ſaid, and then with Apoſtolic Gravity formed the Definition, and pronounced the Decree; *I therefore judge* (διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω), that is, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, *I authoritatively ſay, that we trouble not them, who, from among the* Gentiles, *are turned to God*, &c. (4); ſo that St. *Peter made an Harangue*, as an antient Author obſerves (5); but *St.* James *enacted the Law*. Such is the Account we have of this Council in Holy Writ; and I ſhall add nothing to it, but only obſerve, that if, on this important Occaſion, greater Reſpect was ſhewn to one Apoſtle than to another, if greater Authority was exerted by one Apoſtle than by another, the greater Reſpect was ſhewn to St. *James*; and by St. *James* was exerted the greater Authority. And yet I do not find, that his Succeſſors

(1) Acts xv. 5, 6. (2) Chryſ. Hom. 59. (3) Ver. 7—11. (4) Ver. 13—19. (5) Heſych. apud Phot. cod. 275.

ever

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ever held I have ſhewn elſewhere [e]; and as to his Proof from Scripture, it is too ridiculous and trifling to deſerve a grave Anſwer; and therefore I ſhall only ſay, that to diſcover the Pope in the *wiſe Steward*, or in the *good Shepherd*, one muſt be no leſs ſharp-ſighted than *Innocent* III. was, who found him out, with all his Attributes, in the Firſt Chapter of *Geneſis* [f]. And indeed he is as plainly there, as in any other Place of the *Old* or *New Teſtament*. But what *Bellarmine*, and the other *Roman* Catholic Writers chiefly urge, in favour of the Papal Supremacy, is the Behaviour and Conduct of the Pope's Legates in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The haughty Behaviour of the Pope's Legates at the Council.

It muſt be owned, that they acted there, as if the Perſon they repreſented were above the Council, and perhaps with the Air of as much Authority, as the Legates of any Pope have done ſince that time. In the firſt Opening of the Council they addreſſed the Commiſſioners, who repreſented the Perſon of the Emperor, and were all Men of the firſt Rank, in the Dialect of the higheſt Authority. *We have*, ſaid they, *an Order from the moſt bleſſed and Apoſtolic Pope of the City of* Rome, *&c. by which he has been pleaſed to command*, &c. Did the Pope's Legates, at the Council of *Trent*, ſpeak in a more lofty Strain? In the Charge they brought againſt *Dioſcorus*, they imputed it to him as a Crime, that he had preſumed to aſſemble a Council without the Conſent of the Apoſtolic See; which, they ſaid, had never been thought lawful, and had never been done. In the Sentence, which they pronounced againſt that Prelate, they named the *Archbiſhop of the great and antient City of* Rome in the Firſt Place, themſelves in the Second, and the Council after both; nay, they aſcribed the depoſing of the Second Biſhop of the Catholic Church chiefly to *Leo*, and only to the Council, as acting

[e] See Vol. I. p. 81. et 113, 114.

[f] Inn. III. in Decret. Greg. I. 33. 6.

ever attempted to build a Supremacy on ſuch a Foundation, though infinitely more capable of bearing it, than any that have been yet laid by thoſe, who pretend to have ſucceeded St. *Peter*. But St. *Peter*, ſay ſome, appriſed of his Rank, ſpoke the firſt. He had ſhewn himſelf better appriſed of his Rank, had he ſpoken the laſt, pronounced the Decree, and enacted the Law. Beſides, he did not ſpeak the firſt of all; for *there had been much diſputing*, before he offered to ſpeak. His ſpeaking before the other Apoſtles is no better Proof of his being any-ways ſuperior to them, than that, which has been alleged by ſome to prove, that St. *John* was, in ſome reſpects, ſuperior to him; *viz.* becauſe he out-ran him, and got firſt to the Sepulcre (1); which, in the Opinion of ſome Viſionaries, and even of St. *Jerom*, contained infinite Myſteries.

(1) John xx. 4.

under

under him, and by his Authority: Leo *depoſes by us, and the preſent Council*, &c. were the Words of the Sentence, as if the whole Power had been lodged in him, and by him communicated to the Council, no otherwiſe than it was to his Legates. The like Style they uſed in reſtoring the Biſhops, who had been depoſed or ſuſpended for joining *Dioſcorus* in the Violences committed at *Epheſus*: *The Apoſtolic See*, ſaid the Legates, *forgives them, and* Leo, *the moſt holy Archbiſhop of* Rome, *receives them to his Communion, becauſe they have acknowleged their Fault, and ſubmitted to him, and the holy Oecumenical Council.* Upon the Whole, ſay the Popiſh Writers, at this grand Aſſembly the Legates acted, as if the Authority of the Perſon, whom they repreſented, were ſuperior to that of the Council; as if the Council only acted by an Authority borrowed of him, or at leaſt ſubordinate to his. Year of Chriſt 451.

On the other hand, the Biſhops who compoſed the Council, never once offered to controul or diſpute the Authority they aſſumed; nay, on the contrary, in the Letter which they wrote to *Leo*, at the breaking up of the Council, they ſtyled themſelves the Members, and him the Head, adding, that it became the Head to approve and confirm what the Members had done, as the Members had, with great Readineſs, ſeconded their Head in every good Reſolution he had thought proper to ſuggeſt [g]. Theſe Expreſſions from a Council of 600 Biſhops, and, what deſerves particular Notice, almoſt all Eaſtern Biſhops, have given the Champions of the Papal Power Occaſion to triumph, as if the Controverſy were plainly decided in their Favour, and no room were left, even for the moſt obdurate Heretics, to diſpute the Supremacy, or the Superiority of the Pope to Oecumenical Councils, that is, to the collective Body, as they expreſs it, of the univerſal Church. It belongs to the Head, ſays *Bellarmine* [h], to govern the other Members at Pleaſure; it would be in them the higheſt Preſumption, ſhould they pretend to govern the Head inſtead of being governed by it, and downright Frenzy, ſhould they attempt to cut it off, how grievouſly ſoever diſtempered. A moſt impious Doctrine! calculated to ſubject the whole Church, which Chriſt, in his Goodneſs, has been pleaſed to make free, to the arbitrary Will of one Man, and thereby reduce her to a State of the moſt deplorable Thraldom, without any poſſible means of redeeming herſelf from

The Acquieſcence of the Biſhops, who compoſed the Council.

[g] Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

[h] Bell. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.

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it, ſhould her Governor even turn Tyrant, and attempt to deſtroy her; for the only Remedy allowed in that Caſe is, Patience and Prayers, till it pleaſes God to put an End to his Tyranny, either by converting him, or by putting an End to his Life [i].

No ſuch Power aſſumed by the Legates of other Popes.

But that no ſuch Doctrine can be deduced from the Conduct of the Legates, the Acquieſcence of the Biſhops and Imperial Commiſſioners, or any Expreſſions uſed by the Council, may be eaſily ſhewn. And firſt, as to the aſſuming Conduct and Behaviour of the Legates, if it was owing, as the Papal Writers would make us believe, to their being appriſed of a Superiority to all Oecumenical Councils veſted in the Perſon, whom they repreſented, why did not the Legates, ſent by the Predeceſſors of *Leo* to the other Oecumenical Councils, exert the like Authority? Were they, or were they not, appriſed of a Superiority to all Oecumenical Councils veſted in the Perſon, whom they repreſented? If they were not, we may well conclude the Popes, who ſent them, to have been Strangers to it themſelves; and conſequently the boaſted Supremacy to be, in the End, but a free Gift of their flattering Divines. If they were, why did they not act accordingly? Why did they not produce Orders and Commands from *the moſt bleſſed and Apoſtolic Pope of* Rome? Why did they not claim at leaſt the Honour of preſiding, where they had the Power of commanding? In ſhort, why did the Popes ſo carefully conceal, for the Space of 450 Years, a Truth, which it was of the utmoſt Importance for the whole Chriſtian World to know? I ſay *carefully conceal*, for if we examine the Conduct of the Legates, who aſſiſted at the other Oecumenical Councils, we ſhall find nothing either in their Speeches or Actions, that looks, as if they thought the Perſon, whom they repreſented, ſuperior to thoſe Councils. Hence *Bellarmine*, and the other Popiſh Writers, from the imaginary Councils of *Sinueſſa* and *Rome*, immediately paſs to that of *Chalcedon*. We muſt therefore either allow the Legates of *Leo* to have been the firſt, who were appriſed of the Papal Supremacy, or aſcribe their taking ſo much upon them to ſome other Cauſe. And indeed the Cauſe is obvious. The Emperor, as I have obſerved above, had made *Leo* abſolute Maſter of, and conſequently ſuperior to the Council; and it was in virtue of that adventitious and borrowed Superiority, that the Legates aſſumed ſuch Airs of Authority. From their Conduct therefore we can only conclude, that the Emperor, who impowered them to act as they did,

What encouraged them to take ſo much upon them.

[i] Bell. ibid. c. 19.

was

was ſuperior to the Council. And truly we ſhall find the Imperial Commiſſioners, when we come to examine their Conduct, acting as if the Supremacy were lodged, not in the Pope, who was repreſented by the Legates, but in the Emperor, whom they repreſented. I might add here, that the aſſuming or exerciſing a Power does not argue a Right to it in the Perſon, by whom it is aſſumed or exerciſed, ambitious Men being but too apt, as daily Experience teaches us, to exceed the Bounds, which the Laws preſcribe. Now the Argument for the Supremacy, founded on the Conduct and Behaviour of the Legates in the preſent Council, ſuppoſes neither the Popes, nor their Legates, to have ever exerciſed or aſſumed a Power, to which they had not an undoubted Right. For from the Conduct of the Legates, acting as if the Perſon, whom they repreſented, were above the Council, the Advocates for the Papal Supremacy conclude the Perſon, whom they repreſented, actually to have been above the Council, than which nothing can be more abſurd. In the Second Council of *Epheſus*, an Oecumenical Council, as lawfully aſſembled as that of *Chalcedon*, *Dioſcorus* acted as if he had been above the Council; nay, as if every Biſhop there preſent, the Pope's Legates not excepted, had been obliged to act, vote, and even think, as he directed. And yet from his thus acting no one will conclude him to have had a Right thus to act. The exerciſing of a Power may, but too often, be alleged as an Inſtance of Pride, Arrogance, and Ambition in the Perſon, by whom it is exerciſed, but can never, by itſelf, be brought as a Proof of any Right whatever to that Power.

Year of Chriſt 451.

The exerciſing of a Power no Argument of a Right to that Power.

But the Biſhops, who compoſed the Council, as well as the Imperial Commiſſioners, ſay the Popiſh Divines, acquieſced in the Authority aſſumed by the Legates. And to what elſe can their Acquieſcence be aſcribed, but to their being as well appriſed of the Supremacy of the Pope as the Legates themſelves? In what other manner can we account for it? In the ſame manner as we have accounted for the Conduct of the Legates; *viz.* from their having been made by the Emperor abſolute Maſters of the Council; which reſtrained both the Biſhops and Commiſſioners from offering to oppoſe them. Beſides, with reſpect to the Biſhops, it was not the Intereſt either of thoſe, who had oppoſed *Dioſcorus* in the late Council of *Epheſus*, or of ſuch as had ſided with him, to diſpute at this Juncture whatever Authority the Legates were pleaſed to aſſume. As to the former, they looked upon *Leo* as their great Champion, as the com-

The Acquieſcence of the Biſhops to what owing.

Year of Christ 451.

mon Protector of themselves and their Cause, as one, who was fighting their Battles, and who alone was capable, by reason of his Rank, and the great Interest he had at both Courts, of fighting them with Success. On the other hand, those who had sided with *Dioscorus* (and with him had sided the most eminent Prelates in the East, *viz. Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *Eustathius* of *Berytus*, and *Basilius* of *Seleucia)* were all, in a manner, at the Mercy of *Leo:* and so was *Maximus* of *Antioch*, who had been ordained, in defiance of the Canons, while his Predecessor was still alive. As for *Anatolius*, who held the first Place after the Legates, he had a Turn of his own to serve, as we shall see hereafter, and therefore, to gain the Good-will of the Pope, was of all the most complaisant to his Legates. But though the Bishops did not, for the Reasons I have alleged, dispute the Authority assumed by the Legates (and it is in that Sense alone that they can be said to have acquiesced in it), yet they acted as if they did not acknowlege it. For though the Legates brought in, on all Occasions, *the most holy and most blessed Archbishop of* Rome, and even placed him before the Council, the Bishops never once mentioned him. The Summons sent to *Dioscorus* was from *the Council assembled in the City of* Chalcedon; not *from* Leo *and the Council.* The Legates, in voting for the Deposition of that Prelate, added to his other Crimes, his having *presumed to excommunicate* Leo, *the most holy and most blessed Archbishop of the great City of* Rome [k]. But of that Crime not one of the other Bishops took the least notice; some of them, and among these were *Anatolius* and *Maximus*, condemning him because he had not obeyed the Summons sent him by the Council; others, because he had deposed *Flavianus*, and received *Eutyches* to his Communion, and many for no other Reason, but because he was condemned by the rest [l]. And here I cannot help observing, by the way, the Ignorance or Disingenuity of Pope *Nicholas* I. roundly asserting *Dioscorus* to have been deposed by the Council of *Chalcedon*, not so much for Heresy, as for his unheard of Presumption in daring to give Judgment against the high Pontiff [m]. This Blunder *Bellarmine* adopts, as if he had never perused the Acts of the Council; and, adding to it another of his own, *viz.* that *Dioscorus* excommunicated *Leo* in the Second Council of *Ephesus*, argues thus in favour of the Papal

The Bishops act as if they did not acknowlege the Pope's Authority.

The Ignorance or Disingenuity of Pope Nicholas *and* Bellarmine.

[k] Concil. t. 4. p. 426. ep. ad Mich. imper.

[l] Concil. ibid. p. 427—448.

[m] Nichol. I.

Supre-

Supremacy: the Second Biſhop of the Church was condemned for preſuming to judge the Pope, even in an Oecumenical Council; *ergo* the Pope cannot be lawfully judged by an Oecumenical Council, and is conſequently above it [n]. It is chiefly on this Foundation that *Bellarmine* builds the Supremacy; which is building on the Sand; ſince *Dioſcorus* was not condemned by the Council, for judging the Pope; nor did he judge and excommunicate the Pope in the Second Oecumenical Council of *Epheſus*; but at *Nice*, in his Way to *Conſtantinople*, the Year after the Council of *Epheſus*, and in a Council of Ten Biſhops only, all *Egyptians*, who attended him on his Journey [o]. Year of Chriſt 451.

But to leave *Bellarmine*, and return to the Fathers of the Council; in the Note, which they wrote to *Dioſcorus*, acquainting him with the Judgment they had paſſed upon him, they took no notice of the *Archbiſhop of the great City of Rome*, or of any Crime committed againſt his Holineſs; for it was conceived in the following Terms: "We let you know, that becauſe you deſpiſed the ſacred Canons, "diſobeyed this holy and Oecumenical Council, and being charged "with many Crimes, refuſed to appear before this great and holy "Synod to juſtify yourſelf, though Three times ſummoned, you have "been depoſed, by this holy and Oecumenical Council, from your "Epiſcopacy, and ſuſpended from all Eccleſiaſtical Functions the "Thirteenth Day of the preſent Month of *October* [p]." *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* had been received by *Leo* to his Communion, as a Biſhop, after he had been depoſed by the Council of *Epheſus*; and yet he preſented a Petition to the Fathers of the Council, begging them to reſtore him to his Dignity [q]. Had he thought the Pope above the Council, he would only have let them know that *Leo* had reſtored him, and required them to acknowlege him accordingly as a lawful Biſhop. *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* was ſuſpected, very unjuſtly, of *Neſtorianiſm*, and on that Suſpicion had been depoſed by the Council of *Epheſus*. *Leo* declared his Faith to be orthodox, and admitted him to his Communion as a lawful Biſhop. However, he was only allowed to ſit in the preſent Council as one, whoſe Caſe was depending, and Cauſe undecided, till his Faith was examined anew, and he acquitted by the Judgment of the Synod [r]; a plain Proof, that the Biſhops

The Fathers of the Council act as if they were Strangers to the Pope's Supremacy.

[n] Bell. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17. [o] Concil. ibid. p. 398. [p] Concil. ibid. p. 451. [q] Concil. ibid. p. 382. [r] Concil. t. 4. p. 101.

Year of Christ 451.

The Conduct of the Commissioners a Proof of the Imperial Supremacy.

shops were as great Strangers to the Pope's Infallibility, as they were to his Supremacy (A).

As for the Acquiescence of the Imperial Commissioners, on which great Stress is laid by the Advocates for the Papal Supremacy; they suffered, it is true, the Legates, on some Occasions, to take great Authority upon them, especially in the Proceedings against *Dioscorus*, whom they knew to be extremely obnoxious to *Pulcheria*, and, by her means, to the Emperor. But, upon the Whole, they acted like Men fully satisfied, that the Supremacy was not lodged in the Pope, who was represented by the Legates, but in the Emperor, whom they represented. They sate in the first Place, and are always named the first; they proposed what they thought fit to be discussed; stopt what they did not think proper to be moved; maintained Order and Decency; and, on a certain Occasion, when the Bishops began to be very obstreperous, calling one another Heretics, Blasphemers, Assassins, Enemies to God, and his Church, they reproved them with great Authority, put them in mind of their Rank and Character, gravely reproached them with their indecent Behaviour, as more becoming the tumultuous Rabble, than such an Assembly of venerable Bishops, and let them know, that neither Party should reap any Ad-

(A) With respect to the former Prerogative, since the Reception, which *Leo*'s famous Letter to *Flavianus* met with from the present Council, is alleged by the *Roman* Catholic Divines as an undeniable Proof, or Demonstration, as some are pleased to style it, of the Pope's Infallibility, I must observe here, that several Bishops, particularly those of *Illyricum* and *Palæstine*, objected at first against that Letter, as strongly savouring of *Nestorianism*, and admitting, not only a Distinction, but an intire Separation of the Two Natures in *Christ*, nor would they receive it till the Legates had anathematized, in *Leo*'s Name, the Doctrine of *Nestorius* (1): an undeniable Proof, or rather Demonstration that those Bishops, at least, did not believe in the Pope's Infallibility. And that the others did not may be as plainly demonstrated; for in signing *Leo*'s Letter, they all declared, that they approved and received it, because they judged it agreeable to the Decisions of the Councils of *Nice*, of *Constantinople*, of *Ephesus*, and to the Letters of St. *Cyril* (2). And is not their making the Decisions of those Councils, and, what is still more degrading, the Letters of *Cyril*, the Standard of Orthodoxy, even with respect to *Leo* himself, a plain Demonstration, that they thought better of them than of him, and consequently that they did not think him infallible? Thus the unanswerable Proof orDemonstration of the Pope's Infallibility evidently recoils against those who use it, and utterly oversets what it was employed to support. But they all acknowleged that Letter to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost. And so they would the Letter of any other Bishop, had they found it, upon Examination, as they did this, agreeing with the Decisions of the other Three Oecumenical Councils, and the Letters of *Cyril*, which were now become the only Standard of the Orthodox Faith, the Pope's Infallibility being yet unknown, and the holy Scriptures quite out of Date.

(1) Concil. ibid. p. 370. 493.

(2) Concil. ibid. p. 408.

vantage from Noiſe and Clamour [u]. It was by them, after they had heard the oppoſite Parties, that moſt Matters were finally decided, the whole Synod approving their Deciſions, and often crying out, with one Voice, *Your Judgment is right*; *Chriſt has decided the Caſe*; *God judges by you* [w]. To them, and not to the Legates, the Biſhops applied for what they thought proper, or for what they wanted to be done, openly acknowleging, by the Terms they uſed on ſuch Occaſions, the ſupreme Authority to be lodged in the Perſon, who was repreſented by them. Thus *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum*, addreſſing himſelf to them, begged they would *command* his Petition to be read [x]; and *Atticus* of *Nicopolis*, that they would interpoſe their Authority, and *command* the Council to be adjourned for a few Days [y]: nay, they were conſtantly addreſſed, in the ſame Style, by the Legates themſelves; *If your Authority commands*, *If your Greatneſs commands*, were the Terms they uſed [z]. Year of Chriſt 451.

They bore a great Sway, perhaps too great a Sway, even in Matters of Faith. For they not only inſiſted on a new Creed or Symbol being drawn up, in Oppoſition to the Legates, and the whole Council pleading a Decree of the Firſt Council of *Epheſus* againſt any new Symbols; but rejected one, which, after ſeveral Days Conſultation, they had all agreed to, a very ſmall Number excepted. This occaſioned a warm Conteſt between them and the Biſhops; the latter pretending their Symbol to have been dictated by the Holy Ghoſt (and ſo it was, if we ſuppoſe the Holy Ghoſt to be always on the Side of the Majority), and the latter declaring, that no Symbol ſhould paſs, to which they did not all agree to a Man. In the End the Commiſſioners prevailed; the firſt Symbol was rejected, and a new one drawn up in its room, that which is ſtill extant in the Acts of the Council, and of which I have ſpoken above. To the new Symbol, or, as they ſtyle it, *Decree of Faith*, every Biſhop there preſent readily agreed; for it was induſtriouſly conceived in ſuch Terms as could give Offence to neither Party, the main Point in view, with reſpect to the Commiſſioners, being to make the Biſhops agree among themſelves, no matter in what, and by that means put an end to the Troubles of the Church and the State. The Biſhops were all for ſigning the laſt Decree, as ſoon as it was drawn up; but the Commiſſioners, *They exert great Authority, even in Matters of Faith.*

[u] Concil. t. 4. p. 101—104. [w] Concil. ibid. p. 706. 819. [x] Concil. ibid. p. 320. [y] Concil. ibid. p. 289. [z] Concil. ibid. p. 464. 451, &c.

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Year of Chriſt 451.

riſing up, put an End to that Seſſion, ſaying, that before it was ſigned, it muſt be ſhewn to the Emperor [a]; which was modeſtly declaring, that they would not ſuffer it to paſs till it was approved by the Emperor. From what I have ſaid it is manifeſt, that the Imperial Commiſſioners acted in this, and ſo they did in all other Councils, as if the ſupreme Authority were lodged in the Emperor; that the Authority they exerted was not diſputed, but openly acknowleged, and readily ſubmitted to, at leaſt in Matters not immediately relating to the Faith, by all the Biſhops, even by the Legates themſelves, and conſequently that the Papal Supremacy was, at that time, as little known to the Legates, as it was to the other Biſhops, and the reſt of the World. The Authority of the Commiſſioners indeed was diſputed in Matters of Faith; and in Matters of Faith neither the Emperors, nor their Commiſſioners ought to have interpoſed: but nevertheleſs they did interpoſe; and, abuſing their Authority, or Supremacy, as we may call it, obliged the Biſhops, as the Popes have done in latter Councils, to define and eſtabliſh ſuch Doctrines as were found to ſuit their own Intereſt the beſt: inſomuch that were the many perplexing and intricate Creeds, now held by the Church of *Rome*, carefully garbled; were the Articles only of the Chriſtian Religion retained, and thoſe of the Imperial and Papal rejected, Chriſtianity would, by that means, be reſtored, even in that Church, to its original and primitive Purity.

The Acquieſcence of the Commiſſioners on ſome Occaſions not to be eaſily accounted for.

But if the ſupreme Authority was lodged in the Emperor, ſay thoſe who ſtand up in Defence of the Papal Supremacy, what could reſtrain the Imperial Commiſſioners from checking the Legates, when they produced Commands from *the moſt holy Archbiſhop of Rome*, and letting them know, that the Emperor alone had a Right to command? Why did they not interpoſe their Authority in Vindication of the Rights of their Maſter, when the Legates frankly advanced, that no Council could be lawfully aſſembled without the Conſent of the Apoſtolic See? which had been an open Invaſion of thoſe Rights, if the ſupreme Authority had been veſted in the Emperor. To what the tame Behaviour of the Commiſſioners on theſe Occaſions may be aſcribed, is not eaſy to determine; but that it was not owing to their acknowleging the Papal Supremacy, is manifeſt from what I have ſaid; and to what elſe it might have been owing, is foreign to our preſent

[a] Concil. ibid. p. 322. 567. Liberat. c. 13.

Purpoſe

Purpoſe to inquire. Perhaps the Commands, which the Legates produced from *Leo*, were underſtood both by the Imperial Commiſſioners, and the Members of the Council, as only regarding the Legates themſelves; ſo that in what Terms ſoever they expreſſed themſelves, they were thought to mean no more, than that they were commanded by *Leo* to withdraw from the Council, if *Dioſcorus* was ſuffered to ſit in it as a Judge. It is certain, at leaſt, that *Leo* himſelf meant no more; for his Inſtructions to the Legates, with reſpect to this Point, were thus worded; *You muſt not ſuffer* Dioſcorus *to appear in the Council, under any other Character but that of a Perſon accuſed; if he preſumes to ſit in it as a Judge, you muſt cauſe him to be driven out, or quit the Council yourſelves* [b]. *Leo* therefore did not command, nor pretend to command the Council; and, ſo long as he did not, it matters little whether his Legates did or no. As to the Silence of the Commiſſioners, when the Legates roundly aſſerted, that it had never been thought lawful to aſſemble a Council without the Conſent of the Apoſtolic See; that it had never been done, it is indeed very ſurpriſing; and I will not take upon me to account for it, but only obſerve, that we cannot ſuppoſe it to have been owing to their not queſtioning the Truth of what was advanced by the Legates, as the *Roman* Catholic Writers pretend, without arraigning all the chief Officers of the Empire of the groſſeſt Ignorance, an Ignorance far more unaccountable than their Silence itſelf. For nothing is better atteſted in Hiſtory, nothing more certainly known, than that ſeveral Councils had been held before that time, without either the Conſent or the Knowlege of the Apoſtolic See: and whoever peruſes the Acts of the preſent Council will find ſome of the Commiſſioners to have been better acquainted not only with the Hiſtory, but the Canons of the Church, than moſt of the Biſhops.

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But the Name of *Leo*, ſays *Bellarmine* [c], is placed before that of the Council, in the many Petitions and Memorials preſented to that great Aſſembly. And ſo is the Name of the firſt or chief Member of a Society before the Name of the Society itſelf. And are we to conclude from thence the firſt or chief Member of a Society to be above the whole Society? *Leo* was the firſt and chief Member of that Aſſembly, or Council, as preſiding at it, under the Imperial Commiſſioners; and it was on that Conſideration alone that his Name was placed, in ſome

Leo's Name placed before that of the Council, no Proof of his being above the Council.

[b] Concil. t. 4. p. 93.

[c] Bellar. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.

Year of Chriſt 451.

Petitions and Memorials, before that of the Council. Had he been above the Council, that is, had his Authority been greater than the Authority of the whole Council (for that the *Roman* Catholic Writers mean by his being above the Council), the Biſhops had been but his Counſellors, and conſequently there had been no Occaſion to name the Council at all. It muſt be obſerved, that moſt of the Memorials and Petitions, preſented to the Council, were addreſſed either to the Emperor, or to the Commiſſioners; and ſuch only to *Leo* and the Council, as contained Complaints againſt *Dioſcorus*, the Commiſſioners having, by the Emperor's Orders, abſented themſelves from the Seſſion, in which the Cauſe of that Prelate was heard, and he condemned [d]. It was therefore to *Leo*, only in their Abſence, and as ſupplying their room, that the above-mentioned Petitions were addreſſed. As for the Titles of *the moſt Holy, the moſt Bleſſed, and Univerſal Patriarch*, the Two firſt were common to all Biſhops, eſpecially to the Metropolitans; and the latter began, about this time, to be given to the Three great Patriarchs, probably in regard of the great Extent of their Juriſdiction. Popes *Gregory* the Great writes, in one of his Letters [e], that the Title of *Oecumenical Biſhop* was offered to *Leo* by the preſent Council. But he was certainly miſtaken, and ſeems not to have diſtinguiſhed what was done in the Council, from what was done by the Council. In the Council indeed, when the Commiſſioners were abſent, the Petitions againſt *Dioſcorus* were preſented to the Legates of *Leo*, with this Addreſs, *To the Oecumenical Archbiſhop of the Holy City of* Rome; but the Council itſelf gave him no ſuch Title.

The Expreſſions uſed by the Council, no Proof of their owning the Pope's Supremacy.

As to the Expreſſions of the Council, ſtyling themſelves, in their Letter to *Leo*, the Members, and him their Head; he was, no doubt, their Head, and they were the Members, in the ſame Senſe as the Perſon, who preſides at any Society or Aſſembly, is ſaid to be the Head, or at the Head, of ſuch a Society or Aſſembly; and the reſt are ſtyled the Members. The Biſhops, in calling him their Head, and themſelves the Members, ſpoke only with reſpect to the preſent Council, as is manifeſt from the Context. But *Bellarmine* ſuppoſes them to have acknowleged him for the Head of the whole Church; and it is upon that falſe Suppoſition that he grounds his Doctrine; a Doctine which we ſhall hereafter ſee condemned, in expreſs Terms,

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 387. Evag. l. 2. c. 18. [e] Greg. l. 4. ep. 32.

by

by Two Oecumenical Councils; *viz.* Thoſe of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* [f], though both held in the Times when the Papal Power had attained to its full Height; *it being better*, as had been defined before by the Council of *Tours*, *that ſuch a Head, when infected, ſhould be cut off, than that it ſhould be ſuffered to communicate the Infection to the other Members* [g]. But, not to depart from the preſent Council, the Fathers, who compoſed it, notwithſtanding their ſtyling themſelves the Members, and *Leo* the Head; notwithſtanding the extraordinary Deference they ſeemed to pay both to him and his Legates; ſhewed very plainly, when other Matters were ſettled to their Satisfaction, that ſuch an uncommon Deference and Regard did not proceed from their looking upon *Leo*, as in any reſpect ſuperior to themſelves; but rather that they looked upon themſelves as ſuperior to him. For, reſuming at laſt, and exerting the Spirit that became them, they paſſed a Decree, as I have related above, highly diſpleaſing to the Legates, and which they well knew would be no leſs diſpleaſing to *Leo* himſelf, without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted from it either by the warm Oppoſition it met with from them, or the more violent Oppoſition they foreſaw it would meet with from him. And it is obſervable, that *Leo*, in combating that Decree, did not find Fault with it, or pretend it to be null, becauſe it was made againſt his ſovereign Will, which he would not have failed to do, had he been appriſed of his Supremacy; but alleged ſuch Reaſons againſt it, as might have been uſed by any other factious and arrogant Biſhop, who had been prompted by ſome particular Motive, or Humour of his own, to ſtand out againſt the reſt of his Brethren, and thwart, ſo far as in him lay, their Determinations. But if *Leo*, ſay they, had not been well appriſed of his Supremacy, he had never oppoſed a Decree which had been paſſed and ſigned by all the Fathers of the Council, to a Man. The Argument evidently recoils againſt them; for if, from his ſtanding out againſt the whole Council, we may conclude him to have been well appriſed of his Supremacy, we may well conclude the whole Council, from their ſtanding out againſt him, to have been utterly unappriſed of it: ſo that all our Adverſaries can gain by this way of arguing, is, that *Leo*, and *Leo* alone, was appriſed of his Supremacy; that he was indeed above the Council, in his own Opinion; but that, in the Opinion of every-body elſe, the Council was

Year of Chriſt 451.

The Fathers of the Council act as if they thought themſelves ſuperior to the Pope.

[f] Concil. Conſt. Seſſ. 4. et Baſil. Seſſ. 33. 38.

[g] Concil. Turon. Seſſ. 13.

Year of Chriſt 451.

Leo himſelf implicitly owns the Authority of an Oecumenical Council to be greater than his.

above him. But, after all, *Leo*, however conceited of his own Dignity, and the Authority of his See, was nevertheleſs ſo far from carrying his Ambition to ſuch an extravagant Height, as to conceive himſelf to be above all Councils, that is, to be the ſole, abſolute, and incontroulable Monarch of the Church, that he often acknowleges, as I have obſerved above, the Canons of *Nice* to be of an eternal and inviolable Authority with reſpect to all, to be with reſpect to all equally binding. And was not this acknowleging the Authority of one, and conſequently of every other Oecumenical Council, lawfully aſſembled, to be greater than his own? I need not ſay, that, by owning the Authority of a Council to be greater than his, he owned the Council to be above him. And now that I have made it undeniably appear, by examining more narrowly into the Conduct of thoſe who were any-ways concerned in the preſent Council (which it was not the Buſineſs of the Popiſh Writers to do), that the Papal Supremacy was, at this time, utterly unknown, not only to the reſt of World, but to the Pope himſelf, notwithſtanding the Authority aſſumed by his Legates, I ſhall reſume the Thread of the Hiſtory, not doubting but the Importance of the Subject will ſufficiently atone for the Length of the Digreſſion.

Italy *ravaged by the* Hunns, *under* Attila. Year of Chriſt 452.

The following Year 452. *Leo* had Occaſion to employ his Talents more uſefully, and with better Succeſs. *Attila* the famous King of the *Hunns*, commonly ſtyled *Flagellum Dei*, or the *Scourge of God*, being driven out of *Gaul*, broke unexpectedly into *Italy*; and, having made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Cities, and among the reſt, of *Aquileia*, *Pavia*, and *Milan* itſelf, at that time the uſual Seat of the Emperors of the Weſt, bent his March ſtrait to *Rome*, hoping to enrich himſelf with the Spoils of that wealthy Metropolis. As the City was not in a Condition to ſtand a Siege, as the Emperor *Valentinian* III. not daring to face ſo formidable an Enemy in the Field, had ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*, and the *Roman* General *Aetius*, who but the Year before had obliged the *Hunns* to abandon *Gaul*, betrayed now no leſs Fear than the reſt, the *Romans* expected daily to ſee *Attila*, and his numberleſs Army, at their Gates. In this deplorable Situation of Affairs, the only means that occurred to the Emperor and his Council, of ſaving *Rome*, and delivering the *Roman* People from Slaughter and Bondage, was to enter into a Treaty with the Conqueror, and by the beſt Peace they could obtain put an End to ſo deſtructive a War. Accordingly it was determined, that a ſolemn

Embaſſy

Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Attila*, with ſuch Propoſals as might be acceptable both to him and his Army. On this Occaſion the *Romans*, remembering how ſucceſsful the Eloquence of their Biſhop, and his Addreſs in Negotiations had formerly proved, prevailed upon him to put himſelf at the Head of the preſent Embaſſy. With him were joined *Albienus*, and *Trigecius*, both Men of the Firſt Rank, of long Experience in Negotiations, and known Abilities. The Three Embaſſadors immediately ſet out, with a grand and numerous Retinue, for the Enemy's Camp on the Banks of the *Minzo*, in the Neighbourhood of *Mantua*; and were received, on their Arrival, by the King of the *Hunns*, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Joy [s]. The Reception they met with is commonly aſcribed, by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, to the Fame of *Leo*'s extraordinary Sanctity, which had reached the Camp before them. However that be, the Terms they propoſed were readily agreed to by *Attila*; and a Treaty of Peace was ſoon concluded between him and *Valentinian*; in virtue of which he immediately commanded his Troops to forbear all Hoſtilities; and ſoon after leaving *Italy*, repaſſed the *Alps*, and even retired beyond the *Danube* [t].

Year of Chriſt 452.

Leo ſent with Two others, to treat with him.

A Treaty concluded.

The Succeſs of this Negotiation is commonly aſcribed to a Miracle; for it is ſaid, that, while *Leo* was haranguing *Attila*, One or Two Men, of a Majeſty more than human, ſuppoſed to have been St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, appeared ſtanding by him, threatening the Barbarian with drawn Swords pointed at his Breaſt, if he did not grant all that *Leo* required of him. This Account has been adopted by the Church of *Rome*, and allowed a Place in the *Roman* Breviary, a Book of great Authority, as having been declared by the Bulls of ſeveral Popes, to contain nothing but what is vouched by the beſt Hiſtorians. However, as no mention is made, nor ſo much as a diſtant Hint given of this miraculous Apparation, either by *Leo* himſelf, his Secretary *Proſper*, or any other contemporary Writer, in the Accounts they have tranſmitted to us of the preſent Embaſſy, and the Circumſtances attending it, ſome among the *Roman* Catholics themſelves, though zealous Sticklers for other Miracles, have taken the Liberty to queſtion this; and *Francis de Harley*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, even cauſed it to be ſtruck out of all the Breviaries that were uſed within the Limits of his Juriſdiction. But it is ſtill retained in the

The Succeſs of this Negotiation aſcribed, but not owing, to a Miracle.

[s] Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 42—49. [t] Idem ibid. et Proſp. chron. ad ann. 452.

Roman

Year of Christ 452.

Roman Breviary, the Popes being ſenſible, that, ſhould they encourage ſuch Inquiries, and part with one Miracle, they would be ſoon obliged to part with all (A).

Nor to the Eloquence of Leo, or his majeſtic Appearance.

Proſper, and after him, moſt of the Hiſtorians who flouriſhed at that time, or ſoon after, will have the unexpected Succeſs of the preſent Negotiation to have been intirely owing to the Eloquence, and majeſtic Appearance of *Leo*, which at the ſame time ſoftened and awed the Barbarian into a Compliance with every thing *Leo* could wiſh or require of him. But *Attila*, according to the Character thoſe very Writers give him, was by no means a Man to be ſo eaſily ſoftened or awed; and therefore I cannot think ſo highly of *Leo*'s Eloquence, and the Majeſty of his Appearance, as to believe the victorious King of the *Hunns* would have yielded to either, had he not been perſuaded, that it was his Intereſt to yield. And that it was his true Intereſt, may be eaſily ſhewn. His Army was at this very time in the greateſt Diſtreſs for want of Proviſions; a contagious Diſtemper raged in his Camp; a choſen Body of Troops, ſent by *Marcian* out of the *Eaſt*, was in full March to join thoſe which *Valentinian* had ordered to aſſemble in *Italy*; and another Body, ſent likewiſe by *Marcian*, having broken into the Country of the *Hunns*, committed there dreadful Ravages without Reſtraint or Controul; inſomuch that before the Arrival of the Embaſſadors *Attila* was in Suſpenſe whether he ſhould purſue his March to *Rome*, or abandon *Italy*, and return home [u]. And in theſe Circumſtances there was no Occaſion either for a Miracle, or an extraordinary Eloquence, to incline him to the latter; eſpecially as the Conditions offered him were ſuch as

But to the bad Situation of Attila's *Affairs.*

[u] Jornard. rer. Goth. c. 41—49.

(A) For this miraculous Apparition *Baronius* quotes the Author of the *Hiſtoria Miſcella* (1). He might as well have quoted the famous *Raphael*, ſince the ſuppoſed Apparition of the Two Apoſtles to *Attila*, and the Officers of his Army, is deſervedly reputed the moſt wondrous Performance of that inimitable Artiſt. For the Author of the *Hiſtoria Miſcella* flouriſhed, according to *Baronius* himſelf, as late as the Eighth Century. And what regard can the Teſtimony of ſo late a Writer deſerve with reſpect to a Tranſaction, not mentioned by any of the contemporary Hiſtorians, who would not, and indeed could not, without an unpardonable Omiſſion, have paſſed it over in Silence, had it been true? Beſides, *Baronius* could not but know, that the miraculous Apparition is to be met with in one Edition only of the Hiſtory he quotes, *viz.* in that of *Gruter*, which was printed from the only Manuſcript Copy, that contained this Account, and with it many others unqueſtionably fabulous. This the Annaliſt well knew; but it was not his Buſineſs to own it.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 452. n. 57—59.

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he ought not, in Prudence, to have rejected, had his Affairs been in a much better Situation than they really were; for one of the Conditions was, that an annual Penſion ſhould be paid him by the Emperor [w]; and he had, but Five Years before, required very little more of the Emperor *Theodoſius* to grant him a Peace, though he had made himſelf Maſter of 70 Towns, and defeated the Imperial Troops in Two pitched Battles [x]. The Eloquence of *Leo* therefore was not ſo triumphant on this Occaſion, as *Proſper* would make us believe that it was. Year of Chriſt 452.

The Monks of Egypt *and* Palæſtine *declare againſt the Council of* Chalcedon. Year of Chriſt 453.

The following Year *Leo* found, in the Monks of *Egypt* and *Palæſtine*, a more outrageous and ſtubborn Enemy to contend with, than he had done in *Attila* and his *Hunns*. For thoſe Monks, a moſt riotous and turbulent Race, perſuaded that the Fathers of *Chalcedon* had betrayed the Faith, and eſtabliſhed a Doctrine repugnant to that of *Nice*, began, as ſoon as the Council broke up, to aſſemble in great Numbers, and, out of the abundance of their Zeal for what they thought the Orthodox Faith, to threaten with Death and Deſtruction all who ſhould refuſe to anathematize the Council, its Symbol, and the Letter of *Leo*. They were headed by one of their own Profeſſion named *Theodoſius*, a Man of a reſtleſs Spirit, and who had been very troubleſome to the Prefects of *Egypt*, till he was, in ſome degree, tamed by *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, of whom I have ſpoken at Length above. For, having one Day dropped ſome Words that ſeemed to reflect on the Conduct of that haughty and paſſionate Prelate, he was by his Order immediately ſeized, whipped till he was ready to expire, and in that Condition put upon a Camel, and carried, as a public Malefactor, through the chief Streets of *Alexandria*, expoſed to the Outrages of the inſulting Rabble. However, as he was ſtill in great Credit with the Friends of *Eutyches*, he no ſooner declared againſt the Council, that had condemned him, than he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a numerous Army of Monks and Anchorets, who were ſoon joined by all the Outlaws, Thieves, and Robbers in thoſe Parts. With this Army he advanced to *Jeruſalem*, made himſelf Maſter of that City, and, having reinforced his Army there from the public Jails, he abandoned to their Fury all whom he thought leſs orthodox than himſelf. The Monks, and their Auxiliaries, being thus let looſe, the City was ſoon turned into a Scene of Blood and Slaughter; ſeveral Perſons, venerable for their Piety, were cruelly

Headed by one Theodoſius.

They make themſelves Maſters of Jeruſalem.

Their Cruelties there.

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Jornand. reg. c. 44. Priſc. p. 51—53.

Year of Chriſt 453.

maſſacred, their Houſes were plundered, and ſet on Fire; and none were ſpared, who had the Courage to own Two Natures in Chriſt, that is, who adored, with *Neſtorius*, *Two Chriſts*, *Two Sons*, and *Two Perſons*; for thus was the Doctrine of Two Natures interpreted by *Theodoſius*, and the Monks his Divines. They ſpared no Pains to gain over *Juvenalis*, Biſhop of the Place; but as he could not be prevailed upon to anathematize the Decree, which he had ſigned a little before at *Chalcedon*, they depoſed him, and cauſed their Leader *Theodoſius* to be ordained in his room; who was no ſooner inſtalled, then he gave private Orders to ſome of his Followers to diſpatch *Juvenalis*, being ſenſible that, ſo long as he lived, he would be ever attempting to recover his See. But that Prelate having made his Eſcape, the Aſſaſſins, not finding him, fell upon *Severianus* Biſhop of *Scythopholis*, and, upon his refuſing to acknowlege but one Nature in Chriſt, they maſſacred him, and all who were with him. And he is now honoured as a Martyr by the Church of *Rome*. Many others underwent the ſame Fate, and among the reſt the Deacon *Athanaſius*, a Man famed for his Sanctity. He ventured one Day to reproach the new Biſhop with his Cruelty; which ſo provoked him, that he immediately cauſed the Deacon to be put to Death, and his Body to be dragged, in a kind of Triumph, through the chief Streets of the City, and then to be thrown to the Dogs. The Monks were charged by the Emperor *Marcian* with this uncommon Piece of Barbarity. From *Jeruſalem Theodoſius* ſent large Detachments of his Monks and Aſſaſſins into the other Cities of *Palæſtine*, with an unlimited Commiſſion to extirpate, murder, and deſtroy all, eſpecially the Biſhops, who ſhould refuſe to anathematize the Doctrine of Two Natures, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Commiſſion was executed with a Cruelty hardly to be matched in Hiſtory. In ſome Cities the Biſhops were the firſt who joined them; and where they offered to withſtand them, they were inhumanly murdered, with the greater Part of their Clergy; and thoſe who had murdered them, were appointed in their room. The Laity, it ſeems, met with no better Quarter than the Clergy. For *Marcian* reproaches the Monks with having inſulted, and uſed with great Cruelty, even ſome Women, no leſs conſpicuous for their Birth than their Piety [y]. Theſe are the Troubles of *Palæſtine*, ſo often men-

Juvenalis *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *makes his Eſcape, and* Theodoſius *ordained in room.*

Another Biſhop, and ſeveral others maſſacred in Jeruſalem.

And in the other Cities of Palæſtine.

[y] Evag. l. 2. c. 5. Theoph. chronograph. p. 92. Leo ep. 97. 110. Concil. t. 4. p. 851. 858. 878, 879.

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tioned in the Letters of *Leo*, who, to do him Juſtice, left nothing unattempted to bring the riotous Monks to a Senſe of their Duty, and put an End to the Diſturbances, which they had raiſed in thoſe Parts. With this View he wrote a great many Letters, and among the reſt a very long one to the Monks themſelves, wherein he ſtrives to prove the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, condemned at *Chalcedon*, to be a no leſs dangerous Hereſy, than that of *Neſtorius* condemned at *Epheſus* [x]. This Letter made no ſmall Impreſſion on ſome of the Monks, who, thereupon, abandoning *Theodoſius*, returned to their Monaſteries. But it was by the Imperial Authority, or rather Troops, that the Diſturbances were in the End intirely compoſed. For *Marcian* being informed of the Intruſion of *Theodoſius*, and the Exceſſes committed by him, and his Monks, diſpatched an Order to Count *Dorotheus*, Governor of *Palæſtine*, commanding him to aſſemble, without Delay, the Troops quartered in that, and the neighbouring Provinces, to put himſelf at their Head, and to treat as Enemies both to the Church and Empire, all whom he found bearing Arms. This Order was no ſooner known, than *Theodoſius*, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Dorotheus*, who was ordered to ſeize him, and ſend him well guarded to *Conſtantinople*, privately withdrew from *Jeruſalem*; and, haveing, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, got ſafe out of *Palæſtine*, took Sanctuary among his Brethren on Mount *Sinai*. Upon the Flight of their Leader the Monks ſoon diſperſed; *Juvenalis* returned to his See; and by his means the Province was reſtored, in a very ſhort time, to its former Tranquillity [y].

Year of Chriſt 453.

Leo *writes to the Monks.*

The Diſturbances quieted by the Emperor.

Leo was, for ſome time, diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Eaſt by the Death of *Valentinian*, murdered on the 17th of *March* 455. and the many Calamities, which that Event produced in the Weſt. For *Maximus*, by whom *Valentinian* was murdered, not only cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor in his room; but that he might have ſome Title to the Imperial Crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceaſed Emperor's Widow, to marry him, while his Hands were yet reeking with the Blood of her former Husband and Sovereign. As ſhe had loved *Valentinian* with the greateſt Tenderneſs, the finding herſelf obliged to live with his Murderer, provoked her to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe reſolved, at all Events, to revenge his Death, and at the ſame time to redeem herſelf from a Situation, to her, of all others,

Genſeric, *King of the* Vandals, *ſolicited by the Empreſs* Eudoxia *to invade* Italy.

Year of Chriſt 455.

[x] Leo ep. 86. [y] Concil. t. 4. p. 879. Evagr. l. 2. c. 5.

Year of Christ 455.

the most grievous and painful. With this View she resolved to apply to the famous *Genseric*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who she well knew would be glad of any Pretence, and would neglect no Opportunity of invading *Italy*, and distressing the Empire. To him therefore she dispatched a Messenger, in whom she could confide, conjuring him to come and rescue her out of the Arms of a Tyrant, who had embrued his Hands in the Blood of her Husband, and his Friend: for *Valentinian* had concluded a Peace with *Genseric* Two Years before, and yielded to him great Part of *Africa*. As the Empress assured him, that he would meet with no Opposition, and, at the same time, promised to assist him to the utmost of her Power, he put to Sea without Loss of Time, and steered his Course strait to *Rome*. The sudden and unexpected Appearance of so numerous a Fleet struck the dastardly *Romans* with such Terror and Dismay, that, instead of putting themselves in a Posture of Defence, they threw open their Gates as soon as the King of the *Vandals* appeared before them, and surrendered at Discretion [z]. In this Extremity *Leo* did not abandon his Flock; but with great Intrepidity went out to meet the Enemy, as they approached the City. But as the *Romans* had nothing to offer, that could, in any degree, countervail the Pillage of so wealthy a City; and *Genseric* had nothing to fear; he was not, though a Christian, so much affected with the Eloquence of *Leo*, or awed by the Majesty of his Appearance, as the King of the *Hunns* is said to have been, though a Heathen. But neither did his Mediation prove quite ineffectual; for the King of the *Vandals*, notwithstanding his Attachment to the Doctrine of *Arius*, received the first of the Catholic Bishops with all the Respect that was due to his Rank and Character; nay, and was so far affected with his Prayers and Tears, as to grant to them what he thought it would be of little Advantage for him to refuse. He would not indeed be restrained, though *Leo* alleged all the Motives that could be alleged to restrain him, from pillaging the City, the public as well as the private Houses, and even the Churches; or from carrying the Inhabitants into Captivity; but promised, and observed his Promise with great Fidelity, that the City should not be set on Fire; that no Blood should be shed where no Opposition was met with; and that none should be tortured, to confess, I suppose, what Wealth they were possessed of,

Genseric makes himself Master of Rome.

Leo meets him.

And is well received.

But cannot restrain him from plundering the City, and even the Churches.

[z] Evag. l. 2. c. 7. Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 204. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. Theop. p. 93.

and

and where it lay concealed [a]. The *Vandals* entered *Rome* on the 15th of *June* 455. and continued there till the 29th of the ſame Month; during which time there was no Houſe, no Church, no public Building, which they did not ranſack, and ſtrip of all their Wealth, and valuable Monuments. When nothing was left which they thought worth carrying off, they put the immenſe Treaſure they had amaſſed on board their Ships, and, reimbarking, put to Sea, with a Booty ſufficient to enrich all *Africa*, and with as many Captives as they could ſtow on board their Fleet. Among theſe were the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, her Two Daughters *Eudocia* and *Placidia*, *Gaudentius* the Son of the *Roman* General *Aetius*, and ſeveral other Perſons of great Diſtinction. As for the Uſurper *Maximus*, he attempted to ſave himſelf by Flight as ſoon as the Enemy's Fleet appeared off the Coaſt; but the Populace, highly incenſed againſt him for thus ſhamefully abandoning thoſe whom it was his Duty to protect, fell upon him, as he was flying with ſome of his Court, put him to Death, and threw his Body into the *Tyber*, after it had been ignominiouſly dragged through the chief Streets of the City, and lain for ſome time expoſed to the Inſults of the enraged Multitude [b]. *Genſeric*, whom the Eccleſiaſtical Writers paint as an inhuman Tyrant, and a mere Barbarian, perhaps to be thus revenged on him for the Sack of *Rome*, treated his Royal Captives with the greateſt Reſpect, and entertained them in a manner ſuitable to their high Rank, till the Year 462. when he ſent back *Eudoxia* with her Daughter *Placidia* to the Emperor *Leo*, the Succeſſor of *Marcian*, but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Hunneric* his eldeſt Son [c] (A). Theſe

Year of Chriſt 455.

He returns to Africa *with an immenſe Booty.*

The Emperor Maximus *murdered.*

[a] Proſp. chron. p. 55. [b] Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 2. c. 4. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45.
[c] Theoph. p. 93. Procop. ibid.

(A) *Baronius*, upon the Authority of *Anaſtaſius* and Pope *Adrian* I. ſuppoſes *Leo* to have prevailed upon *Genſeric* to ſpare the Churches of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and the *Lateran* (1). For, in the Edition of *Anaſtaſius*, which the Annaliſt peruſed, it is ſaid, that the *Vandals* did not carry off with them Six Veſſels of Silver, each weighing One hundred Pounds, which *Conſtantine* had preſented to theſe Churches. But as it is ſaid in the ſame Place of that Edition, that *Leo*, having cauſed thoſe Veſſels to be melted down, renewed, with the Silver, the ſacred Veſſels of all the Churches of *Rome* (2); for which Purpoſe ſurely Six hundred Pounds Weight of Silver could, by no means, be ſufficient, we may well conclude the Text in that Edition to have been corrupted. In the *Louvre* Edition of *Anaſtaſius*, *Leo* is ſaid to have given new Veſſels to the Churches, in the room of thoſe that were melted down, no doubt by the *Vandals*, and among the reſt Six, each weighing 100 Pounds, in lieu of thoſe that had been given by *Conſtantine* (3): ſo that, according to the *Louvre* Edition, thoſe Veſſels

(1) Bar. ad ann. 455. n. 13. (2) Bar. ibid. (3) Anaſ. p. 27.

 fell

Year of Christ 455.

These Troubles, and the Mischiefs they occasioned, seem to have ingrossed *Leo*'s Care and Attention, so as to leave him no Leisure to write. For, from the 13th of *March* of the present Year, we have not a single Letter of his till the 9th of *June*, or, as some will have it, till the 11th of *July* 457. when the Disturbances that happened in *Egypt*, obliged him to resume his Correspondence with the East, and interpose anew, and very seasonably, in the Affairs of those Churches.

Marcian *dies.*

Year of Christ 457.

For the Emperor *Marcian* dying in the Beginning of that Year, his Death was no sooner known in *Egypt*, than the *Eutychians*, who were very numerous there, especially in *Alexandria*, thinking themselves now free from all Restraint, began to renew their Efforts against the Council of *Chalcedon*, which the deceased Emperor had made it the chief Business of his Reign to defend and establish. They were stirred up, and headed by one *Timotheus*, surnamed, from the Fierceness of his Nature, *Ælurus*, that is, *the Cat* [d], a Name famous in the Annals of the Church. He was originally a Monk, but, being raised by *Dioscorus* to the Priesthood, he adhered to that Prelate, after he was condemned and deposed by the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Proterus*, who was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria* in the room of *Dioscorus*, did all that lay in his Power to make him quit the Party he had embraced; but, finding him unalterably attached to the Doctrine as well as the Person of the condemned Bishop, he assembled a Council at *Alexandria* in 452. and there condemned him, and with him some Bishops and Monks, who, in Defiance of the Council of *Chalcedon*, continued still to acknowlege *Dioscorus* for lawful Bishop. The Bishops, thus condemned, were, by *Marcian*, driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile [e]. *Ælurus* perhaps was banished at the same

New Disturbances raised by the Eutychians, *with* Timotheus Ælurus *at their Head.*

[d] Evag. l. 2. c. 8. Concil. p. 898.

[e] Evag. l. 2. c. 8. Concil. p. 893—899.

fell into the Hands of the *Vandals*, who consequently must have plundered the abovementioned Churches. As for Pope *Adrian*, he only says, as quoted by *Baronius*, that in his time there still was a Statue of Gold, which the Emperor *Valentinian* had given to the Church of St. *Peter* (4): and so there might, though the Church had been pillaged; since it is not to be doubted but that many valuable Effects were removed before the Enemy entered the City, and concealed till they withdrew. But whatever *Anastasius* or *Adrian* may have written, the contemporary Writers are all silent on this Head. And who can believe, that if *Leo* had prevailed upon the King of the *Vandals* to spare those Three Churches, the richest in *Rome*, *Prosper* would have passed over in Silence such a remarkable Instance of the Force of his Eloquence? *Prosper*, who extolled it so much, and with so little Reason, on occasion of the Success that attended his Negotiations on the Banks of the *Minzo*.

(4) Bar. ibid.

time,

time, at leaſt he was no more heard of till the preſent Year 457. when he appeared again in *Egypt*, and, with his Appearance, put an End to the Tranquillity which that Province had enjoyed for ſome Years. As both *Dioſcorus*, and the Emperor, who ſupported the Election of *Proterus*, were now dead; as the *Alexandrians* were, for the moſt part, greatly diſſatisfied with their Biſhop, and of all People the moſt fond of Riots and Tumults, as the Hiſtorians obſerve on this, and on many other Occaſions; *Ælurus* did not deſpair of being able to improve their preſent Diſpoſition into an open Revolt from their lawful Paſtor, and to raiſe himſelf to the Patriarchal Throne in his room. But this he well knew could not be eaſily accompliſhed without the Help and Concurrence of the Monks, the common Incendiaries of every Sedition. In order therefore to gain them, and ſecure them to his Intereſt, he uſed, in the darkeſt Nights, to go round their Cells, cloathed in Black, that he might not be ſeen, or diſtinguiſhed, to call them by their Names; and, when they anſwered, to tell them, with a counterfeit Voice, that he was an Angel, ſent from God, to command them, in his Name, to avoid the Communion of *Proterus* the *Neſtorian*, and place the pious and orthodox *Timotheus* in his room [f]. The Monks entertained not the leaſt Suſpicion of Deceit or Impoſture (for Credulity now prevailed in the higheſt Degree, eſpecially among them, as appears from their Legends; and Miracles were forged and believed by Wholeſale); but began to look upon *Ælurus* as appointed, by God himſelf, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and upon themſelves, as the Inſtruments choſen by God to bring about what he had appointed. They therefore all declared, with an enthuſiaſtic Zeal, for this Darling of Heaven, and, repairing, by his Direction, to *Alexandria*, raiſed a dreadful Tumult there; in the Height of which *Ælurus*, attended by his Monks, and a Band of Deſperadoes, whom he had ſupplied with Arms, broke open the Doors of the great Church, and cauſed himſelf to be ordained by Two Biſhops, who had both been formerly depoſed. When the Ceremony was over, he took Poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopal Throne, and was proclaimed, with the repeated Huzza's of the Monks, and the Rabble, the ſole lawful Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and the Metropolitan of all *Egypt* [g].

Year of Chriſt 457.

Ælurus *aſpires to the Biſhopric of* Alexandria.

His Stratagem to gain the Monks.

By their means is ordained Biſhop of Alexandria.

[f] Theodor. p. 552. Evagr. ibid. Niceph. Call. l. 15. c. 16. [g] Concil. t. 4. p. 893. Evagr. Niceph. Theodor. ubi ſupra, Liberat. c. 15.

Proterus,

Year of Christ 457.

Proterus, alarmed at ſo bold an Attempt, and not doubting but the next would be upon his Life, during which the Epiſcopacy of the Uſurper would be very precarious, thought himſelf obliged to conſult his own Safety; and therefore, as he was unwilling to oppoſe Force to Force, he left the Epiſcopal Palace, and, flying to the Church of *Quirinus*, took Sanctuary in the adjoining Baptiſtery (A); a Place, ſays the Council [h], which the Barbarians revered, and the Pagans themſelves, tho' they knew not why. But the Sacredneſs of the Place was no Protection againſt the Ambition of *Ælurus*, or the Rage of his Followers; and the moſt innocent Blood was ſpilt, to uſe the Expreſſion of the Council, where the moſt guilty ought to have been ſpared (B).

Proterus, *the lawful Biſhop, murdered.*

The

[h] Concil. ibid. p. 894.

(A) Baptiſteries were antiently Buildings diſtinct from the Church, conſiſting of a Porch, where the Catechumens renounced *Satan*, and made their Confeſſion of Faith; and an inner Room, where the Ceremony of Baptiſm was performed. The Baptiſteries were very capacious, becauſe the ſtated Seaſons for Baptiſm recurring but ſeldom, great Multitudes were uſually baptized at the ſame time. We ſometimes read even of Councils meeting and ſitting in Baptiſteries (1). Some modern Writers have confounded the *Baptiſtery* and the *Font*, which, however, were antiently very different things; the Baptiſtery being the whole Building, and the Font only the Fountain or Pool, into which Perſons were immerſed at the Time of their Baptiſm. For Baptiſm by Immerſion was undoubtedly the Apoſtolical Practice, and was never diſpenſed with by the Church, except in caſe of Sickneſs, or when a ſufficient Quantity of Water for Immerſion could not be procured. In both theſe Caſes, Baptiſm by Aſperſion or Sprinkling was allowed, but in no other. In the primitive Times there were no Baptiſteries; and yet Baptiſm was adminiſtred even then, as appears from *Juſtin Martyr* (2), and *Tertullian* (3), in a Place diſtinct from the Church; probably in any Place, where there was Water; for, in thoſe Days, it mattered little, as we learn from *Tertullian* (4), whether a Man was baptized in the Sea, or in a Lake, in a River, or in a Fountain, in the *Jordan*, or in the *Tiber*. And here we may obſerve, by the way, that, from theſe Words, it is manifeſt, that the many Superſtitions, and idle Ceremonies, now practiſed by the Church of *Rome*, in ſolemnly exerciſing and bleſſing the Baptiſmal Water, were utterly unknown in thoſe early Times, though they are held by that Church, upon the Authority of one of thoſe who have often miſled her (5), to be of Apoſtolic Inſtitution. In the Sixth Century Baptiſteries were ſtill diſtinct Buildings from the Churches. But in that Age Baptiſm began, in ſome Places, to be adminiſtred in the Porch of the Church, and not long after it was, almoſt every-where, performed in the Church itſelf (6). I know but of one antient Baptiſtery ſtill ſtanding, that near St. *John Lateran* at *Rome*, which has been kept up to maintain and propagate the famous Fable, That *Conſtantine* was baptized there by Pope *Sylveſter*.

(B) With *Proterus* were murdered, in the ſame Place, Six of his Eccleſiaſtics, who had attended him in his Flight. Their Bodies the Aſſaſſins left there; but that of *Proterus* they conveyed, in a kind of Triumph, to a Place called *Tetrapylus*, where they hung it up on a Gibbet; and, after

(1) Vide Du Freſne Comm. in Paul. Silentiar. et Concil. Chalced. act. 1. (2) Juſtin. apol. 2. (3) Tertull. de Bapt. de Coron. mil. c. 3. (4) Tertull. de Bapt. c. 4. (5) Baſil. l. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. (6) Vide Durant. de ritib. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 19. n. 4.

it

The lawful Biſhop being thus removed, *Ælurus*, without Loſs of Time, aſſembled a Council; and, together with the Biſhops who compoſed it (Four or Five in Number, who had been all degraded by *Proterus*, and baniſhed by *Marcian)*, anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon*, and all who had received it; eſpecially, and by Name, *Leo*, *Anatolius*, and *Baſilius*, who had lately ſucceeded *Maximus* in the See of *Antioch*. In virtue of this Sentence, pronounced by him, and his mock Council, he excommunicated, depoſed, and, by his own Authority, drove from their Sees, all the Biſhops of the *Patriarchate* of *Alexandria*, who refuſed to ſign the above-mentioned Anathema, and abjure the Faith of *Chalcedon*, the impious Tenet, as he ſtyled it, of Two Natures in Chriſt. In the room of thoſe whom he thus drove out, he took care to place ſuch of his own Party, as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, by their Attachment to his Intereſt, and their Zeal for his Doctrine [i]. Not only the Biſhops, but the other Eccleſiaſtics, and even the Laymen, who had the Courage to ſtand up in Defence of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, were every-where perſecuted, as declared Heretics, and obliged either to communicate with *Ælurus*, or ſave themſelves from the Rage of his Partiſans, by quitting their Churches and Country [k].

Year of Chriſt 457.

Ælurus excommunicates Leo, *and all who held the Doctrine of* Chalcedon.

Several Biſhops driven from their Sees.

Theſe Diſturbances afforded a large Field to the Zeal of *Leo*; and indeed it required all his Zeal, Intereſt, and Authority, to redreſs the Evils, which they had already occaſioned, and to prevent the far greater Evils, which it was juſtly apprehended they might occaſion. For though the Crimes committed by *Ælurus* were notorious; yet he was not only ſcreened by the Friends he had at Court, from the Puniſhment they deſerved, but even maintained in Poſſeſſion of the See, to which he had opened himſelf a Way by ſuch enormous Exceſſes. The Emperor *Leo*, the Succeſſor of *Marcian*, had, from the very Beginning of his Reign, openly declared in favour of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and by an Ordinance, addreſſed to the Metropolitans throughout his Dominions, confirmed all the Laws made

Ælurus *ſupported by his Friends at Court.*

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 899. Leont. act. 5. p. 512. Phot. c. 230. [k] Concil. ibid. p. 905.

it had been ſome time expoſed there to the View and Inſults of the inhuman and barbarous Rabble, they dragged it, torn, mangled, and disfigured as it was, through the chief Streets of *Alexandria*, and then burnt it, and diſperſed the Aſhes, to deprive their Biſhop of thoſe Honours that were not denied to the greateſt Criminals (1).

(1) Concil. p. 899. Evagr. l. 2. c. 8. Liberat. c. 15.

by

Year of Christ 457.

by his Predeceſſors, eſpecially by *Marcian*, for the Defence and Support of the orthodox Faith [l]. However, as ſome of the moſt powerful Men of the Empire, and, among the reſt, the famous Patrician *Aſpar*, to whom the Emperor owed his Crown, his Son *Ardaburius*, and *Baſiliſcus*, Brother to the Empreſs *Verina*, had eſpouſed the *Eutychian* Cauſe, and ſupported it with all their Intereſt, the Emperor, to gratify them, began to hearken to the Biſhops of that Party, remonſtrating againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*, and preſſing him to convene another; to the Deciſions of which they ſolemnly engaged to ſubmit, and finally acquieſce [m]; nay, *Facundus* aſſures us, that he was abſolutely determined to aſſemble another Oecumenical Council, in order to have examined anew the Myſtery of the Incarnation [n].

The Eutychians *demand a new Council.*

Leo oppoſes the aſſembling of one.

The convening a Council for that Purpoſe was, no doubt, highly injurious to the Authority of the Church, ſince it was calling in queſtion what ſhe had ſo ſolemnly defined. *Leo* therefore, who looked upon it in that Light, was no ſooner acquainted with the Deſign of the Emperor, than he exerted all his Credit, Intereſt, and Authority, to divert him from it. With this View he wrote Letters upon Letters to the Emperor, to *Aſpar*, and the other Men in Power, to *Anatolius*, and all the other Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Biſhops of any Note in the Eaſt [o]. In his Letters to the Emperor, he repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the Danger of re-examining what had been already examined, and finally decided by ſo numerous a Council. In thoſe to the Biſhops he adviſed, exhorted, and encouraged them to join, all as one Man, in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the only Means of defeating effectually the wicked Attempts of the *Eutychians*; ſince it could not be imagined, that either the Emperor or his Miniſters would ever think of convening a Council, in order to examine a Doctrine that was unanimouſly received by all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church [p]. His Letters ſeem to have made no great Impreſſion on the Emperor, or his Miniſters. But the Biſhops, no leſs apprehenſive of the Danger than *Leo* himſelf, ſince the Authority of the Church was at ſtake, all joined, with great Readineſs, in a Cauſe that was common to all; and their Union rendering a new Examination both needleſs and dangerous, the Emperor laid aſide all Thoughts of aſſembling a new Council.

And diverts the Emperor from it.

[l] Concil. t. 4. 892—895. Leo ep. 115. 122. [m] Leo ep. 116. 129. [n] Facund. l. 12. c. 2. [o] See Leo's Letters from 115. to 134. [p] Leo ep. 118, 119. 121.

However,

Year of Christ 457.

However, to gratify, in ſome Degree, the *Eutychians*, who were very powerful at Court, inſtead of aſſembling the Biſhops in one Place, he wrote a circular Letter to all the Metropolitans throughout his Dominions, injoining them to aſſemble the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtics of their reſpective Provinces, to examine together with them the Symbol or Decree of *Chalcedon*, and to acquaint him with their Sentiments concerning that Decree, as well as the Intruſion of *Ælurus*, which was very differently repreſented to him by the different Parties [q]. This Letter the Emperor ſent not only to the Biſhops, but to ſuch of the Anchorites as were moſt renowned for the Sanctity and Auſterity of their Lives, and, among the reſt, to the famous *Symeon Stylites*, and *Baradatus*, who were univerſally reputed the Two greateſt Saints of the preſent Age, the former living, for the Benefit of Mankind, on the Top of a Pillar, and the latter in a Cage (A). For

Who orders the Decree of Chalcedon *to be examined by the Biſhops of each Province, in a provincial Synod.*

[q] Concil. t. 4. p. 108. Facund. l. 12. c. 3. Marcell. chron.

(A) *Symeon* is ſaid, by the contemporary Writers, to have paſſed the laſt 36 Years of his Life on the Top of a Pillar, placed on the Summit of a high Mountain, in the Territory of *Antioch*, without ever coming down, unleſs it was to change his Pillar, which he did, according to thoſe Writers, Five times, either cauſing the ſame Pillar to be raiſed, or new ones to be built, each higher than the other, that he might thus remove farther from the Earth, and more and more approach Heaven. His Firſt Pillar was 9 Feet high; the Second 18; the Third 32; the Fourth 48; and the laſt, on which he died, 60. He choſe this kind of Life in the Year 423. and paſſed 4 Years on the Firſt Pillar; 3 on the Second; 10 on the Third, 4 on the Fourth, and 15 on the laſt. They were all but 3 Feet broad; ſo that he could never lie down; nor was he ever ſeen to ſit; but conſtantly ſtood, expoſed, like a Statue, to the Heat of the Summer, and the Cold of the Winter, both exceſſive in that Climate, to the Rain, Snow, Winds, and all the Inclemencies of the Air and the Seaſons. He ſpent his whole Time, till the Hour of *None*, that is till Three in the Afternoon, in Prayer and Meditation; and then preached from his Pillar to the Crouds, that flocked daily from all Parts to ſee and hear him, compoſed their Differences, reſolved their Doubts, and anſwered all the Queſtions they asked him. At the ſetting of the Sun he diſmiſſed the Multitude, gave them his Bleſſing, and again betook himſelf to Prayer; during which, he was obſerved to bend his Body ſeveral times in a Minute, and to bow ſo low as almoſt to touch his Feet with his Forehead. Some, out of Curioſity, took upon them to count how often he thus bowed in a Day; and *Theodoret*, the famous Biſhop of *Cyrus*, aſſures us, that one, who came with him to ſee ſo great a Prodigy, having attempted to do it, counted 1244 ſuch Bows, and then, finding he had undertaken too difficult a Task, gave over counting. Other things no leſs ſurpriſing are related of this wondrous Man. For he is ſaid to have taken no kind of Food, but on *Sundays*, obſerving a rigorous Faſt the other Six Days of the Week; to have wholly abſtained, at leaſt once a Year, and ſometimes twice, and oftener, from all Food, for Forty Days together; to have ſtood the whole laſt Year of his Life on one Foot, having loſt the Uſe of the other by an Ulcer; and, laſtly, to have died in that Poſture, and continued in it till his Body was, with great Solemnity, taken down from the Pillar. During his Life-time People flocked from all Parts of the known World to ſee ſo new, ſo ſurpriſing a Spectacle; inſomuch that *Theodoret*, who wrote while he was ſtill living, nay, 20 Years before his Death, could appeal for the Truth

Year of Christ 457. For now Superſtition began to prevail, and Men were ſainted for Actions that ſavoured more of Madneſs than Sanctity.

In

of what he wrote concerning him, not only to the Subjects of both Empires, but to all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Numberleſs Multitudes, ſays that Writer, are ſeen daily arriving, by different Roads, at the holy Mountain, like ſo many Rivers running into the Sea; from the Eaſt the *Iſmaelites*, the *Perſians*, the *Armenians*, the *Iberians*, the *Ethiopians*, and other more diſtant Nations; from the Weſt, the *Italians*, the *Gauls*, the *Spaniards*, the *Britons*, and People, utterly unknown to us, who border on them. Theſe all know what I write to be true; and to them I appeal (1). Thus *Theodoret*. But, after all, I ſhould be glad to know how he, how thoſe, to whom he appeals, knew, or could know, that *Symeon* never came down from his Pillar; that he obſerved ſuch long and rigorous Faſts. *Theodoret* did not live conſtantly at the Foot of the Pillar, to watch him; but only came from time to time to pay him a Viſit, and at Sun-ſet was diſmiſſed with the reſt: ſo that we may queſtion the Truth of ſuch wondrous things, without arraigning the Veracity of ſo famous a Writer, ſince it is not upon his own Knowlege, but the Teſtimony of others, that he relates them; probably of the Anchorets, who inhabited the neighbouring Deſart, a moſt ſimple, credulous, and ignorant Race. By theſe many things, ſtill more ſurpriſing, were reported of their Fellow-Anchoret, and, through the prevailing Superſtition of that credulous Age, univerſally believed, tho' exceeding all Belief. Amongſt other things, they gave out, that he never took any kind of Food. But that *Theodoret* did not believe, though he does not queſtion his having yearly obſerved a rigorous Faſt for Forty Days together; as if it were more extraordinary, incredible, or miraculous for a Man to faſt Forty Years than Forty Days. *Theodoret* wrote in 440. that is, Twenty Years before the Death of *Symeon*, and when he had lived but Sixteen Years on his Pillar. So that the ſupriſing things that are ſaid to have happened in the Twenty laſt Years of his Life, and at his Death, are atteſted only by one of his Diſciples, named *Antony*, who wrote a very minute Account of his Life, of his Death, and of the Miracles he is ſuppoſed to have wrought both in his Life-time, and after his Death. Of this Work a very antient Manuſcript Copy, in the original *Greek*, is lodged in the Library of the Duke of *Bavaria*, which has been tranſlated into *Latin* by *Bollandus* (2). But it is filled with ſuch abſurd and improbable Stories, with ſuch amazing Events, and abſolutely impoſſible, as muſt ſtagger Credulity itſelf. In one Place, for inſtance, the Saint is ſaid to have helped ſome Perſons, by a Miracle, to do what they were ſtruck dumb by another Miracle for having done; but by a Third reſtored to the Uſe of their Tongues (3). In no other Legend is there ſuch a Profuſion of uſeleſs Miracles as in this; and yet it is held in the greateſt Eſteem by the Church of *Rome*, and has been copied, with ſome notable Improvements, by all the Hiſtorians, who, ſince *Antony*'s Time, have related the Actions of *Symeon*, eſpecially by *Theodorus* the *Reader*, and *Evagrius*.

It would be cruel to rob the Church of *Rome* of one of her greateſt Saints, with ſuch a Croud of Miracles in his Train; and therefore I will not take upon me to ſay, that *Symeon* was prompted, by the Deſire of Fame and popular Applauſe, to embrace ſuch an extraordinary and painful State of Life; but only obſerve that another was; *viz.* *Nicander*, ſurnamed likewiſe *Stylites*, from his living, as *Symeon* did, on the Top of a Pillar (4). He was, for ſome time, no leſs honoured and revered than *Symeon*, People crouding from all Parts to ſee him. But, having, for want of Craft, and due Circumſpection, betrayed a Deſire of Praiſe, and beſides ſome Fondneſs for Women, a Rock on which many great Saints have ſplit, he was abandoned even by thoſe who had moſt admired him. When he found himſelf thus diſcovered and forſaken, he came down, took his Leave of the Pillar, and condeſcended to live as other Men did. *Symeon* was more

(1) Theodoret. vit. Patr. c. 26. p. 266. (2) Bolland. 5 Jan. (3) Bolland. ibid. (4) Nil. ep. 114, 115.

cautious,

In Compliance with the Emperor's Order, the Metropolitans aſſembled the Suffragans, and other Eccleſiaſtics of their reſpective Provinces; Year of Chriſt 458. *Several provincial Synods held.*

cautious, eſpecially with reſpect to Women. For he is ſaid, from the Time of his Converſion to the Day of his Death, to have avoided even the Sight of a Woman (5); nay, of his own Mother. For we are told, by his Diſciple *Antony*, that his Mother, who had not heard of him for the Space of 27 Years, being come to ſee him while he ſtood on his Second Pillar, which was incloſed by a high Wall, he would not ſee her, nor be ſeen by her till after her Death. For the good Woman is ſaid to have died of Grief, the Third Day after her Arrival, finding, that neither by her Prayers nor Tears ſhe could prevail upon her Son to admit her within the Incloſure. When *Symeon* heard ſhe was dead, he cauſed her Body to be brought in; and, having ſaid a ſhort Prayer over it, reſtored her to Life. But her Life was ſhort; for ſhe only opened her Eyes, ſaw her Son, ſmiled, and then, ſhutting her Eyes again, died the Second time, and was buried at the Foot of the Pillar (6). *Evagrius* writes, That no Woman was allowed to ſet Foot in the Church, which was built after his Death, in the Place where his Pillar had ſtood. Theſe, and many other ſuch idle Tales, are gravely related by the Eccleſiaſtic Writers of thoſe Times; and it is upon the Authority of ſuch Writers that the Church of *Rome* pretends the Power of working Miracles, which ſhe makes one of the Signs of the true Church, to have been entailed upon her, and by her exerciſed in all Ages, from the Times of the Apoſtles to the preſent. But the very laſt I have mentioned may be alleged as an Inſtance, to convince every ſenſible Man, that even the beſt atteſted of her Miracles ought to be looked upon as arrant Fables. For that *Symeon* raiſed his Mother from the Dead is gravely related by a contemporary Writer, who ſolemnly declares, that he was an Eye-witneſs of the Miracle he relates; nay, that it was wrought not only in his Sight and Preſence, but in the Sight and Preſence of many others: he wrote ſoon after the Death of *Symeon*, and conſequently when many were ſtill living, who might have diſproved what he wrote: but he was ſo far from being under any Apprehenſion on that Score, that he appeals to them as Eye-witneſſes of what he wrote. We may add, that all the Writers, who have deſcribed the wondrous Actions of *Symeon*, ſince his Time, have copied him, and without betraying the leaſt Suſpicion of his being deceived, or of his deſigning to deceive others, have related the ſame Miracle, and with the ſame Circumſtances, as they found it related by him. Were the Church of *Rome* to make an Inventory of all her Miracles, ſhe would find none among them better atteſted than this, and very few ſo well. And yet if we appeal to our Reaſon, and examine this, ſo well atteſted Miracle, with the leaſt Degree of Attention, we ſhall find it attended with ſuch Circumſtances as no Evidence whatever can render credible. For who can believe, that a great Saint, ſuch as *Symeon* is ſaid and ſuppoſed to have been, would have ſuffered his Mother to die of Grief, when he might have ſaved her Life, only by allowing her the Satisfaction of ſeeing him? To believe this we muſt ſuppoſe filial Duty, Reſpect, and Obedience to be capital Sins; and Cruelty and Ill-nature, in Children to their Parents, to be cardinal Virtues. Beſides, what can be conceived more abſurd, more repugnant to Reaſon and good Senſe, than that *Symeon* ſhould ſuffer his Mother to die of Grief rather than to ſee him, and the very next Minute raiſe her from the Dead, that ſhe might ſee him? That had been working the greateſt of Miracles merely out of Wantonneſs, and to attain an End that might have been attained without any Miracle at all. And to ſuppoſe that God would ſuffer the Power of working Miracles to be thus, I may ſay, idly ſported with, would be evidently detracting from his infinite Wiſdom.

It is not merely to confute ſuch an idle Tale that I have dwelt ſo long on this Subject, but to ſhew, by ſo remarkable an Inſtance, that, univerſally ſpeaking, there is

(5) Greg. Turon. de glor. Confeſſ. c. 26. Bolland. Mart. t. 2. p. 9. (6) Bolland. 5 Jan. p. 266. 270. Vit. Patr. l. 1. p. 172.

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The Decree of Chalcedon *received by all but the Bishops of* Pamphylia.

vinces; and, having, together with them, examined both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the different Relations of the Intrusion of *Ælurus*, which the Emperor had caused to be transmitted to them, all agreed, but the Bishops of *Pamphylia*, in receiving the Decision of the Council, which, in their Answer to the Emperor, they declared themselves ready to defend at the Expence of their Lives; and in condemning *Ælurus*, as altogether unworthy, not only of the Episcopal Dignity, but even of the Name of a Christian, if truly guilty of the Crimes that were laid to his Charge [r]. The Anchorets agreed with the Bishops in receiving the Council, and condemning *Ælurus*: *Baradatus* added in his Letter, that since the Heretics would not answer to the Voice of their Pastors, the Emperor should make them hear the Roaring of the Lion [s]; which shews of what Spirit he was. As for the Bishops of *Pamphylia*, which was then divided into Two Provinces, they differed from the rest. *Epiphanius*, Metropolitan of *Perga*, and his Council, consisting of 15 Bishops, received the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, not as Definitions of Faith, but only as Instructions, explaining the Doctrine of the Fathers; and begged, that neither might be otherwise received by their Collegues, till the Doctrine of the Council, concerning the Two Natures in Christ, was explained in more clear and intelligible Terms, since they had not Subtilty nor Penetration enough to distinguish between Christ's being *in Two Natures*, which the Council had taken so much Pains to establish; and his being *of Two Natures*, which they

Their Answer to the Emperor.

[r] Concil. ibid. p. 1081. Evagr. l. 2. c. 10. Facund. l. 12. c. 3. [s] Concil. p. 976.

no depending on the Testimony, or Protestations, however solemn, even of those who pretend to have been Eye-witnesses of the Miracles they relate and attest, unless where the End for which those Miracles are said to be wrought, appears to be worthy of God, and when there is no just Suspicion of Interest or Prejudice to bias the Relater, which distinguishes the Miracles attested in the Gospel from almost all others, after the Apostolic Age. There have been in all Ages, since the Times of the Apostles, and even in their Time, Impostors in point of Miracles as well as Doctrine; nay, it might be shewn, by many Instances, that some, in other respects, pious and godly Men, have not scrupled, nay, I may say, have thought it meritorious, on certain Occasions, to forge Miracles themselves, or adopt and foster those which they knew to have been forged by others.

All we know of *Baradatus*, the other Anchoret, to whom the Emperor sent his circular Letter, is, that he shut himself up in a wooden Cage, and lived there several Years, without ever being able to stand upright; but was in the End obliged to quit his painful Dwelling, by the Bishop of *Antioch*, in whose Diocese he lived (7), and who, it seems, did not approve of that whimsical manner of Life.

(7) Theodoret. vit. Patr. c. 27.

had

ad condemned; ſo that the Council had, ſo far as it appeared to them, condemned and defined, received and rejected the ſame Doctrine, only expreſſed by different Terms. And this, in effect, was the Caſe, as I have ſhewn above. They added, that as they ſeemed all to agree with reſpect to the Doctrine, it mattered little by what Terms they expreſſed it; whether they acknowleged *Two Natures united without Confuſion*, or *One incarnate Nature*; but the latter they thought the more proper of the Two [t]. They agreed however with the reſt, in condemning *Ælurus*. The Letter of *Amphilochus* of *Sida*, the other Metropolitan of *Pamphylia*, has not reached our Times; but all agree, that he condemned *Ælurus* for the Violence he had uſed, but abſolutely rejected the Decree of *Chalcedon* [u] (A).

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To none of the Weſtern Biſhops was the circular Letter ſent, but to *Leo*; and him the Emperor even invited to *Conſtantinople* [w]. In Anſwer to this he wrote two Letters, begging the Emperor, in the Firſt, to excuſe him from undertaking a Journey, which the Agreement of the Biſhops had made unneceſſary [x]; and in the Second, explaining, and confirming with the Teſtimony of the Fathers, the Doctrine of Two Natures [y]. This Letter became very famous [z]; and is often quoted by the Writers of that, and the ſucceeding Ages.

The Emperor invites Leo *to* Conſtantinople.

His Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter.

But *Ælurus*, though condemned by *Leo*, and all the other Biſhops of the Church, both as a Heretic, and Homicide, was, it ſeems, ſtill in Favour at Court. For the Emperor had no ſooner peruſed *Leo*'s Letter, than he ſent it to him, diſpatching, for that Purpoſe, *Diomedes* the Silentiary into *Egypt*. *Ælurus* laid hold of that Opportunity to write to the Emperor; and in his Letter cenſured, with great Smartneſs and Liberty, both *Leo*'s Letter, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; and at the ſame time begged, that he would allow a Diſpute, or Conference, to be held in his Preſence, between the Diſciples of *Eutyches* or *Dioſcorus*, and any whom *Leo*, ſince he had put himſelf at the Head of that Party, ſhould name or appoint. The Emperor did not diſlike the Propoſal; and accordingly wrote to *Leo*

The Emperor ſends Leo's *Letter, eſtabliſhing the Two Natures, to* Ælurus.

[t] Concil. p. 935, 936. [u] Phot. c. 230. Evagr. l. 2. c. 10. [w] Leo ep. 125. Evagr. l. 2. c. 9. [x] Leo ep. 125. [y] Leo ep. 134. [z] Phot. c. 228.

(A) Theſe Letters were all collected, by the Emperor's Order, into one Body, known by the Name of *Encyclia*, or *the circular Letters*. They were, at the Deſire of *Caſſiodore*, tranſlated into *Latin*, by *Epiphanius*; and that Tranſlation alone has reached us; though not intire, the whole Collection containing now but 37 Letters. Two very antient Manuſcript Copies of it are lodged in the Libraries of the Chapter of *Beauvais*, and of *St. Germian des Prez*.

to

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to acquaint him with it, and desire him to send into the East such Persons, as he should think best qualified to enter the Lists with the *Eutychians*, and convince them of their Errors [a]. Such a Proposal, we may be sure, was not relished by *Leo*. And indeed Disputes of that Nature are better calculated to exasperate than to convince, the Disputants on both Sides being, on such Occasions, strongly prepossessed in favour of the Cause, which they undertake, and firmly determined not to yield. *Leo* therefore absolutely refused to comply with the Proposal, alleging, what he had urged in all his Letters, that it was both dangerous and unnecessary to examine anew, or to question what had been already examined and defined by an Oecumenical Council. He added, that as for himself, he could not consent to the proposed Dispute, without incurring the Penalties inflicted by the Law of the late Emperor *Marcian*, forbidding all Disputes about Religion, on Pain of Deposition for the Ecclesiastics, and Banishment for the Laity [b]. For in those Days the Popes thought themselves bound, as well as the meanest of the Ecclesiastics, or People, to obey the Imperial Laws, and liable to the same Penalties, if they disobeyed them. But this in *Leo* was a mere Pretence; for by *Marcian*'s Law were only forbidden Disputes *in public Places, and in the hearing of the Populace, lest our Mysteries should be discovered to the* Jews *and* Pagans [c]; of which there was no Danger in the present Case. However, *Leo* promised to send Legates into the East, since the Emperor desired it; but at the same time protested, that it was by no means his Design, they should enter into Disputes with Persons, who had been already condemned, or about Points, that had been already decided; and that he sent them only to instruct the Faithful, to persuade them to avoid, as declared Heretics, all who did not receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, to press the Expulsion o *Ælurus*, and procure the Restoration of the Bishops, whom he had driven from their Sees [d]. This Letter is dated the 22d of *March* of the present Year 458. and, the following *August*, *Leo* dispatched into the East, agreeably to his Promise, *Domitianus* and *Geminianus*, both Bishops, but of what Sees is not well known. By them he wrote anew to the Emperor, repeating what he said in his former Letter, and besides setting forth the Hainousness and Enormity of

Leo against entering into Disputes with the Eutychians.

The Reasons he alleged.

Dispatches Legates into the East.

[a] Evagr. l. 2. c. 10. Leo ep. 132. [b] Leo ep. 132. [c] Concil. t. 4. p. 839. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 1. lege 3. [d] Leo ep. 132.

Ælurus's Crimes, leſt the Emperor ſhould be prevailed upon to overlook them, which the great Intereſt he had with the chief Miniſters, eſpecially with *Aſpar*, gave the World good Reaſon to apprehend [e]. As for the Reception the Legates met with, and their Tranſactions at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, I find no Account of them in the Antients, and none of the Moderns are to be relied on. All we know for certain is, that they were ſtill at *Conſtantinople* in 460. that *Ælurus* was not driven from the See he had uſurped till that Year; and that his being driven from it then, was not owing either to the Pope, or his Legates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. I cannot help obſerving here, that *Leo*, to divert an orthodox, and, I may ſay, a religious Prince, for ſuch was the preſent Emperor *Leo Thracius*, from cauſing to be examined anew, or diſputed what had been already examined and decided by an Oecumenical Council, lawfully aſſembled, never once pleaded the Infallibility of ſuch Councils; but only that a new Examination was unneceſſary, was dangerous, was forbidden by an Imperial Law. A plain Proof, that Oecumenical Councils were not yet thought infallible, at leaſt, that their Infallibility was not then what it is now, an Article of Faith; elſe *Leo* had certainly alleged it as a fundamental Reaſon, why a new Examination ſhould not be allowed; and indeed, in the preſent Caſe, there had been no Occaſion to allege any other.

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Oecumenical Councils not deemed infallible.

Leo did not ſuffer his Care and Attention to be ſo ingroſſed by the Affairs of the Eaſt, as not to mind, at the ſame time, thoſe of the Weſt. For in this very Year he wrote a long Letter to *Nicetas* of *Aquileia* concerning ſome Points of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which it was of the utmoſt Importance to examine and eſtabliſh. The *Huns* having, in their Retreat out of *Italy*, carried with them great Numbers of Captives, ſome Women, believing their Husbands dead, or perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them again, had married other Men. But many of the Captives unexpectedly returned, re-demanded their Wives, and upon their refuſing, which ſome of them did, to quit their ſecond Husbands, had recourſe to *Nicetas*, the chief Biſhop in thoſe Parts. Some of the Captives had been forced, by the Barbarians, to eat of Meats immolated to Idols; and ſome to receive Baptiſm at the Hands of Heretics. With all theſe *Nicetas* was at a Loſs how to proceed; and therefore, diſtruſting his own Judgment,

Nicetas *of* Aquileia *conſults* Leo *concerning ſome Points of Diſcipline.*

[e] Leo ep. 133.

he

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he charged *Adeodatus*, a Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, who was returning from *Aquileia* to *Rome*, to lay his Difficulties before *Leo*, that he might direct him how to act in the above-mentioned Cases.

Leo's Answer.

This gave Occasion to a circular Letter, addressed to all the Metropolitans, at least, in the West, *that what he had prescribed to one might be known to all, and by all observed.* In that Letter he clears those Women from all Guilt, who believing their Husbands were dead, had married other Men; but adds, that they are bound to return to their first Husbands, provided their first Husbands required them to return; and that they ought to be cut off from the Communion of the Faithful, if they did not return when re-demanded [f].

Errors in his Letter concerning Marriage, and the eating of immolated Meats.

This Condition, *if required to return by their first Husbands, if re-demanded*, he never omits, as if it were not to be questioned, but they might continue with their Second, if their First Husbands did not re-demand them. As for those who had eaten of immolated Meats, or Meats offered to Idols, he will have them to atone for their Crime by a public Penance, not even excusing from the Crime, or exempting from the Penance, such as had used that for want of all other Food, that is, when they must either have used it, or perished with Hunger. *Leo* was, it seems, of St. *Austin*'s Opinion, who thought it could be lawful, on no Occasion whatever, to eat of such Meats. But St. *Paul* was, very plainly, of a different Opinion; it being, according to his Doctrine, no Sin in a Christian to eat of Meats offered to Idols, provided he does not think it a Sin, nor gives thereby Offence to weak Brethren [g]. *Leo* subjects likewise to a public Penance all, who, having been baptized, suffered themselves, out of Fear, or even out of Ignorance, to be rebaptized by a Heretic Minister. But as for those, who were but once baptized, though they had received their Baptism at the Hands of a Heretic, he only requires them to be confirmed by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Imposition of Hands; *that they may thereby receive the Virtue and Sanctification of Baptism, having received nothing of that Sacrament before, besides the bare Form* [h]. The Doctrine diametrically opposite to this is now an Article of Faith in the Church of *Rome*; and *Leo*'s Doctrine rank Heresy; though laid down by him in instructing the Church, or, as it is called, speaking *ex cathedra*. For, according to the present Doctrine of that Church, Baptism,

His Doctrine concerning Baptism, now Heresy in the Church of Rome.

[f] Leo ep. 129. [g] See ep. ad Rom. xiv. et 1 Corinth. viii. [h] Leo ubi supra.

whether

whether it be adminiſtred by a Catholic or a Heretic, has the ſame Virtue, cancels original Sin, confers Grace, ſanctifies; and conſequently, if the Church does not err, *Leo* did in defining the contrary; *viz.* that *of Baptiſm nothing is received at the Hands of a Heretic, beſides the bare Form.* I might add, that the bare Form, or external Ceremony of Baptiſm, is not the Sacrament of Baptiſm, a Sacrament being, as is allowed by all, who allow of any Sacraments, *a viſible Sign of inviſible Grace*; and hence it follows, that Baptiſm, when adminiſtred by a Heretic, is not a Sacrament according to *Leo*'s Doctrine, but a bare external, and to all purpoſes uſeleſs Ceremony, leaving the Perſons to whom is adminiſtred, in the ſame Condition it found them. Year of Chriſt 458.

The ſame Year 458. the Emperor *Majorianus*, who reigned in the Weſt, enacted the famous Law, at the Suggeſtion of *Leo*, as is ſaid in the Pontificals, forbidding Virgins under the Age of 40 to be conſecrated, or to take the Veil of Virginity; on Pain to their Parents, of forfeiting the Third Part of their Eſtates, if they ſuffered them to be conſecrated before that Age; and of Proſcription to the Eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould be any-ways acceſſary to their Conſecration [i]. By the 16th Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* held in 451. Virgins, who had once taken the Veil of Virginity, or as it is now expreſſed, had made their Profeſſion, were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, ever to marry [k]. By the 15th Canon of the ſame Council Deaconeſſes (B) were likewiſe forbidden to marry after their Con- *No Virgins to be conſecrated under the Age of Forty.*

[i] Cod. Theod. nov. 8.

[k] Concil. t. 4. p. 763.

(B) The Order of Deaconeſſes was of Apoſtolical Inſtitution; for St. *Paul* calls *Phœbe* a Deaconeſs (Διάκονος) of the Church of *Cenchrea* (1). They were to be Widows, who had borne Children, who had been but once married, and were advanced in Years. But theſe Rules were all frequently diſpenſed with. Some Imperial Laws required all Deaconeſſes to be Sixty Years of Age; others required them to be at leaſt Fifty; but the Council of *Chalcedon* was ſatisfied with the Age of Forty; and even the Canon of that Council was not always ſtrictly obſerved. As to their Office, they were, I. To aſſiſt at the Baptiſm of Women, and on that Occaſion, as all were baptized by Immerſion, to undreſs and dreſs them, and to anoint them with the holy Oil, in Compliance with the Cuſtom that then obtained in the Eaſtern Churches. II. To inſtruct the Women Catechumens, before they were baptized. III. To viſit and attend Women, when ſick, or in Diſtreſs. IV. To miniſter to the Confeſſors in Priſon, which they could do with leſs Danger than the other Miniſters of the Church. And, laſtly, To regulate the Behaviour of Women in the Church; whence in ſome Canons they are ſtyled Governeſſes. They were ordained, or rather conſecrated, by the Impoſition of Hands; for their Ordination gave them

(1) Ad Rom. xvi. 1.

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Consecration, and anathematized together with their Husbands, if they did [l]. With respect to the latter it was ordained, that none should be consecrated under the Age of 40, let the Occasion be ever so urgent; but for the Consecration of the former no Age was fixed. *Majorianus* therefore, thinking it incumbent upon him to prevent young Women from entering rashly, as many did, into a State so repugnant to Nature, which they could not afterwards change, though they might repent, for the rest of their Lives, their having ever embraced it, by an Edict, dated the 26th of *October* of the present Year, extended to all Virgins the Law, which the Fathers of *Chalcedon* had made, and designed for the Deaconesses alone. And how many Scandals and Abuses had been prevented by so wise an Ordinance, had it continued in Vigour, the World but too well knows.

Virgins now allowed to take the Veil of Virginity at the Age of Sixteen.

Young Women are now allowed to take the Veil of Virginity at the Age of 16; that is, they are allowed to dispose of themselves for Life, when they are not yet thought capable of disposing of any thing else; to vow perpetual Virginity, when they scarce understand what they vow, at least, when they can have but a very faint Idea of the Difficulties of keeping it through their whole Lives. These Considerations, confirmed and enforced by the bad Success that attended many of the unexperienced Novices, in the Warfare they had so rashly undertaken, strongly inclined a conscientious Pope [m] in our Days to declare void and null all Vows of perpetual Chastity that should be made, for the future, by Virgins under the Age of 25, that Age having been fixed by the *African* Canons. The good Pope supposed no Virgin to be a Stranger, at that Age, to this kind of War, but all to be as well acquainted, as ever they could be, both with the Enemy's Strength, and their own. Those alone therefore, who had attained to that Age, he thought properly qualified to engage in such a War, since they alone could know, by Experience, whether or no they could withstand the Enemy to the last, and faithfully perform, what they so solemnly promised, in ranging themselves under the

Benedict XIII. *attempted to correct that Abuse.*

[l] Concil. ibid.

[m] Benedict XIII. chosen in 1724.

no Power to perform any Functions of the Sacerdotal Office. This Order, though agreed on all hands to have been of Apostolical Institution, has been long since suppressed in the *Latin*, as well as in the *Greek*, Church. For, after the Tenth or Eleventh Century, the Word *Diaconissa* is made use of only to signify a Deacon's Wife, as the Words *Presbytera* and *Episcopa* are to signify the Wife of a Presbyter, and the Wife of a Bishop.

Banner

Banner of Chaſtity. Thoſe alone too he thought worthy of the Puniſhments indifferently inflicted, by the undiſcerning Canons, on all, who had the Misfortune to be in the End overcome. But his Deſign, though intirely agreeable to Humanity, Juſtice, and good Senſe, was over-ruled; and the Oppoſition it met with from the *Sacred College*, as it is called, and the Divines of his Council, was ſo ſtrong, and ſo univerſal, that he thought it adviſeable to lay it aſide, ſeeing it required the whole *Plenitude of his Power*, which he was unwilling to exert, to put it in Execution. The Reaſons they alleged to ſupport their Oppoſition, were better calculated for the Meridian of *Italy*, than for that of a more temperate Climate. Their chief Reaſon, and that on which they laid the main Streſs, was, that very few, if any at all, would chuſe, at the preſcribed Age, when their Paſſions were ſtrongeſt, to put themſelves out of a Condition of ever gratifying them, even in a lawful and innocent manner. Thus the Monaſteries would be all deſerted, and, at the ſame time, many poor, but noble Families, incumbered with a greater Number of Daughters, than they could either marry, or maintain, ſuitably to their Rank. Upon the Whole, the Pope was obliged to content himſelf with charging the Biſhops, as they would anſwer it at the laſt Day, not to allow any Virgins, under the above-mentioned Age, to take the Veil of Virginity, whom they had not found, upon the ſtricteſt Examination, made by themſelves, or by Perſons, in whom they could confide, *ſufficiently* appriſed of the Difficulties and Hardſhips attending the State, which they propoſed to embrace.

Year of Chriſt 458.

But his good Deſign over-ruled.

The above-mentioned Law, forbidding the Veil of Virginity to be given to Virgins under the Age of 40, is ſaid, in the Pontificals, to have been procured by *Leo*; nay, *Anaſtaſius* pretends an Ordinance to have been firſt iſſued by him, forbidding Virgins to be conſecrated, who had not been tried for the Space of 40, or, as we read in the *Louvre* Edition of that Author, of 60 Years [m]. But *Leo* declares, in one of his Letters [n], even thoſe Virgins, who had only reſolved to embrace the State of Virginity, which ſome did, when they were yet very young, and thereupon had aſſumed the Habit peculiar in thoſe Days to ſuch as had taken that Reſolution, bound in Conſcience to live Virgins, and guilty of Prevarication, if they ever married; which is utterly inconſiſtent with his requiring a 40 or a 60 Years Trial.

The Law forbidding Virgins to be conſecrated under the Age of 40, not owing to Leo.

[m] Vide Bolland. Apr. t. 1. p. 33.

[n] Leo ep. 2.

Year of Christ 459.

Leo suppresses the Custom of publicly confessing private Sins.

The following Year 459. *Leo*, by a Letter dated the 6th of *March*, and addressed to the Bishops of *Campania*, *Samnium*, and *Picenum*, suppressed a Custom that prevailed among them, with respect to the Confession of penitent Sinners, whom they obliged to write down all their Sins, and then caused them to be read in the Hearing of the whole Congregation. This Custom *Leo* condemns as repugnant to the Apostolic Rule, and tending to deter Sinners from using the Remedies which Penance afforded, since either Shame might withhold them from publicly owning their Sins, or the Fear of being accused by their Enemies, or punished, upon their own Confession, by the Civil Magistrate, and the Ministers of Justice. *Leo* therefore commands so pernicious a Practice to be forthwith abolished, as not only dangerous, but likewise unnecessary; that Confession being fully sufficient, which is made first to God, and then to a Priest, who will intercede for the Sinner, and pray with him for the Remission of his Sins [o]. From *Leo*'s own Words it is manifest, that he does not condemn and abrogate here public Confession in general; but only a public Confession of hidden Sins, that is, of Sins, which, unless from the Sinner's own Confession, it was not publicly known he had ever committed. As for the Practice of publicly confessing public Sins, that Part of the primitive Discipline was kept up long after *Leo*'s Time, and absolutely required, at least, in the West.

Penance how practised in the primitive Church.

As Confession, I mean auricular Confession, or Confession made to a Priest, which *Leo* recommends in the Letter I have mentioned, has been defined by the Church of *Rome* to be of divine Institution, to be a Condition indispensably required for the Remission of Sins committed after Baptism, and an essential Part of *Penance*, which in latter times has been declared a Sacrament, it will not be foreign to my Purpose, to give here an historical Account of *Penance*, as it was practised in the primitive Ages, of the various Changes it has undergone, and the Improvements it has received from the time it was first introduced into the Church, till it was raised by the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, to the Rank of a Sacrament, and all were anathematized, who did not acknowlege the new Dignity, with which it was by their Authority vested. It is well known, that, in the primitive times, such Deliquents as fell into public and grievous Sins after Baptism, were, upon legal Conviction, expelled the Con-

[o] Leo ep. 138.

gregation,

gregation, and never readmitted till they had atoned for their Crime by a public Penance. This Expulsion is styled in the Writings of the Fathers, *a driving away from the Church* [o], *a casting out from the Communion of the Church* [p], *a driving from Communion* [q], *a Separation from the Church* [r], *an ejecting out of the Church* [s], *a killing with the spiritual Sword* [t]. Men in that Condition were looked upon as accursed by God, as Limbs of *Satan*; and therefore were by all avoided, even in civil Commerce, and common Conversation, agreeably to the Advice of the Two Apostles St. *Paul* [u], and St. *John* [w]. If the Delinquent continued obstinate in his Sin, he was abandoned by the Church, and looked upon, in every respect, as a Heathen and a Publican. But if, touched with Remorse, he sued for a Reconciliation, and gave visible Marks of a sincere Repentance, and hearty Abhorrence of his Crime, he was admitted to Penance; but not till he had, for a whole Year, solicited that Favour in a most penitent and humble manner, appearing at the Church Door in Sackcloth and Ashes, prostrating himself at the Feet of the Faithful, as they went in, begging their Prayers, and striving, with his Groans and Tears, to *move to Compassion the merciful Church of the merciful Christ* [x]. When the Year was expired, he was admitted to Penance, that is, he was allowed to perform that Penance, which the Church required of every public and notorious Offender, before she would re-admit him to the Participation of the sacred Mysteries. While the Penitent, as he was now called, continued in that State, he was to wear no Ornaments of Dress, but to appear at the Meetings of the Faithful in Sackcloth and Ashes, standing among the Catechumens in the lower Part of the Church. He was to abstain from bathing, feasting, and all other innocent Diversions; from pleading, trading, and serving in War; from marrying, if single; and from the Use of Matrimony, if married; for which Reason no married Persons were admitted to Penance without the Consent of the innocent Party. In some Churches, namely, in those that had no *Parabolani*, whose Office it was to attend the Sick, and bury the Dead, that Employment was put upon the Penitents, as a proper Exercise for Men in their Situation.

Year of Christ 459.

In those times all public and notorious Sinners expelled the Congregation.

Not re-admitted till they had atoned for their Crime by a public Penance.

The Rigour and Severity of that Penance.

[o] Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7. [p] Tertull. de Præscrip. adverſ. Hæret. [q] Idem de Monogam. [r] Cyp. ep. 38. [s] Idem ep. 40. [t] Idem ep. 62. [u] 1 Corinth. v. 11. Rom. xvi. 17. 2 Theſſ. iii. 14. [w] 2 John 10, 11. [x] Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. Tertull. de pœnit. c. 9. et de pudicit. c. 13. Epiſt. 31. apud Cypr. Socr. l. 3. c. 13.

tion.

Year of Christ 459.

tion. The public Faſts of the Church they were to obſerve with the greateſt Strictneſs, appearing, chiefly on thoſe Days, with a coarſe Habit, with a dejected Countenance, and a penitential Mien, to atone, as St. *Cyprian* expreſſes it, with their Faſting and Sorrow, *for having formerly taſted the Devil's Meat.* Laſtly, Penitents were excluded for ever from the Clerical Order; and ſuch of the Clergy as had done public Penance, were never reſtored to their former Dignity [y]. How long the Penitent continued in that State cannot well be determined; ſome were held in it a Year only, ſome Two Years, ſome 10, ſome 20, ſome 30, according to the Nature and Quality of the Offence, the Grief and Sorrow of the Offender, and the Will and Pleaſure of the Biſhop, or rather, in the earlieſt times, of the whole Congregation (A).

A public Confeſſion required of the Penitent, when he was re-admitted.

But how long and rigorous ſoever the Penance was, the Penitent was to endure it humbly, patiently, and thankfully, till he had compleated *the legal and full time of Satisfaction*, as St. *Cyprian* ſtyles it [z]; which being ended, he came into the Church *covered with Sackcloth and Aſhes, throwing himſelf at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, and, with Tears in his Eyes, begging their Pardon and Forgiveneſs* [a]. At this time, for the greater De-

[y] Vide Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. Tertull. de pœnit. c. 9. Cyp. de lapſ. Hier. in Joel. c. 2. Ambroſ. de pœnit. l. 2. c. 10. Concil. Carth. 4. can. 81. Syric. ep. 1. Concil. Arel. 2. can. 22. [z] Cyp. ep. 59. [a] Apud Euſeb. l. 5. c. 28.

(A) By the Council of *Nice*, ſuch as voluntarily apoſtatized from the Faith, were to undergo a Twelve Years Penance (1). St. *Baſil* appoints 30 Years Penance for wilful Murder, and Adultery; 10 for a wilful Miſcarriage; 7 for Fornication; 3 for a Third Marriage, and One or Two for a Second (2). For moſt of the Fathers were greatly inclined to, and ſome of them not a little tainted with the Hereſy of the *Montaniſts*, acknowleging one Marriage, as they did one God (3); though our Saviour, as St. *Auſtin* well obſerves (4), found no Fault with the Woman, who had been married Seven times By the Canons of *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, voluntary Murder was puniſhed with 27 Years Penance; Adultery with 18; Fornication with 9; and the robbing of Graves with 9 (5). When the Offence was remarkably great and ſcandalous, the Offender was to continue among the Penitents ſo long as he lived, being allowed to partake of the ſacred Myſteries only at the Hour of his Death; nay, St. *Cyprian* aſſures us, that many of his Predeceſſors had abſolutely refuſed to admit Adulterers to Communion at their very laſt Hour, ſuffering them to go out of the World without any manner of Reconciliation, and remitting them for Pardon to God alone (6). This Severity however, as ſavouring of *Novatianiſm*, was afterwards corrected, and the greateſt Sinners were allowed Communion at the Point of Death, if they deſired it.

(1) Concil. Nic. c. 11. (2) Baſil. ep. ad Amphil. (3) Tertull. de Monogam. c. 1. (4) Aug. de bono viduitat. c. 12. (5) Greg. Nyſſ. ep. can. ad Letoium.. (6) Cypr. ep. 55. ad Antoniam.

monſtra-

monſtration of his Sorrow and Concern, he was to make a public Confeſſion of his Sin, that is, he was to own himſelf, before the whole Congregation, guilty of the Sin for which he had been expelled, and worthy of the Puniſhment, which he had undergone [b]. Such a Confeſſion was looked upon as the Source and Spring of all true Repentance [c]; and, on that account, is recommended in the Writings of the Fathers, as an indiſpenſable Preliminary to Abſolution. As ſoon as Confeſſion was over, the Penitent kneeled down before the Biſhop and the Clergy, who laying their Hands on his Head, bleſſing him, and, at the ſame time, ſaying the Lord's Prayer, reſtored him, by that Ceremony, to the full Communion of the Faithful, received him to the Peace of the Church, and declared him Partaker again of all the Privileges, which, for a while, he had forfeited by his Crime [d]. This was what the Fathers and Councils meant by the famous Expreſſions, of *remitting Sins*, *abſolving Sinners*, *looſing their Bonds*, *granting them Pardon*, &c. which are all but ſo many different ways of expreſſing one and the ſame thing; *viz.* the repealing the Sentence of Excommunication, with which the Sinner was bound, and reſtoring him to the outward Communion of the Church, from which he had been excluded for his Sins, and the Scandal he had given.

Year of Chriſt 459.

How abſolved.

Such was the Penance of the Antients. But it muſt be obſerved, that though it was ſo ſtrongly recommended by the Fathers, though it was never diſpenſed with, at leaſt in the primitive Times, with reſpect to public and notorious Offenders; yet it was not thought abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, nor was it to abſolve Sinners from their Sins, but only from the Excommunication, which they had incurred by their Sins, that the Church required it. The latter is evident from the Practice of St. *Cyprian*, who allowed a Presbyter to abſolve the Penitent in the Abſence of a Biſhop, and a Deacon in the Abſence of a Presbyter [e]; and to a Deacon no Divine of the Church of *Rome* will allow the Power of remitting Sins; though he may, by an extraordinary Commiſſion, be impowered to abſolve the Sinner from the Excommunication, which he has incurred by his Sin. That Penance was not thought abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, may be eaſily demonſtrated; for in ſome Churches Perſons guilty of Ido-

Public Penance not thought neceſſary to Salvation.

[b] Tertull. de pœnit. Euſeb. l. 6. c. 34. Carnol. apud Euſeb. l. 6. c. 43. Cyp. ep. 11. et de lapſis. [c] Tertull. ubi ſupra. [d] Cyp. ep. 10, 11, 12. Optat. l. 2. Hier. contra Lucif. c. 2. [e] Cyp. ep. 13.

Year of Chriſt 459.

None admitted twice to public Penance, or twice abſolved.

latry, Murder, or Adultery, were excluded for ever from Penance and the Peace of the Church [f]; and generally ſpeaking, if a Sinner, after having once performed public Penance, either relapſed into the ſame, or committed any other public and grievous Sin, he was not admitted to a ſecond Penance, or a ſecond Confeſſion, in order to be abſolved again; but exhorted to repent in private, to make private Confeſſion of that and his other Sins to God, that he might obtain of him that Pardon and Mercy which the Church, in her Wiſdom, thought fit to deny [g]. Hence it is manifeſt, that, in thoſe Days, Salvation was thought to be attainable without Confeſſion, either public or private, made to Man, or any kind of ſacerdotal Abſolution. I ſay, *without Confeſſion, either public or private, made to Man*; for to ſuppoſe, with Cardinal *Perron*, thoſe, who for the Enormity of their Sins, or their Relapſes, were excluded from public Penance, to have been allowed the Benefit of private Penance, of private Confeſſion, and Abſolution, is ſuppoſing the Church to have been moſt indulgent and merciful to thoſe who leaſt deſerved her Indulgence and Mercy. And it is on this Conſideration, that the Jeſuit *Petavius* explodes the Notion of the Cardinal as a mere Dream, only brought in to ſerve an Hypotheſis, without any Foundation in antient Hiſtory, or a ſingle Inſtance in the Practice of the primitive Times [h].

The Office of the Penitentiary, when firſt inſtituted, and on what Occaſion.

I have obſerved above, that public Penance, including public Satisfaction and Confeſſion, was injoined by the Church only for public and enormous Sins, ſuch as reflected particular Diſgrace on the Chriſtian Name and Profeſſion. However, many, for their greater Satisfaction, and Eaſe of their Minds, choſe to undergo public Penance, and openly to confeſs even private Sins, when grievous. But as theſe voluntary Penitents, out of the Abundance of their Zeal, and want of Diſcretion, often brought ſuch Sins upon the public Stage as had better been kept ſecret, ſeeing they either hurt the Penitents themſelves, or gave Scandal to the Church; to avoid the one and the other Inconvenience, it was thought proper to appoint in each Church a Presbyter, under the Name of the *Penitentiary Preſbyter*, to whom all, who deſired to be admitted to public Penance for private Sins, ſhould firſt confeſs thoſe Sins; and afterwards either

[f] Cyp. ep. 52. [g] Hær. Paſtor. l. 2. mandat. 4. Clem. Alexandrin. ſtrom. 2. c. 13. Tertull. de pœn. c. 7. et 9. Orig. hom. 15. in Levit. Concil. Elib. can. 3. 7. 47. Aug. ep. 54. ad Macedon. &c. [h] Petav. not. in Epiphan. p. 238.

confeſs

confeſs them in public, if he thought proper; or if he did not, atone for them by a private Penance, which he, by his Office, was impowered to injoin. This new Office is ſaid to have been inſtituted in the Time of the *Decian* Perſecution, which broke out in the Year 250. probably becauſe the Number of thoſe, who apoſtatized then from the Faith, and afterwards returning to themſelves, deſired to be reconciled to the Church, was too great for the Biſhops to attend them, together with the voluntary Penitents, and at the ſame time diſcharge, as they ought, the other Duties of their paſtoral Office. We are indebted to *Socrates* for this Account of the firſt Inſtitution of the penitentiary Prieſt [i]; an Office that is ſtill kept up, but very differently managed, in all *Roman* Catholic Cathedrals. *Sozomen*, who has copied *Socrates*, adds, that the Presbyter, appointed to diſcharge that Office, was to be a prudent Man, leſt he ſhould ſuffer Sins to be publicly confeſſed, that ought to have been kept ſecret; and a ſecret Man, leſt he himſelf ſhould be tempted, on any Occaſion, to diſcloſe and divulge the Crimes that had been privately revealed to him [k]. Year of Chriſt 459.

The Inſtitution of the Penitentiary Prieſt was univerſally received, and maintained in the Church till the Year 390. when that Office was ſuppreſſed, and the Practice of private Confeſſion utterly aboliſhed, firſt at *Conſtantinople*, by *Nectarius* Biſhop of that City, and afterward all over the Eaſt, on the following Occaſion: A Woman of Diſtinction having confeſſed her ſecret Sins to the penitentiary Prieſt, he injoined her, by way of Satisfaction, to faſt and pray, that ſhe might thereby *ſhew forth Works worthy of Repentance*. In Compliance with this Injunction the contrite Penitent remained in the Church, attending her Prayers, after the reſt were all diſmiſſed. Her remaining thus alone offered a favourable Opportunity to one of the Deacons of making an Attempt upon her Virtue: he made it; ſhe yielded; and the Crime was committed in the Church itſelf, without any regard to the Sacredneſs of the Place. With this new Sin the Woman returned to her Confeſſor; and he, very injudiciouſly, either obliged or ſuffered her to confeſs it before the whole Congregation. The People heard it with Indignation, and began, for the Misbehaviour of one, as it but too often happens, to revile, in a moſt outrageous manner, the whole Body of the Clergy. The City

That Office ſuppreſſed, and to what that was owing.

[i] Socrat. l. c. 5. 19. [k] Soz. l. 7. c. 16.

Year of Chriſt 459.

Private Confeſſion aboliſhed in the Eaſt.

was all in an Uproar; and *Nectarius*, to appeaſe the Tumult, not only depoſed the Deacon, and removed the Penitentiary; but, the more effectually to prevent, for the future, the Scandal that might ariſe from the divulging of private Sins, utterly aboliſhed that Office, *leaving every Man free*, theſe are the very Words of the Hiſtorian, *to partake of the holy Myſteries, according to the Direction of his own Conſcience* [l]; which Words plainly imply an utter Abolition of private, or, as it is now ſtyled, *auricular Confeſſion*. *Sozomen* adds, that the Example of *Nectarius* was followed by almoſt all the Biſhops of the Eaſt; but that the Office of the penitentiary Prieſt was ſtill kept up in the Weſt, to prepare Men for the public Penance of the Church, which he thence takes occaſion to deſcribe at Length, as it was then practiſed at *Rome*, and in the other Weſtern Churches [m]. It is to be obſerved, that *Socrates*, of whom I have chiefly copied the preſent Account, was by Profeſſion a Civilian, lived at this very time in *Conſtantinople*, and had what he relates from the Mouth of *Eudemon*, the Presbyter, who firſt adviſed *Nectarius* to aboliſh the Office of the penitentiary Prieſt, and utterly abrogate private Confeſſion [n].

Not thought then to be of divine Inſtitution.

From this Account, vouched not by *Socrates* alone, but likewiſe by *Sozomen*, who flouriſhed at the ſame time, it is manifeſt, that auricular Confeſſion was not thought then, as it is now, to be of divine Inſtitution, or abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation. For if ſuch an Opinion had obtained, who can imagine that *Nectarius*, a moſt orthodox Prelate, would have ever attempted to aboliſh it; that the other Eaſtern Biſhops would, almoſt all to a Man, have ſo readily followed his Example, as they certainly did? In Anſwer to this, *Baronius* queſtions the Truth of the Fact, ſtriving to prove, by a long, ſenſeleſs, and impertinent Deſcant, that *Socrates*, who relates it, was tainted with the Hereſy of *Novatian*, not acknowleging in the Church the Power of forgiving Sins; and thence concluding the Suppreſſion of the above-mentioned Office, as related by him, to be a mere Invention of his [o]. But that *Socrates*, who lived at this very time in *Conſtantinople*, would have ſo confidently aſſerted, and aſſerted of his own Knowlege, ſuch a notorious Fact as happening there, had no ſuch Fact happened, is what *Baronius* himſelf, I will take upon me to ſay, did not believe, notwithſtanding the Pains he takes to make

Cavils of Baronius.

[l] Socr. l. 5. c. 19. [m] Soz. l. 7. c. 16. [n] Socr. ibid. [o] Bar. ad ann. 56. n. 27, 28, &c.

others

others believe it. As for the Charge of *Novatianiſm*, on which he grounds his peremptorily rejecting the Authority of *Socrates*; that Writer, it muſt be owned, ſeems to have entertained a good Opinion of all, who were of that Perſuaſion: he often commends them, and even honours *Novatian*, the Founder of that Sect, with the Title of Martyr. But yet he ranks them among the Sects that were ſeparated from the Church [p]; and, on the preſent Occaſion, he did not at all approve of the Advice, which *Eudemon* gave to *Nectarius*; for when he was acquainted with it, by *Eudemon* himſelf, he told him, that he much doubted whether his Counſel was for the Advantage of the Church, ſince it would be attended with the Neglect of mutual Reproof, and the Tranſgreſſion of that Rule of the Apoſtle, *Have no Fellowſhip with the unfruitful Works of Darkneſs, but rather reprove them* [q]. Hence it is manifeſt, that he approved of private Confeſſion for the Sake of mutual Reproof, one of the chief Ends for which it was inſtituted, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and conſequently that he cannot be ſuppoſed to have forged the Account he gives of the Abrogation of that Practice, with a Deſign to countenance, in the *Novatians*, the oppoſite Practice and Doctrine. Year of Chriſt 459.

Bellarmine owns the Office of the penitentiary Prieſt to have been ſuppreſſed by *Nectarius*, and, after his Example, by almoſt all the Biſhops of the Eaſt. But as to what *Socrates* adds, that every Man was left free to partake of the holy Myſteries, that is, of the Euchariſt, according to the Direction of his own Conſcience, he pretends the Hiſtorian thereby to have meant no more, than that Men were thenceforth freed from the Obligation of appearing, when conſcious to themſelves of any Sin, before the public Tribunal of the Church, that is, from the Obligation of confeſſing it in public. But nothing is more certain, than that the Obligation of undergoing public Penance, of which public Confeſſion was an eſſential Part, for public Sins, ſubſiſted in the Church ſeveral Ages after the Time of *Nectarius*; and as to private Sins, neither was there in his Time, nor had there ever been, any Law obliging Men to confeſs them in public. Such an Abuſe indeed had crept into ſome Provinces of *Italy*, as I have obſerved above; but it was immediately condemned and ſuppreſſed by *Leo*, as utterly repugnant to the Apoſtolic Rule. *Thomas Waldenſis*, more ingenuous than either *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*, can- *And of* Bellarmine.

[p] Socr. l. 6. c. 20. 23. [q] Idem l. 5. c. 19.

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didly owns the Practice of private Confeſſion to have been condemned and abrogated by *Nectarius*; but adds, that in aboliſhing it he was guilty of a great and unpardonable Error [r]. But, if that had been thought an Error, would not ſome of his Collegues in the Eaſt have oppoſed him in ſuch an Attempt? Would they almoſt all have ſo readily followed his Example? Pope *Nicholas* could not be unacquainted with what *Nectarius* had done; and yet he ſtyles him, in one of his Letters, *the Expugner of Heretics, the Defender of the Church* [s]; and ſuch Commendations we may ſuppoſe the Biſhop of *Rome* would never have beſtowed on the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, had he been guilty of a *great and unpardonable Error*.

Private Confeſſion early practiſed, but not thought neceſſary.

Private Confeſſion, or Confeſſion made in private to Man, began, it muſt be owned, in the earlieſt Times, to be practiſed in the Church [t]. But that it was not thought neceſſary to Salvation, even by the Fathers, who have moſt recommended it, and who are chiefly quoted by the *Roman* Catholic Divines to prove its Neceſſity, has been, I may ſay, demonſtrated by ſeveral Proteſtant Writers, eſpecially by the learned *Daillé*, in his elaborate Work on *Auricular Confeſſion* [u]. I ſhall therefore only obſerve here, 1. That the Example of the firſt Chriſtians, of whom it is ſaid, that *many came, and confeſſed, and declared their Deeds* [w], on which great Streſs is laid by the Advocates for private Confeſſion, may be well alleged to prove ſuch a Confeſſion to be a virtuous and commendable Action; and that indeed it proves, allowing the Paſſage I have quoted to be underſtood of the Confeſſion of Sins, which ſome have queſtioned [x]. But as their Example has not the Force of a Law, it is abſurd to conclude, from their confeſſing their Sins on a certain Occaſion, that every Chriſtian is bound to confeſs to Man whatever he has done amiſs, or elſe to be everlaſtingly guilty of Sin. The firſt Chriſtians

Only matter of Advice.

had all things common; and *ſold their Poſſeſſions and Goods, and parted them to all Men, as every Man had need* [y]. And yet their Example, with reſpect to ſuch Actions, in themſelves far more commendable than the bare Confeſſion of Sins made to a Man, is by none looked upon, or has ever been interpreted as a Law, binding all, who profeſs the ſame Religion, to have every thing common,

[r] Thom. Wald. t. 2. c. 141. [s] Nich. ep. ad Phot. in VIII. Synod. act. 4. [t] Iren. l. 1. c. 9. Tertull. de pœnit. Orig. hom. 2. et hom. 3. in Levit. hom. 2. in Pſal. 37. Cyp. l. 3. ep. 8. et Serm. 5. de lapſ. [u] Daillé de confeſſ. auric. l. 4. c. 25. [w] Acts xix. 18. [x] Luth. in ſua verſione, et Brentius in comment. ad hunc locum. [y] Act. ii. 44, 45.

to ſell their Poſſeſſions and Goods, though the firſt Chriſtians are *all* ſaid to have done ſo, and not all, but *many that believed, came and confeſſed.* 2. All Promiſes of Forgiveneſs upon Confeſſion are underſtood, in the Church of *Rome*, upon Confeſſion made to a Prieſt. And yet this Condition is no-where expreſſed. And is it probable, or rather is it not highly improbable, that the Scripture ſhould ever mean, and never expreſs, that one Condition, without which all the reſt is utterly of no Effect? St. *James* adviſes us to *confeſs our Faults*, not to a Prieſt, rather than to a Layman, but, in general Terms, *one to another* [z], that is, to any righteous Man; for he immediately adds, *And pray for one another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much.* And no one will ſay, that a Layman may not be a righteous Man, as well as a Prieſt. It was not till many Ages after, that, by theſe Words, *one to another*, St. *James* was made to mean Prieſts only. For he was not yet thus underſtood, at leaſt generally ſpeaking, in the Eleventh Century; as is manifeſt from the famous *Lanfranc* of *Canterbury*, who, in a Treatiſe, which he compoſed on the *Secrecy of Confeſſion*, writes, That *the Confeſſion of public Sins ſhould be made to a Prieſt, by whoſe Miniſtry the Church binds and looſes, what ſhe publicly knows; but that private Sins may be confeſſed to any Eccleſiaſtic, nay, and to a Layman, ſince it is recorded of ſome of the holy Fathers, that they were Directors of Souls, though not in Orders* [a] (A).

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Not to be made to a Prieſt more than to any other good Man.

3. In the Twelfth Century, Confeſſion made to God alone was ſtill thought ſufficient to Salvation: witneſs *Geffery* Abbot of *Vendome*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Gratian*, who all aſſure us, that, in their Time, in the Twelfth Century, many held Confeſſion to God alone to be ſufficient; and would not allow of any Neceſſity or Obligation of confeſſing to a Prieſt [b]; nay, *Gratian*, after quoting the Authors on each Side of the Queſtion, leaves the Reader at Liberty to take which he pleaſes, *ſeeing either had wiſe and religious Men to autho-*

In the 12th Century, Confeſſion made to God alone thought ſufficient.

[z] James v. 16. [a] Tract. de Confeſſ. inter opera Lanfr. edita Pariſ. anno 1648.
[b] Goffrid. l. 5. ep. 16. Lombard. diſtinct. l. 4. ſect. 7. Gratian. de pœnit. diſt. 2. c. 89.

(A) I am ſenſible that, F. *Dachery* is not willing to allow *Lanfranc* to have been the Author of that Piece. But he has not been able, in the Opinion of the beſt Critics, to prove that he was not; and all agree it to have been written in or near his Time, that is, late in the Eleventh Century.

rize

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rize and defend it [c] (B). But, in the following Century, the preſent Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion, was at laſt finally eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Lateran*, held under Pope *Innocent* III. in 1215 [d]. and thenceforth it was deemed Hereſy to teach, that Confeſſion made to God alone was ſufficient, or Confeſſion made to a Prieſt was not neceſſary to Salvation (C).

4. The

[c] Gratian. ibid. [d] Concil. Lateran. 3. c. 21.

(B) There is another Paſſage in *Gratian* to the ſame Purpoſe, which is to be found in the *Venice* Edition of that Writer, publiſhed by Authority in 1501. but has been left out in all the later Editions. As it exhibits the different Opinions of the Divines of thoſe Days, concerning the Inſtitution of auricular, or, as it is there ſtyled, oral Confeſſion, it may not be improper to inſert it here, as a Specimen of their Reaſoning, and their Skill in Divinity. The Words of *Gratian* are: *We muſt now inquire when oral Confeſſion was firſt inſtituted. Some are of Opinion, that it was inſtituted in Paradiſe, immediately after the Fall; the Lord ſaying unto* ADAM, WHERE ART THOU? *For he ſpoke thus, that* ADAM *might confeſs, and his Confeſſion might ſerve as a Pattern for the Confeſſion of others. But as, in interrogating* Adam, *he had not, it ſeems, ſufficiently appriſed him, that he was to make his Confeſſion, he applied, in the next place, to the Fratricide* Cain, *ſaying,* WHERE IS ABEL THY BROTHER? Theſe very able Divines ſeem not to have underſtood what they were about; for their Deſign was to ſhew, when Confeſſion, made to a Man, was firſt inſtituted; and the Confeſſion, required in the Paſſages they quote, was a Confeſſion made to God alone. *Others think*, continues *Gratian*, *that Confeſſion was firſt inſtituted under the Law of* MOSES, *when* JOSHUA *commanded* Achan *to confeſs his Crime, and all* ISRAEL *ſtoned him with Stones.* But neither was the Confeſſion required by *Joſhua*, a private Confeſſion, or a Confeſſion made in private to a Prieſt. It was a public Confeſſion; a Confeſſion made to God, in the Hearing of *Joſhua*, and the whole People of *Iſrael: and* Joſhua *ſaid unto* Achan, *My Son, give, I pray thee, Glory to the Lord God of* Iſrael, *and make Confeſſion unto him*, &c (1). *Others think*, adds *Gratian*, *that it is not in the Old, but in the New Teſtament, that we muſt look for the Inſtitution of Confeſſion. Theſe will have it to have been inſtituted by St.* James, *ſaying,* CONFESS YOUR FAULTS ONE TO ANOTHER. *But they had better aſcribed its Original to ſome Tradition of the Univerſal Church, than have attempted to prove it from the Old or New Teſtament. The Traditions of the Church are binding; and therefore we are bound to confeſs our Sins; but the* Greeks *are not, whom that Tradition has not reached, no more than the Tradition concerning the Uſe of unleavened Bread in the Euchariſt. Hence it follows, that St.* James *neither inſtituted nor commanded, but only adviſed, Confeſſion; for had he commanded it, his Command had been binding even with reſpect to the* Greeks, *notwithſtanding the contrary Practice that prevails among them* (2). From this Paſſage it appears, that, in the Twelfth Century, auricular Confeſſion was not yet commonly thought to be of divine Inſtitution; that ſome Divines indeed ſtrove to prove, that it was, but went ſo aukwardly about it, that the contrary Opinion prevailed as the more probable of the Two. But what the Divines could not make out with Arguments, the Council of *Trent* eſtabliſhed afterwards with Anathemas, declaring all thoſe anathematized, who ſhould teach or hold, that *ſacramental*, or auricular, *Confeſſion was not of divine Inſtitution* (3).

(C) And yet, long after that Council, ſome Writers of great Note could not help owning Confeſſion, as then practiſed by the Church of *Rome*, to have been un-

(1) Joſh. vii. 19. (2) Grat. de pœn. diſt. 5. c. 1. (3) Seſſ. 14. can. 6.

known

4. The only Reaſon alleged by St. *James*, why we ſhould confeſs our Sins one to another, that is, to any righteous Man, as St. *Auſtin* explains this Paſſage [e], is, that we may mutually aſſiſt each other with our Prayers. The Fathers, however, countenanced and recommended private Confeſſion upon other Motives; *viz.* for the Sake of Direction, Inſtruction, ſpiritual Comfort, mutual Reproof, and private Admonition; and as the Biſhops and Prieſts were, generally ſpeaking, ſuppoſed to be the beſt qualified for ſuch Offices, they exhorted Men to recur chiefly to them, each to his own Biſhop or Paſtor: and it is upon theſe Paſſages out of the Fathers, the Prieſt being never mentioned in Scripture, that the Church of *Rome* founds her Doctrine concerning auricular Confeſſion made to a Prieſt. Laſtly, *Leo*, after declaring, in his Letter to the Biſhops of *Campania*, that Confeſſion made in private to a Prieſt was ſufficient, when the Sins were private, adds, that the Prieſt will pray with the Sinner for the Remiſſion of Sins [f]; which is no more than what any pious Chriſtian might have done, and all it was then thought a Prieſt could do. For had *Leo* believed the Power of pardoning and forgiving Sins to be veſted in the Prieſthood, it is not to be doubted but he would have urged it on the preſent Occaſion.

Year of Chriſt 459.

On what founded the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, *concerning the Obligation of confeſſing to a Prieſt.*

The Prieſt, in the Opinion of Leo, *could only pray for the Sinner.*

But it was not till many Ages after *Leo*'s Time that ſuch an Opinion began to obtain, no other Form of Abſolution but the *ſupplicatory*, or *Abſolution by Prayer*, having been uſed in the Church till the Latter-end of the 12th, or the Beginning of the 13th Century [g]. But it being then, and not till then, luckily diſcovered, that the Prayer of the Prieſt not only *availed* more, and was more *effec-*

The ſupplicatory Form of Abſolution uſed in the Church till the 13th Century.

[e] Aug. tract. 58. in Joan. [f] See above, p. 124. [g] Uſher. Anſwer to the Challenge, p. 88. Cardinal Bona rer. Liturg. in append. p. 763. Morin. de pœnit. l. 8. c. 8, 9, &c.

known to the Antients. Among the reſt *Beatus Rhenanus*, in his Preface to *Tertullian*'s Book on Penance, which he publiſhed in 1521. expreſſes himſelf thus: *We need not wonder that no mention is made by* Tertullian, *of the ſecret Confeſſion* (clancularia), *made by thoſe who receive the Euchariſt; ſince that Confeſſion was utterly unknown in his Time.* That Author was, in the Opinion of *Du Pin*, *well verſed in human Learning, well acquainted with the antient Theology, ever continued attached to the Catholic Church, and ended his Days in her Boſom* (1). But, not many Years after, the Council of *Trent* let the World know, what neither *Rhenanus*, nor any other, however well verſed in the antient Theology, had been able to diſcover; *viz.* That *ſecret Confeſſion, as it was then, ſo it had been always, and from the very Beginning, practiſed by the Church* (2).

(1) Du Pin. nouv. Bibl. t. 14. p. 176. (2) Seſſ. 14. can. 6.

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tual towards *healing* the Sinner, and obtaining the Remiſſion of his Sins, than the Prayer of any other *righteous Man*, which St. *James* ſeems not to have known; but moreover that he was veſted with a full and unlimited Power of remitting Sins, and retaining them at Pleaſure; upon ſuch an important Diſcovery, the antient Form of Abſolution was changed, or rather improved; and to the Supplicatory, *Chriſt abſolve thee*, was added the Authoritative, *I abſolve thee*. *Thomas Aquinas*, ſurnamed the *Angelic Doctor*, who flouriſhed about the Middle of the 13th Century, points out the Time of this remarkable Change; for he tells us, that the authoritative Form of Abſolution was found fault with by a learned Man, his Contemporary, aſſerting, that Thirty Years were ſcarce paſſed, ſince the ſupplicatory Form only, *Almighty God give thee Remiſſion and Forgiveneſs*, was uſed by all [h]. The authoritative Form was firſt eſtabliſhed in *England* in 1268. when, by a Council held that Year at *London*, under Cardinal *Ottoboni*, the Pope's Legate, all Confeſſors were injoined to uſe it [i].

The authoritative when introduced into England.

The preſent Form of Abſolution uſed in the Church of Rome.

The preſent Form of Abſolution in the Church of *Rome* runs thus: *Our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *abſolve thee, and I, by his Authority, abſolve thee, in the firſt Place, from every Bond of Excommunication, Suſpenſion, and Interdict, as far as I have Power, and thou ſtandeſt in need: in the next Place, I abſolve thee from thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Amen. This Form is partly ſupplicatory, partly authoritative; but all agree, that it is only in virtue of the latter, that Sins are forgiven. And hence it follows, by an obvious, but undeniable Conſequence, that the ſo much boaſted Power of forgiving Sins lay dormant in the Church for the Space of 1200 Years; the Form of Abſolution, in virtue of which alone Sins are forgiven, having never been uſed during that Period of Time.

Penance not a Sacrament till the 15th Century.

Penance, including Confeſſion and Abſolution, is now a Sacrament in the Church of *Rome*, and one of the Seven. But that Doctrine too is of a late Date, and was firſt taught, in the 12th Century, by *Peter Lombard*, commonly ſtyled, *the Maſter of the Sentences* [k]. His Opinion was adopted by all the School-men, who came after him; and, at length, declared an Article of Faith by the Council of *Flo-*

[h] Aquin. opuſ. 22. de forma abſol. c. 5.
[i] Coll. hiſt. eccl. Vol. I. p. 474.
[k] Lomb. l. 4. Sentent. diſtinct. 14.

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rence, in the 15th, and afterwards by that of *Trent*, in the 16th Century (A). Year of Chriſt 459.

And thus far of private Confeſſion, from the earlieſt Times, when it was only Matter of Advice, and free Choice, and was thought equally good, whether made to a Prieſt, or a Layman, to its being firſt reſtrained to the Prieſthood, then declared neceſſary to Salvation, and, laſtly, raiſed to the Rank of a Sacrament.

And now to return to *Leo*; in the Year 460. he received at laſt, the joyful Tidings of the Expulſion and Exile of *Timotheus Ælurus*, the Uſurper of the See of *Alexandria*. For this public Benefit, as he ſtyles it, the Church was chiefly indebted to *Gennadius* the new Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who, in ſpite of the ſtrong Oppoſition he met with from *Aſpar*, and the other Friends of *Ælurus*, at Court, procured in the End, an Order from the Emperor, commanding him to be driven from *Alexandria*, and confined to *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*; which was done accordingly [r]. But the Emperor being informed that he held ſchiſmatical Meetings in the Place of his Exile, ordered him to be removed from thence into the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, now *Crim Tartary*, where he was ſtrictly guarded till the Year 476. when we ſhall ſee this extraordinary Man ſeizing, by Force, the See of *Alexandria* a Second time, and again, by Force, driven from it. In his room was unanimouſly choſen, by the People and Clergy of *Alexandria*, *Timotheus*, ſurnamed *Salophacialus*, that is, *the White*, a Man univerſally beloved, and no leſs eſteemed for the Purity of his Faith, than the Probity of his Manners [s]. To him many

Timotheus Ælurus *driven from the See of* Alexandria. Year of Chriſt 460.

Timotheus Salophacialus *choſen in his room.*

[r] Theoph. p. 96. [s] Theoph. ibid. Evagr. p. 305. Leo ep. 139.

(A) It is true, that *Victor*, Biſhop of *Cartenna* in *Mauritania*, who lived in the 5th Century, in a ſmall Treatiſe, which he wrote on Penance, ſtyled it a *Sacrament* (1), as *Bellarmine* has taken care to obſerve (2). But nothing is better known, than that the Word *Sacrament* was a general Name with the Antients, for every ſacred Ceremony, Rite, or Myſtery. Thus the Waſhing in Water, and the Impoſition of Hands in Baptiſm, were ſtyled, by the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*, Two Sacraments (3); nay, *Pacianus*, Biſhop of *Barcelona*, diſtinguiſhed Three Sacraments in Baptiſm (4). St. *Auſtin* calls Exorciſm a Sacrament (5); and the ſame Name is beſtowed both by that Father (6), and the Third Council of *Carthage* (7), on the Salt that was antiently given to the *Catechumens* before Baptiſm. In the ſame Senſe Penance, as practiſed in *Victor*'s Time, was, no doubt, a Sacrament; that is, a ſacred and religious Ceremony.

(1) Vict. de pœnit. c. 20. (2) Bell. de pœnit. l. 1. c. 10. (3) Concil. Carth. apud Cyp. et Cyp. ep. 72. ad Steph. (4) Pacian. ſerm. de Bapt. Bibl. patr. t. 3. p. 77. (5) Aug. homil. 83. (6) Idem de peccat. merit. l. 2. c. 26. (7) Concil. Carth. 3. c. 5.

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ſubmitted, who till then had ſteadily adhered firſt to *Dioſcorus*, and afterwards to *Ælurus*, being gained over by his mild, affable, and engaging Behaviour [t]. Thus after ſo long, and ſo violent a Storm, was the ſo much wiſhed for Calm reſtored, for awhile, to that, and all other Churches.

Tranquillity reſtored to the Church.

Leo *dies.* Year of Chriſt 461.

But *Leo* did not long enjoy the Tranquillity, which he had been ſo long labouring to procure, and which, to do him Juſtice, was chiefly owing to his unwearied Zeal, and conſtant Application, though *Gennadius* had the Glory of completing the Work. *Salophacialus* was choſen about the Middle of *July* 460. and *Leo* died on the 10th of *November* 461. having governed the *Roman* Church 21 Years, one Month, and 13 Days [u]. He was buried in the Church of St. *Peter*, or rather in the Porch of that Church, where no Popes had yet been buried, but ſuch as had died, or were ſuppoſed to have died Martyrs [w]. His Body was tranſlated from the Porch into the Church about the latter End of the Seventh Century; and when the Altar placed over it was pulled down in 1607. the Skeleton was found intire, and removed into the new Church, where it is ſtill kept, and publicly worſhiped, chiefly on the 11th of *April* [x]. The City of *Perigueux* too pretends to have his whole Body; and the City of *Wirtzbourg* and *Sens* conſiderable Parts of it [y]; for in all theſe Places great Honour is paid to his Reliques, whether real or ſuppoſititious, it matters little.

His Character.

Leo was, without all doubt, a Man of extraordinary Parts, far ſuperior to all, who had governed that Church before him, and ſcarce equalled by any, who governed it after him. He is extolled by the Antients chiefly for his unwearied Zeal in defending the Catholic Faith, and unſhaken Steadineſs in combating the oppoſite Errors, that either ſprung up, or were revived, in his time. And truly their Encomiums on that Score are not ill beſtowed; though on ſome Occaſions he had better have tempered his Zeal, and acted with more Moderation. But then his Ambition knew no Bounds; and to gratify it, he ſtuck at nothing, made no Diſtinction between Right and Wrong, between Truth and Falſhood [z]; as if he had adopted

[t] Liberat. p. 107, 108. [u] Vide Bolland. 11. April. ap. n. 5. p. 15. [w] Aring. l. 2. c. 8. [x] Bolland. ubi ſupra, et Pont. p. 65. Aring. p. 160. [y] Bolland. 11. Apr. p. 20. [z] See above, p. 13.

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the famous Maxim of *Julius Cæſar* (A), or thought the moſt criminal Actions ceaſed to be criminal, and became meritorious when any-ways ſubſervient to the Increaſe of his Power, or the Exaltation of his See. For that was the Object he had chiefly in View; that the Point in which all his Cares, all his Thoughts and Endeavours, finally centred; that he ſcarce ever forgot in his Letters; and but too often remembred in his Sermons, many of which are filled with uſeful Apophthegms on *the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the Apoſtolic See*, on *the Merit of St.* Peter, on *the Reſpect that is due from Perſons, even in the higheſt Stations of Life, to the Chair of the Firſt Apoſtle, and Prince of the Apoſtles.* So much was he attached to that Object, that after he had procured, with infinite Labour and Pains, the aſſembling of an Oecumenical Council, as the only means of aſcertaining the Catholic Faith, and ſaving the Church, at that time in the utmoſt Danger, from the prevailing Party of *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* in the Eaſt, he was ready, notwithſtanding his extraordinary Zeal, to undo all he had been doing, and to render that very Council ineffectual, had not his Legates been allowed to preſide[x]; an undeniable Proof, that he had more at heart the Advancement of his See, that is, of his own Power and Authority, than either the Purity of the Faith or the Welfare of the Church. His whole Conduct upon that Occaſion, ſo very different from that of our Saviour, who was *meek and lowly in Heart*, who rebuked his Diſciples for quarreling *which ſhould be the greateſt*, and gave his Followers ſo many Precepts againſt a Spirit of Pride and Domination, has juſtly been urged, by many Writers, againſt his pretended Sanctity, and the extraordinary Honours that are paid to him as a Saint, by the Church of *Rome*. I ſhall therefore only obſerve here, that he has, and ever will have the Demerit of eſtabliſhing an everlaſting Warfare between the Eaſt and the Weſt, between *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*; the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, and their Brethren in the Eaſt, thinking themſelves bound to ſtand to a Decree, which had been ſo unanimouſly enacted by their Predeceſſors, in an Oecumenical Council; and none of the later Biſhops of *Rome*, how peace-

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[x] See above, p. 69, 70.

(B) *Nam, ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas* (1).

(1) Suet. in Jul. c. 30.

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ably ſoever inclined, daring to receive as valid a Determination, which one of the greateſt of their Predeceſſors had, with ſo much Warmth, maintained to be null. Of this Diſpute we ſhall ſee the dreadful Effects in the Sequel of the preſent Hiſtory; and they ought all to be charged to *Leo*'s Account. For his Authority drew in all the Weſtern Biſhops to take the ſame Part, and extended its Influence over their Succeſſors, as well as his own. But as his Ambition, in the Purſuit of its own Ends and Deſigns, tended alſo to raiſe and promote the Greatneſs of his See, that very Crime became the Cauſe of his Sanctification, being more meritorious to *Rome* than all his Virtues. Indeed he was a principal Founder of her exorbitant Power. He brought with him to the Pontificate, not only greater Abilities, but more Experience and Practice in State-Affairs than any of his Predeceſſors; and uſed theſe Advantages, through a long Courſe of Years, to advance the Dignity and Prerogatives of his See, with great Skill and Addreſs, as well as intrepid Aſſurance and Courage. A modern Proteſtant Writer [y] ſays, he had every Virtue, that was compatible with an unbounded Ambition. This I will not deny; but ſhall only obſerve, that ſuch an Ambition, in a Chriſtian Biſhop, is a Vice, for which no Virtue can well atone.

His Writings.

As for the Writings of *Leo*, they are admired, and very juſtly, by all Men of Judgment and Taſte, for the Strength and Energy of the Expreſſion; the Juſtneſs of Thought, and the Purity of Style, in which he is thought to have far excelled all who wrote, at leaſt in the *Latin* Tongue, before him (A). His Writings, or rather the Doctrines, which he takes care to inculcate in his Writings, concerning the Dignity and Prerogatives of St. *Peter*'s *Throne*, have procured him, from his Succeſſors, a Place among the Doctors of the Church; and he is accordingly honoured with that Title. He is now commonly diſtinguiſhed with the Surname of *the Great*, which indeed better belongs to him than that of Holy; but the Antients were Strangers to that Title, and probably thought it unbecoming a Biſhop (B).

HILA-

[y] Jurieu, apud Baïl. in Leon.

(A) A modern Critic (the Abbé *Anthelmi*) will have St. *Proſper*, *Leo*'s Secretary, to have been the Author of all the Writings, both Letters and Sermons, aſcribed to that Pope. But the Diſſertation which he wrote on that Subject, and publiſhed in 1689. has been fully anſwered by Two other learned Critics, F. *Queſnel*, and M. *Du Pin*.

(B) We are told, that a very beautiful Woman being admitted, among others, to kiſs *Leo*'s Hand, on *Eaſter-day*, according to the Cuſtom that then obtained, he was ſurpriſed

LEO THRACIUS, SEVERUS, ANTHEMIUS.

HILARIUS,

Forty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

LEO being dead, *Hilarius*, or, as he is ſometimes called, *Hilarus*, was choſen in his room, and ordained on the 19th of *November* 461. after a Vacancy of Nine Days. He is ſaid, in the Pontificals, to have been a Native of *Sardinia*, and the Son of one *Criſpus* [c]. At the

Year of Chriſt 461. Hilarius *choſen.*

[c] Vide Bar. ad ann. 449. n. 99.

ſurpriſed with a ſudden Attack from an Enemy, whom he believed to have been long ſince intirely ſubdued; and felt, that he was ſtill a Man. But it coſt his Hand dear; for the Ceremony was no ſooner over than he cut it off, thinking he thereby fulfilled the Command given in St. *Matthew* (1). However, as by being thus maimed he became incapable of diſcharging ſome of the Duties of his paſtoral Office, he ſoon repented what he had done; and, deſirous of having his Hand again, he applied to an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, ſaid to be one of the many that were painted by St. *Luke*, the very Image which, on that account, is honoured to this Day in the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*, with an extraordinary Worſhip. The Virgin heard his Prayers, reſtored him his Hand, and, by a no leſs Miracle, extinguiſhed in him the Fire of Concupiſcence, to the very laſt Spark. But his immediate Succeſſors, knowing themſelves to be, at leaſt, as frail as he, and not caring to expoſe their Frailty to the like Danger, changed the antient Cuſtom, and gave no longer their Hand, but their Foot, to be kiſſed: and thus to the Frailty of *Leo* the Cuſtom, which ſtill obtains, of kiſſing the Pope's Foot, is ſaid to owe its firſt Origin (2). The Fact here related is gravely atteſted by St. *Antoninus*, and many others, and was repreſented in a very antient Picture, on the Wall of the old Church of St. *Peter*. But *Clement* VIII. choſen in the Latter-end of the 16th Century, taking Offence at the Repreſentation (for the Devil was there painted in the Shape of a leacherous Satyr, preſenting to the Pope, with a learing Look, and a contemptuous Smile, a beautiful Woman), cauſed it to be eraſed; and, at the ſame time, charged *Baronius* to diſprove the Fact, which he thought no-ways redounded to the Credit of his great Predeceſſor. This Task *Baronius*, who always wrote as he was bid, readily undertook; and the Diſſertation he publiſhed on the Occaſion is worthy of particular Notice. For he there ſtrives to convince the World, that Tradition had confounded Pope *Leo* with the Iconoclaſt Emperor *Leo*, who had cauſed the Right-hand of St. *John Damaſcene* to be cut off, which, he very gravely tells us, was reſtored to him by a miraculous Image of the Virgin *Mary*, adding, *And hence did theſe old Womens Stories* (garrularum fabulæ vetularum), *concerning* Leo, *take their Riſe*; as if the miraculous Cure favoured more of an old Woman's Story in the one Caſe, than it does in the other. And, after all, if what is ſaid of *Leo* was the *Invention and Dreams of old Women, without the leaſt Appearance of Truth*, why did the Popes ſuffer ſuch Dreams to be repreſented in ſo holy a Place as the *Vatican?* Why did none of the Predeceſſors of *Clement* undeceive the World, by ordering ſuch fabulous Repreſentations to be eraſed? The Reaſon is obvious; they believed them, as well as the credulous Vulgar; and were, like them, impoſed upon, by old Womens Stories and Tales, or elſe they were not aſhamed to impoſe upon others what they had too much Senſe to credit themſelves.

(1) Matth. xviii. 8. (2) Vide Theoph. Raynaud. Hoplothec. ſect. 2. ſerie 3. c. 10. et 20. et Sabellic. l. 5. Andr. Eborenſ. tit. de Caſtit. & Majol. l. 1. de irregularitate.

Year of Christ 461.

the time of his Election he was Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church; and had assisted, while he was but a Deacon, at the Council of *Ephesus* under *Dioscorus*, with the Character of *Leo*'s Legate *a latere*. But of his Conduct at that dangerous Juncture, and his precipitous Flight from *Ephesus*, I have spoken already.

He writes to Leontius *of* Arles.

Year of Christ 462.

The First Letter he wrote after his Ordination was to *Leontius*, Exarch of *Arles*, and his particular Friend, to acquaint him with his Promotion, and desire him to impart the joyful Tidings to all the Bishops within the Limits of his Jurisdiction, that both he and they might *exult* with him, and join their Prayers with his, for the Peace, Unity, and Welfare of the Church [d]. He is the First Pope, perhaps the First Bishop, who wrote in that Style, and openly owned the Joy which he felt, in seeing himself raised to the Episcopal Dignity. He does not forget, even in his First Letter, though a Letter only of Compliment, the great Object which they constantly had all in their View, *the Primacy of St.* Peter, *and the Dignity of his See:* for he tells *Leontius*, that he does not doubt, but every one knows, where-ever Tradition is preserved uncorrupted and pure, what Respect and Deference is paid, *in the Spirit of God*, to St. *Peter* and his See [e]. This Letter is dated the 25th of *January* 462. Soon after he wrote a Second Letter to *Leontius*, in Answer to one, which that Prelate had written to him, as soon as his Promotion was known in *Gaul*, and sent to *Rome* by a Person of Distinction, named *Pappolus*; not doubting, but by such early Marks of Respect and Esteem he should prejudice the Pope in his Favour, and engage him on his Side, against his Rival in Power, the Bishop of *Vienne*. For when no room was left for Bishops to quarrel about the Faith, they were sure to quarrel about Power, the neighbouring Bishops especially contending with as much Warmth and Animosity against each other, about the Limits and Extent of their Spiritual, as neighbouring Princes usually do about

Mindful even in his first Letter, of the Dignity of his See.

The Papal Grandeur owing to the Ambition of the Bishops.

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 10. 34.

[e] Concil. ibid.

As for the Custom of kissing the Bishops Hands, that Mark of Respect was paid them very early, even by the Emperors themselves; *Kings and Princes*, says St. *Ambrose*, *do not disdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Bishops, and kiss their Hands* (3). But the Custom of kissing the Pope's Foot was not introduced till many Ages after *Leo*'s Time, no Mark of Respect being then shewn to the Bishop of *Rome*, no Title given him, but what was common with him to all other Bishops, at least to the Patriarchs.

(3) Ambr. de dignit. sacerd. c. 2.

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the Limits and Extent of their Temporal Dominion. Hence as the Biſhops of the Imperial City bore, on account of their Rank, a great Sway in Eccleſiaſtical Matters at the Courts of Princes, both Parties, in their unhappy Diſputes, had recourſe to them, ſtriving which ſhould, by the moſt ſervile Submiſſion, earn their Protection and Favour. Thus did the other Prelates, eſpecially in the Weſt, for the ſake of ſome ſmall Addition of Power, of ſome inconſiderable Advantage over a neighbouring Collegue, betray the juſt Rights of the whole Order, to ſtrengthen that Power, which it was their common Intereſt and Duty to curb and controul. Year of Chriſt 462.

Leontius courts the Favour of the Pope againſt the Biſhop of Vienne.

The Biſhop of *Arles*, in his Letter to *Hilarius*, after congratulating him on his Promotion in Terms, that would have better become a Courtier than a Biſhop, exhorted him to purſue the great Work which *Leo* had begun, and not to abandon the Enterprize, till he had overturned the Walls of *Jericho* from the Foundation, meaning perhaps, the ſuppoſed Hereſy of *Eutyches*; to favour the See of *Arles*, as his Predeceſſors had all done; and to reſtrain, by his Authority, the unwarrantable Efforts of envious Men, whoſe Hatred to that See increaſed daily, and became daily more dangerous. The envious Men were the Biſhops of *Vienne*, who diſputed with the Biſhops of *Arles*, the Metropolitan Power and Juriſdiction over ſome neighbouring Cities. At this time St. *Mamertus* was Biſhop of *Vienne*; and *Leontius* too is commended as a great Saint. But the Saints were, of all Men, the moſt covetous of Power, the moſt encroaching, and the moſt abuſive, when their Encroachments met with the leaſt Oppoſition.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Letter of Leontius.

Hilarius, in his Anſwer to *Leontius*, highly approves of the Regard he has ſhewn for St. *Peter* and his Chair; expreſſes a great Deſire to have the Diſcipline of the *Roman* Church eſtabliſhed in all other Catholic Churches, that there might be but one Diſcipline, as there was but one Faith; and, above all, he extols his Zeal for requiring him to watch, and take care that the Rules of the Fathers, that is, the Canons of the Church, be every-where ſtrictly obſerved. This

It was not the Province of the Biſhops of Rome *to ſee that the Canons were every-where obſerved.*

laſt Paſſage is frequently alleged to prove, that it was the peculiar Province of the Biſhops of *Rome* to watch and ſee, that the Canons were obſerved by all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church, that he was veſted with a Power to cenſure and puniſh all who trangreſſed them; and that ſuch a Power, which was in effect ſome ſort of univerſal Juriſdiction, was acknowleged by the Primate of *Arles*, and conſequently, by the other *Gallican* Biſhops. But in the Letter of *Leontius*, which

is

Year of Chriſt 462.

is ſtill luckily extant [f], not the leaſt mention is made of the Rules of the Fathers or the Canons; nor ſo much as a diſtant Hint given, which could poſſibly induce *Hilarius* to imagine, that he was required to ſee, that the Canons were every-where obſerved, or that *Leontius* thought ſuch a Province to be any Part of his Duty. However, ſuppoſing himſelf to have been acknowleged by *Leontius* for Guardian General of the Canons, he cloſes his Letter with declaring, that *for the ſake of that Unity and Concord, which ought to reign among the Biſhops of the Lord, he will take care, that the Ordinances of the Fathers be every-where punctually complied with, and that all Biſhops ſeek not their own things, but Chriſt's* [g]. But to maintain the Unity and Concord that ought to reign among the Prelates of the Church, the Fathers of the Second Oecumenical Council had enacted a general Law, contained in their Second Canon, forbidding all Biſhops, the Biſhop of *Rome* not excepted, to concern themſelves at all with Eccleſiaſtical Matters, without the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdiction. This wiſe Ordinance was confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent Councils, and thought ſo neceſſary to reſtrain *the Biſhops of the Lord* from quarreling about Power, that it was adopted into the Civil Law. *When an Eccleſiaſtic*, ſays *Juſtinian* in one of his Laws [h], *ſhall be accuſed in point of Faith or Morals, or charged with a Tranſgreſſion of the Canons; if he is a Biſhop, he ſhall be examined before his Metropolitan; but if he is a Metropolitan, before the Archbiſhop*, that is, the Patriarch, *to whom he is ſubject*. By theſe Laws each Metropolitan was to ſee the Canons obſerved within the Limits of his Province, each Archbiſhop, that is, Patriarch or Primate, within the Limits of his Dioceſe, and none were to concern themſelves with Eccleſiaſtical Matters without the Bounds of their Juriſdiction. It was therefore the Province and Duty of the Biſhops of *Rome* to watch and ſee, that the Canons were obſerved within the Bounds of the Suburbicarian Provinces. But their Care they could extend no farther without tranſgreſſing thoſe very Canons, for the Obſervance of which they pretended ſuch an extraordinary Zeal.

But of every Metropolitan and Patriarch within the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdictions.

The Pope's Third Letter to Leontius.

But to return to *Hilarius:* he wrote the ſame Year a Third Letter to *Leontius*, but in a very different Style from the Two former. This Letter was written on the following Occaſion: *Ruſticus*, Me-

[f] Spicileg. veter. aliquot Scrip. per D. Luc. Dacheri. t. 5. p. 578. [g] Concil. t. 4. p. 1040. [h] Novel. 137. c. 5.

tropolitan

tropolitan of *Narbonne*, having ordained his Archdeacon, named *Hermes*, Biſhop of *Beziers*, and the People refuſing to receive him, he named him, with the Conſent of the People and Clergy of *Narbonne*, for his own Succeſſor; and *Hermes* ſucceeded him accordingly in that See. As this Affair no-way concerned the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Leontius* did not think it at all neceſſary to acquaint him with it; nor indeed was it his Buſineſs to do it, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. But *Hilarius*, who had heard of it from others, aſcribing his Silence on ſuch an Occaſion, to want of Reſpect for St. *Peter*, reſented it as an Affront offered to his Chair; and in the Height of his Reſentment, wrote to the Primate of *Arles* in Terms, that had better become a Sovereign reprimanding his Vaſſal, than a Biſhop complaining of a Brother and Collegue. The Letter began thus: *We are amazed to find you ſo forgetful of the Chriſtian Law, as not to have acquainted us with the iniquitous things, that have happened in a Province belonging to your Monarchy* (A), [a new Phraſe for Metropolitan Power] *that we might correct what you either will not, or cannot correct.* He then inveighs againſt *Hermes* for daring to intrude himſelf, *by a moſt wicked Uſurpation, and execrable Preſumption*, into the vacant See of *Narbonne*; and charges *Leontius* to tranſmit to *Rome*, without Delay, a diſtinct Account of the whole Affair, ſigned by him and other Biſhops, that they might know what he ſhould think fit to determine, and preſcribe to be done [i].

Year of Chriſt 462.

Hermes *is appointed Biſhop of* Narbonne *at the Nomination of his Predeceſſor in that See.*

The Pope reprimands Leontius *for not acquainting him with it.*

Hermes was a Man of an unblemiſhed Character, well known at *Rome*, and, without all doubt, to *Hilarius* himſelf, though, in his Letter, he is pleaſed to call him *one Hermes*, as if he had never before heard of his Name. For, in the late Pontificate he had been ſent by his Predeceſſor to *Rome*, and had for ſome time reſided there. His not having been received at *Beziers* was not owing to any Demerit in him, but to the irreconcileable Hatred, that *Frederic* the *Viſigoth* bore him (B).

The Character of Hermes *irreprehenſible.*

As

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 1040, 1041.

(A) *Hilarius* ſuppoſes *Narbonne* to be under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Arles*. It had indeed been ſubjected to that See by *Zoſimus*. But his Decree was reverſed by *Boniface*, his immediate Succeſſor, and *Leo* confirmed what *Boniface* had done (1). It is quite ſurpriſing, that *Hilarius* ſhould have been thus unacquainted with the Tranſactions of his own Time.

(B) *Frederic* was the Brother of *Theodoric* II. King of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, who were zealous *Arians*, and, at this time, Maſters of *Narbonne*, and the neighbouring Provinces. *Hermes* perhaps was too

(1) See Vol. I. p. 364.

Year of Christ 462.

And his Election canonical.

As the Life of *Hermes* was irreproachable, ſo was his Promotion to the See of *Narbonne*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, canonical. For, upon the Demiſe of his Predeceſſor, he was received, without the leaſt Oppoſition, by the People and Clergy of that City, and by all acknowleged for their lawful Biſhop. *Ruſticus*, it is true, had named him for his Succeſſor; but it was with their Conſent and Approbation that he named him; and the naming thus a Succeſſor was neither forbidden by the Canons (C), as *Hilarius* pretended, nor was it without Precedents. I ſhall only mention Two, and both very remarkable. *Macarius* of *Jeruſalem*, a Saint of the Firſt Rate, ordained St. *Maximus* Biſhop of that City, then named him, with the Conſent of the People and Clergy, for his Succeſſor in the Patriarchal See, and kept him with him, that, upon his Death, he might be inſtalled in his room [k]. St. *Auſtin* not only appointed one of his Presbyters to ſucceed him in the See of *Hippo*, but cauſed him to be ſolemnly choſen by the People and Clergy, whom he aſſembled for that Purpoſe [l]. The Truth is: *Ruſticus* had acquainted *Leo* with his Deſign of naming *Hermes*; and, to prevent all Diſputes, had deſired the Pope to approve it: *Leo* would not [m]; yet *Ruſticus* named him, and the Nomination took place. This *Hilarius* could not brook; and it was in the Heat of his Paſſion, at ſeeing the Authority of his Predeceſſor, and conſequently his own, thus ſlighted, that he wrote the Letter I have quoted, covering, and, in a manner, ſanctifying his Pride and Ambition, with the uſual Diſguiſe of Zeal for the Canons.

Why condemned by Hilarius.

[k] Soz. l. 2. c. 10. [l] Aug. ep. 110. [m] Concil. t. 4. p. 1041.

able, or too zealous a Stickler for the Catholic Cauſe, and on that Score (for I know of no other) hated, oppoſed, and perſecuted by *Frederic*. That Prince had not only ſtirred up the People of *Beziers* againſt their new Biſhop; but, upon his being received by the People and Clergy of *Narbonne*, he had immediately diſpatched a Deacon, named *John*, with a Letter to the Pope, informing him, that *Hermes* had, by a moſt *wicked Uſurpation*, and *execrable Preſumption*, intruded himſelf into the See of *Narbonne*. For thus *Frederic* expreſſed himſelf in his Letter to the Pope; and the Pope, no leſs incenſed againſt the Catholic Biſhop than the *Arian* Prince, whom he even ſtyles his Son, vented his Paſſion with the ſame Words in the Letter he wrote to *Leontius* (1).

(C) The Twenty-third Canon of *Antioch*, which ſeems to forbid ſuch Nominations (2), was not received till many Years after the time of *Hilarius*; and beſides, the Learned, generally ſpeaking, underſtand that Canon, as only forbidding Nominations not authorized by the Conſent and Approbation of the People and Clergy (3). The Council of *Antioch* was held in 341.

(1) Concil. t. 4. p. 1040, 1041. (2) Concil. t. 2. p. 575. (3) Vide Thom. diſc. 1. l. 2. c. 22.

But he had ſcarce written that Letter, when Two *Gallican* Biſhops, *Fauſtus* and *Auxanius*, both privy to what had happened at *Narbonne*, arrived at *Rome*; and their Arrival proved very ſeaſonable. For the Two Prelates, ſurpriſed to find the Pope incenſed to ſuch a degree againſt their Collegues, and without the leaſt Appearance of Juſtice or Reaſon on his Side, did all that lay in their Power to appeaſe him. They gave him a true Account of the Election and Ordination of *Hermes*, very different from that which had been tranſmitted to him by *Frederic*, an avowed Enemy to that Prelate, as well as the Faith, which he profeſſed and defended. The Pope, ſenſible that he had been impoſed upon by the *Arian* Prince, and had acted too raſhly, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far prevailed upon by the Remonſtrances of the Two Prelates, as to aſſemble the Biſhops, who were then at *Rome* (and many were then in that City, come from different Provinces, to celebrate the Anniverſary of his Promotion), in order to lay the Affair before them. By this Council, conſiſting chiefly of Biſhops immediately ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and therefore intirely at his Devotion, the Promotion of *Hermes* was declared uncanonical, and repugnant to the Rules of the holy Fathers, though ſome of the greateſt among the holy Fathers had ſhewn, by their Practice, as I have obſerved above, that they either did not know of any ſuch Rules, or did not receive them. But it was the conſtant Practice of the Popes, before they openly ſet up their Sovereign Will in the room of the Canons, to pretend every thing they approved to have been commanded, and every thing they diſapproved to have been forbidden by the Canons. Thus they governed as deſpotically by their Will, while they owned themſelves bound by the Canons, as they did after they had withdrawn themſelves from all Obedience to the Canons, and acknowleged no other Law but their Will. As for the other Biſhops, they either acquieſced out of Ignorance, believing, without farther Inquiry, ſuch things to have been really commanded or forbidden by the Canons, as were ſolemnly declared by the Pope to be ſo; or out of Complaiſance pretended to acquieſce, eſpecially in Matters that did not appear to them of any great Importance, as they were not attending ſo much as they ought to have done, to the Papal Artifices and Views (A).

Year of Chriſt 462.

The Pope ſenſible that he had been impoſed upon, with reſpect to the Election and Ordination of Hermes.

Yet cauſes his Promotion to be declared uncanonical by a Council held at Rome.

But

(A) Of the unaccountable Ignorance of the Biſhops, even with reſpect to the Canons of Oecumenical Councils, innumerable Inſtances occur in Hiſtory. I ſhall here mention one only, which is well worthy our Notice. The ordaining of Two Biſhops

Year of Christ 462.

Yet he is ſuffered to keep his See, but diveſted of the Power of ordaining the Biſhops of the Province.

But though the Promotion of *Hermes* was judged uncanonical by the Pope, and his Mock-council; yet the new Biſhop was not depoſed, but *ſuffered, out of their great Indulgence, and for the ſake of Peace*, to keep his See. However, leſt they ſhould be thought to connive at ſuch unlawful Practices, it was thought fit he ſhould be degraded from the Rank of a Metropolitan, and reduced almoſt to the State of a mere Suffragan; which was done accordingly; the Power of ordaining the Biſhops of the Province, which was veſted in all Metropolitans, by the Sixth Canon of *Nice*, being transferred from him to the moſt antient Biſhop of the Province; but with this Clauſe, *That, upon the Death of* Hermes, *it ſhould revert to the See of* Narbonne, *ſince the City was innocent, though the Biſhop was guilty* [p]; which it would be no eaſy Task to ſhew, ſince the Citizens had all concurred with their Suffrages in raiſing him to the Epiſcopal Dignity. The Determination of the Council *Hilarius* immediately notified to the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Vienne*, of *Lions*, of *Narbonenſis Prima* and *Secunda*, and of the *Maritim Alps*, by a Letter dated the 3d of *December* 462. In the ſame Letter were contained ſeveral Regulations concerning the Diſcipline of the *Gallican* Church; but in what manner they were received by the Biſhops in thoſe Parts, I find no-where recorded. However, I am inclined to ſuppoſe, with *Baronius*, that they met with no Oppoſition, but were by all moſt punctually executed. For, at this very time, the *Gallican* Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of *Arles*, of *Vienne*, of *Narbonne*, of *Aix*, and of

[p] Concil. t. 4. p. 1042.

ſhops for one and the ſame Place was ſtrictly forbidden by the Firſt Oecumenical Council, and the moſt revered of all, that of *Nice*. And yet in the ſame Century, in which that Council was held, St. *Auſtin* was ordained Biſhop of *Hippo* by the Primate of *Numidia*, and the other Prelates of that Province, while *Valerius* was ſtill alive, and ſate in that See; nay, it was at the Requeſt of *Valerius*, that he was ordained. And it is obſervable, that their thus tranſgreſſing the Canon of *Nice* was not owing to any Diſregard they had for that Council, or becauſe they thought its Laws might, on ſome Occaſions, be diſpenſed with; but becauſe they were all alike ignorant of that Law (1). St. *Auſtin* became afterwards acquainted with it; and therefore would not ſuffer his Succeſſor, after he had named him, and cauſed him to be choſen, to be ordained while he himſelf was yet living (2). Of the Ignorance that reigned, generally ſpeaking, among the other Biſhops, with reſpect to the Canons, the Popes were well appriſed, and availed themſelves of it accordingly, roundly aſſerting, upon the leaſt Proſpect of Advantage to their See, *the holy Fathers* to have commanded or forbidden, what it had never come into the Thoughts of *the holy Fathers* to command or forbid.

(1) Aug. ep. 110. et 64. Poſſid. in vit. Aug. c. 8. (2) Idem ep. 110.

Embrun,

Embrun, were all at Variance, quarreling among themſelves about Power and Juriſdiction, with as much Warmth as if the Whole of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion were at Stake, and ſtriving which ſhould engage the Pope on his Side, by the moſt punctual and ready Obedience to whatever he ſhould pleaſe to ſuggeſt. Thus did the Ambition of others contribute as much to the aggrandizing of the Popes as their own; the other Biſhops being glad to compound, as it were, for the Power of commanding their neighbouring Collegues, with ſuffering themſelves to be commanded by the Biſhop of *Rome*, who was at a Diſtance. This Diſpoſition in the Prelates of the Church, the Popes took care to improve, with their uſual Art and Addreſs, ſiding ſometimes with the one, and ſometimes with the other, till they brought, at length, all the Weſt inſenſibly, and by degrees, under their Yoke, as has been obſerved even by a very eminent *Roman* Catholic Writer q. For the extraordinary Regard, Deference, or Submiſſion, with which they were apt to bribe the Apoſtolic See, in their Quarrels and Diſputes with one another, were afterwards conſtrued, by the Popes, into an indiſpenſable Duty, and exacted with the utmoſt Rigour both of them and their Succeſſors.

Year of Chriſt 462.

The Grandeur of the Popes owing as much to the Ambition of other Biſhops, as to their own.

Hilarius ſeems to have been wholly bent on reducing the *Gallican* Church, and intirely ſubjecting it to his See. For, being informed, the following Year 463. that *Mamertus* of *Vienne*, a great Saint, but not at all free from the epidemical Diſtemper, as I may call it, which reigned at this time among the Biſhops of *Gaul*, the Luſt of Power, had taken upon him to ordain the Biſhop of *Die*, a City once under the Juriſdiction of *Vienne*, but then ſubject to the Biſhop of *Arles*, he wrote again to *Leontius*, ſeverely rebuking that Prelate for not acquainting the Apoſtolic See with ſo daring an Attempt. From this Letter one would conclude, that the Primate of *Arles* acted, in that Station, as a mere Deputy, or rather Emiſſary, appointed by *Rome* to watch the Conduct of the *Gallican* Biſhops; and, when he diſcovered any thing amiſs in their Behaviour, to inform againſt them, at the high Tribunal of their Sovereign Lord the Pope. But this Treament *Leontius* well deſerved, and could expect no better, after he had acknowleged, as he did in his very firſt Letter to *Hilarius*, the Authority of the Popes, and thereby left himſelf, and his See, to their Mercy. In the ſame Letter *Hilarius* charges the Biſhop of *Arles* to

Hilarius *provoked againſt* Leontius *and* Mamertus. *His Letter to the former.*

Year of Chriſt 463.

q Du Pin. Biblioth. des Auc. Eccleſ. t. 3. part 2. p. 572.

cauſe

Year of Christ 463.

cauſe the *unwarrantable Attempt* of *Mamertus* to be examined by a national Synod, and to inform him of the true State of the Caſe by a ſynodal Letter, that he (not they) might, with the Aſſiſtance and Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, determine what was moſt expedient to be done at ſo critical a Juncture [r]. He could not have expreſſed more Earneſtneſs and Concern, had the Catholic Faith, or the Church, been in imminent Danger. But both were very ſafe; nay, and the Canons too, of which he had ſet up for Guardian General. What then could thus alarm him? *Mamertus* had preſumed, in a *hoſtile manner*, to extend his Juriſdiction beyond the Limits to which it had been reſtrained by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See [s]. For *Leo* adjudged the City of *Die* to the See of *Arles*. But *Mamertus*, refuſing to ſtand to his Judgment, continued to exerciſe there the ſame Juriſdiction after, as he had done before that Judgment was given. This *Hilarius* conſtrued into an unpardonable Crime; and, alarmed at it as an *enormous Exceſs*, charged *Mamertus*, in a Letter he wrote the following Year 464. to the Biſhops in thoſe Parts (A), with Pride, Arrogance, Preſumption, Prevarication; he even threatened to diveſt him of all the Privileges he then enjoyed, as Metropolitan of *Vienne*, if he dared to maintain what he had done, or pretended what he had done to be right and lawful. As to the Biſhop, whom *Mamertus* had ordained, St. *Marcellus*, the Pope will not allow him to be acknowleged as ſuch, till his Ordination is confirmed by *Leontius*, whom he leaves at full Liberty to confirm it or not, as he ſhall think fit [t].

What provoked him againſt Mamertus.

His threatening Letter to that Biſhop.

Year of Chriſt 464.

As this was an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, *Hilarius* wrote the ſame Year a long Letter, on the ſame Subject, to *Victurus*, *Ingenuus*, *Idatius*, and Sixteen other *Gallican* Biſhops, who are all named in the Addreſs; and in that Letter, to authorize the Conduct of his Predeceſſor, as well as his own, in aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch an arbitrary Power over thoſe Churches and Biſhops, he has recourſe, not to any Divine Right, nor even to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; but to a Law of the Emperors, meaning, no doubt, for he could mean no other, the Law which was enacted, at the Suggeſtion of *Leo*, by *Valenti-*

His Letter to the Gallican *Biſhops.*

[r] Concil. t. 4. p. 1043. [s] Concil. ibid. p. 1044, 1045. [t] Concil. ibid. p. 1044, 1045.

(A) This Letter is dated the 24th of *February*, and was addreſſed to the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Vienne*, of *Lyons*, of *Narbonenſis Prima*, *Narbonenſis Secunda*, and the *Alpes Penninæ*.

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nian III. *Our Brother* Leontius, ſays the Pope, *could forfeit no Honour, could be juſtly bereaved of no Right, that had been granted him by my Predeceſſor, of holy Memory; becauſe it has been decreed, by a Law of the Chriſtian Princes, that all Regulations concerning the Churches and their Rulers, made by the Biſhop of the Apoſtolic See, to maintain Concord and Peace among the Prieſts of the Lord, and keep up the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, ſhould be received with Veneration, and by all inviolably obſerved* [u]. This was challenging a Power to regulate and model, at Pleaſure, the *Gallican*, as well as all other Churches within the Bounds of the Empire; for the Imperial Law could extend no farther; but, at the ſame time, owning, and in the plaineſt Terms, ſuch a Power to be a free Gift of the Emperors. Of the Law veſting the Pope with ſuch an extenſive Authority, I have ſpoken above [w], and therefore ſhall not remind the Reader here, that it was univerſally looked upon as ſurreptitious, having been enacted at the Suggeſtion of a moſt ambitious, crafty, and deſigning Pope, by a weak, unexperienced, and bigotted Prince, perhaps one of the weakeſt that ever ſwayed the Imperial Sceptre, and grounded upon Facts known to be falſe. However, conſidering the preſent Diſpoſition of the *Gallican* Biſhops, the ſelfiſh Views moſt of them had at this time, the Jealouſy they entertained of each other, and the Court they were all making to the Pope, it is not to be doubted, but his Directions were received, and moſt punctually obeyed. St. *Mamertus* alone did not, it ſeems, ſubmit to the Pope's Authority; for, in a Council held at *Arles* in 475. I find him placed, not among the Metropolitans, but the Suffragans; and *Hilarius* had threatened to diveſt him of the Metropolitan Dignity, if he did not own himſelf guilty in tranſgreſſing the Regulations made by *Leo*, and did not promiſe to obſerve them for the future, as ſacred and inviolable Laws [x]. To ſuch an extravagant Height did this arrogant Pope carry the Claims of his See, though he may be ſaid, in ſome degree, to have let them down, by owning himſelf indebted to the Emperors for the Power he claimed. As for *Mamertus*, who was thus perſecuted by the Pope, all the contemporary Writers, but more eſpecially *Sidonius*, Biſhop of *Clermont*, paint him as a Prelate of extraordinary Merit, as a great Saint; and he is now honoured as ſuch by the Succeſſors of *Hilarius*, notwithſtanding the Pains that Pope

Year of Chriſt 464.

He owns himſelf indebted to the Emperor for the Power he claims.

[u] Concil. t. 4. p. 1045. [w] See p. 14, 15. [x] Concil. ibid. p. 1045—1047.

took

Year of Christ 464.

took to blacken his Character. He was the Author of the Rogation-Faſt, which was afterwards adopted by the *Roman*, and moſt other Churches in the Weſt *y*.

The Biſhops of Spain *conſult the Pope.* Year of Chriſt 465.

While *Hilarius* was wholly intent on ſubjecting to his See the Churches of *Gaul*, a favourable Opportunity offered of extending his Authority over thoſe of *Spain*. *Silvanus* of *Calahorra* had taken upon him to ordain Biſhops, without the Knowlege or Conſent of his Metropolitan *Aſcanius* of *Tarragon*; nay, he ordained the Curate of a Village in another Province, and ordained him, againſt his Will, Biſhop of the Village. In theſe Ordinations he was aſſiſted by ſome of his neighbouring Collegues; but they being prevailed upon by the Biſhop of *Saragoſa*, to ſeparate themſelves from his Communion, he ordained alone, by a new Breach of the Canons, all who wanted to be raiſed to the Epiſcopal Dignity. *Aſcanius* therefore, and the other Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, thinking the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* would add great Weight to theirs, wrote to *Hilarius*, intreating him, by a ſynodal Letter, to aſſiſt them with his Advice, that they might know how to proceed againſt the refractory Biſhop as well as thoſe whom he had ordained *z*. At the ſame time *Aſcanius*, and the other Biſhops of that Province, wrote a Second Letter to *Hilarius*, concerning another Affair. *Nundinarius* Biſhop of *Barcelona*, had ſhewn, on his Death-bed, a great Deſire to have one *Irenæus* for his Succeſſor, who was then Biſhop of another Church. However, as that Church was Part of the Dioceſe of *Barcelona*, and *Nundinarius* had yielded it to *Irenæus*, with the Approbation of all the Biſhops of that Province, *Aſcanius* and his Collegues thought they might, without any Breach of the Canons, comply with the Deſire of their dying Brother; the rather as *Irenæus* was a Prelate of an unexceptionable Character, and the whole Body of the Nobles, Clergy, and People, demanded him, with great Earneſtneſs, for their Biſhop and Paſtor. A Decree was accordingly iſſued by the Biſhops of the Province aſſembled in Council, appointing *Irenæus* Biſhop of the vacant See of *Barcelona*. In their Decree, to obviate all Objections, they very judiciouſly obſerved, that what they did now, had been done by others on ſeveral Occaſions. However, they unadviſedly ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon by *Vincentius*, at this time Duke of the *Tarragoneſe*, and a great Friend of *Hilarius*, to write to *Rome*,

The Subject of their Letters.

y Sid. l. 5. ep. 14. et l. 7. ep. 1. *z* Concil. t. 4. p. 1033.

and

and desire the Pope to confirm their Decree [a]. In this, as well as in the former Letter, they express the greatest Regard and Respect for the Apostolic See, acknowleging the Bishop of *Rome* for the Successor of St. *Peter, whose Primacy ought to be loved and feared by all.* They add, *that they recur to his See, that they may receive Answers from a Place, where Error and Prejudice find no room, where nothing is determined, but after a mature and truly Episcopal Deliberation* [b]. Here *Baronius* exults; but I must take notice of what he said but a few Pages before, on occasion of the Quarrel between this very Pope and *Mamertus* of *Vienne*. *Be not surprised, Reader, that the* Roman *Pontiff* Hilarius *should thus bitterly inveigh against* Mamertus, *a Prelate of eminent Sanctity; for in litigious Points every Man may be easily deceived; St.* Leo *inveighed, with no less Acrimony, against St.* Hilarius. *Who does not know, that the Ears of the Popes are often prepossessed with false Accusations; that the Popes themselves are not Proof against Surprize, so that they persecute the Innocent, and, at the same time believe, that they act agreeably to the Laws of Justice and Equity* [c]. I have nothing to object against so plain a Truth; and therefore shall only observe, that if, in litigious or doubtful Points, the Popes, by the Annalist's own Confession, lie open, as well as other Men, to Error and Prejudice, I cannot see why he should exult as he does, in finding them complimented by the *Spanish* Bishops with a kind of Infallibility, even in litigious Points, unless it be because those good Bishops seemed to entertain a better Opinion of them, than he himself thought they deserved. His Remark on the Application of the same Bishops to the Pope, for a Confirmation of their Decree translating *Irenæus* from one See to another, ought not to pass unobserved. For having exhibited their Letter; at these Words, *We therefore humbly intreat your Apostleship to confirm the Decree which we have made*, he stops his Reader to make him take Notice, that it belonged to the Bishop of the *Roman* See only to dispense with the Canons. But how that can be gathered from their Words, is not easy to guess; since their Words only import a Request to the Pope, that he would confirm the Decree, which they had made; so that they had made the Decree without consulting his *Apostleship*, nay, and would have put it in Execution, had not the Governor

Year of Christ 465.

They acknowlege the Pope for the Successor of St. Peter.

Baronius *owns the Popes liable, as other Men, to Error and Prejudice.*

His Remark on their applying to the Pope.

[a] Concil. ib. p. 1034. [b] Concil. ibid. [c] Bar. ad ann. 464. n. 8.

Year of Chriſt 465.

of the Province officiouſly interpoſed. But him *Baronius* keeps behind the Curtain, and never ſuffers to appear, that the Biſhops may be thought to have applied to *Rome*, of their own Motion, and not at his Perſuaſion, as they certainly did. Upon the Whole it is manifeſt, that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops were ſo far from ſuing to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation in favour of *Irenæus*, or acknowleging in the Pope a Power to diſpenſe with the Canons, that they did not even judge it at all neceſſary to acquaint him with what they had done, thinking it to be right, as they declare in their Letter *(quod juſte a nobis videtur factum)*, though done without his Knowlege or Conſent. The Annaliſt is too impatient, in too great Haſte, to ſee his *High Pontiff* veſted with the lucrative Power of diſpenſing with the Canons. But for that Satisfaction he muſt wait ſome Ages. At this time the Eccleſiaſtical Laws were thought binding with reſpect to all, unleſs ſome Advantage accruing to the Church required them to be diſpenſed with; and in that Caſe, as they had been made for the Good of the Church, ſo for the Good of the Church they might be diſpenſed with by every Biſhop, at leaſt by every provincial Synod.

They do not acknowlege in the Pope a Power of diſpenſing with the Canons.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Spaniſh *Biſhops.*

The Pope received the Two above-mentioned Letters from *Spain*, while he was holding a Council on occaſion of the Concourſe of Biſhops come to *Rome*, to celebrate, according to Cuſtom, the Anniverſary of his Ordination. To that Aſſembly, conſiſting of 48 Biſhops, of which Number 39 were of the Vicariate of *Rome*, and immediately ſubject to the *Roman* See, *Hilarius* cauſed both Letters to be read; and they were no ſooner read, than it was decreed, with reſpect to *Irenæus*, that he ſhould quit the Church of *Barcelona*, and return to his firſt See, becauſe *Nundinarius had deſired, by his laſt Will, that he might ſucceed him, as if Biſhopricks were hereditary* [d]. No other Reaſon was alleged in the Council. But *Hilarius*, knowing that to be quite frivolous, and eaſily anſwered, bethought himſelf afterwards of a better; *viz.* The general Prohibition of paſſing from one Church to another; and that Prohibition he urged in his Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops. But as they had deſired him to confirm their Decree, without engaging to revoke it, if he did not; and beſides had obſerved, in their Letter, that what they did had been practiſed by others, on ſeveral Occaſions; the Pope was under no ſmall Apprehenſion, leſt they ſhould, notwithſtanding their pretended Reſpect for the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, ſlight his Decree, and ſtand to their

He declares againſt Tranſlations.

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 1062, 1063.

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own. Taking therefore Advantage of the Attachment the Governor of the *Tarragoneſe* had ſhewn for the *Roman* See, and depending upon his Aſſiſtance, he diſpatched into *Spain* a Subdeacon, named *Trojanus*, charging him to ſee the Decree, which had been iſſued by him and his Council, punctually executed [e]. But whether it was executed or not, is no-where recorded; and therefore the Pope's Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops may well be alleged as an Inſtance of his attempting, with the Aſſiſtance of the ſecular Power, to exerciſe Authority over them, but not of their having acknowleged his Authority, or ſubmitted to it. Year of Chriſt 465.

The Zeal which the Pope exerted for the Obſervance of the Canons, in the Caſe of *Irenæus*, was very remarkable, as F. *Tomaſſin* well obſerves [f]. But it was only in the Caſe of *Irenæus* that he exerted ſuch an extraordinary Zeal. For as to *Silvanus*, though that rebellious and ſchiſmatical Biſhop ought to have been degraded by the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions [g], confirmed by the Canons of almoſt innumerable Councils, yet the Pope, as if his Zeal had here loſt its Edge, ordered the *Spaniſh* Biſhops to overlook all his Tranſgreſſions, and freely forgive him; nay, in Defiance of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions [h], of the Canons of *Nice* [i], *Canons everlaſtingly binding*, as his Predeceſſor ſtyled them, of *Antioch* [k], *Laodicea* [l], *Arles* [m], *Turin* [n], *Sardica* [o], *Epheſus* [p], and *Chalcedon* [q], he confirmed the Biſhops, whom *Silvanus* had ordained [r]. An excellent Guardian of the Canons indeed! His Decree however, confirming their Ordination, was not abſolute, but conditional; for he confirmed them on Condition that they had married none but Virgins; that they had not been twice married; that they were not unacquainted with Letters; that they had not loſt any of their Limbs, nor the Uſe of any; and had never undergone public Penance [s]. Not a Word of their Morals; though the Pope could hardly ſuppoſe all, whom *Silvanus* had ordained, to be even in that reſpect free from all Blame; ſince they had choſen, or at leaſt had conſented, to receive Ordination at his Hands, by an open and moſt barefaced Violation of the known Laws of the Church. *But at the ſame time acts in Oppoſition to the Canons of ſeveral Councils.*

[e] Concil. ibid. p. 1036. [f] Thom. Ancienne et nouvelle diſcip. &c. l. 2. [g] Apoſt. Conſt. can. 35. [h] Can. Apoſt. 35. [i] Con. Nic. can. 4. [k] Con. Antioch. can. 19. [l] Con. Laodic. can. 12. [m] Con. Arelat. 2. can. 5, et 6. [n] Con. Taurin. can. 2. [o] Con. Sardic. 3. [p] Con. Epheſ. decret. de Epiſ. Cypr. [q] Con. Chalced. act. 3. et can. 25. [r] Concil. t. 4. p. 1036. [s] Concil. t. 4. p. 1036.

Year of Chriſt 465.

His Plea for thus acting.

To excuſe the extraordinary Indulgence ſhewn to *Silvanus*, the Pope pleads, in his Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, the Neceſſity of the Times [t]. For the diſobedient and refractory Biſhop was, it ſeems, countenanced, and ſtrongly ſupported, by ſome Men in Power; and *Hilarius* was too good a Politician to diſoblige Men in Power, by an unſeaſonable Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons, at the very time he ſtood in need of their Authority to eſtabliſh his own.

His affronting Behaviour to the Spaniſh *Biſhops.*

The *Spaniſh* Biſhops had recurred to the Pope, as I have obſerved above, *that they might receive Anſwers from a Place, where Error and Prejudice found no room; where nothing was determined but after a mature and truly Epiſcopal Deliberation.* But if they really thought they ſhould receive any ſuch Anſwers from *Rome*, they were ſoon undeceived. For though the Letter, charging *Silvanus* with ſo many ſcandalous Irregularities, was ſigned by all the Biſhops of the Province; yet the Pope, upon the Receipt of a Letter from the Partiſans of that Biſhop, contradicting in part what the others had all affirmed and atteſted, concluded at once what they had affirmed and atteſted to be falſe; and accordingly told them flatly, in his Anſwer to their Letter, that they had advanced things which he knew to be falſe; that *Silvanus* had indeed ordained ſome Biſhops, without the Approbation of the Metropolitan; but, as to the reſt of the Charge, it was falſe, and abſolutely groundleſs [u]. This was, in plain Terms, giving the Lye to the Biſhops of the whole Province, and giving it upon the bare Teſtimony of Perſons who might have been corrupted, and probably were; at leaſt their avowed Friendſhip for the ſchiſmatical Biſhop ought to have made the Pope ſuſpend his Judgment till he had diſcovered, or tried to diſcover the Truth by a farther Inquiry. What was the Iſſue of this Affair is not related by any contemporary Writer; but we may well conclude the *Spaniſh* Biſhops to have been cured, by the Pope's Conduct, of the mighty Opinion, which they ſeemed to entertain of his Impartiality; and to have been, at the ſame time, fully convinced, that his Decrees were not always the Reſult of *a mature and truly Epiſcopal Deliberation*; though by his Complaiſance to the *great Men* among them their Subjection to him was more confirmed.

Year of Chriſt 467.

Of *Hilarius* no mention is made in the following Year 466. but, in 467. I find him buſied in oppoſing, at *Rome*, one *Philotheus*, a great Favourite of the new Emperor *Anthemius*, who brought him

[t] Concil. ibid. [u] Concil. ibid.

with

with him out of the East, when he came to *Rome* to take Possession of the Western Empire. *Philotheus* himself professed the Doctrine of the *Macedonians*, denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. But he was, it seems, a Man of more generous Principles than most in his time, a Friend to Liberty in Matters of Religion, and an Enemy to that Spirit of Persecution and Tyranny, which now universally prevailed, at least in the West. For, soon after his Arrival at *Rome* with the Emperor, he employed all the Interest he had at Court, to obtain Leave not for those of his own Sect only, but for Christians of all Denominations, to assemble publicly by themselves, to own openly the Doctrines they held, and to serve God in the manner which they believed to be the most agreeable to him. This Leave he obtained; but the Pope, in the utmost Alarm and Consternation, opposed it with so much Warmth, that the Emperor thought it advisable to revoke the Permission he had granted, before it took place. Pope *Gelasius* writes, that his Predecessor *Hilarius*, presenting himself before the Emperor in the Church of St. *Peter*, obliged him to promise upon Oath, that he would suffer no schismatical Assemblies to be held in *Rome* [w]. What *Gelasius* writes, is not improbable: for the Popes, taking Advantage of the frequent Changes of the Emperors; of their Absence from *Rome*, for they did not now reside there; of the Disturbances and Revolutions in the State, and the great Respect and Veneration, which their Character, and the Grandeur they affected, procured them from the common People; began now to act as Sovereigns of *Rome*, the Emperors themselves not thinking it safe, as the Empire was at the lowest Ebb, and invaded on all Sides by the Barbarians, to disoblige or oppose them.

Year of Christ 467.

A general Toleration granted by the Emperor Anthemius.

Opposed by the Pope.

The Emperor yields.

This Opposition to the Toleration procured by *Philotheus*, which was indeed a Novelty, at this time, in the *Roman* Empire, in which a Spirit of Persecution had long prevailed, was the last Action of *Hilarius*'s Life. For he died the same Year 467. having governed the *Roman* Church Six Years, wanting Two Months and some Days, if his Death happened, as is most probably supposed, on the 10th of *September* [x]. As he was no less zealous for the Exaltation of his See, than *Leo*, whom he seems to have taken for his Pattern; and not only maintained, but improved, the Usurpations of his Predecessors, especially with respect to the *Gallican* Church, except in his unwary Concession of

Hilarius *dies.*

[w] Gelas. ep. 13. t. 4. Concil. p. 1208.

[x] Marcel. chron. Bolland. Martii, t. 2. p. 31.

a Deri-

Year of Christ 467.

And is fainted.

a Derivation of the Papal from the Imperial Power, a Slip that had no Conſequences; he has been thought as worthy as they, of a Place among the Saints; and is now accordingly worſhiped as a Saint. His Conduct in the Council of *Epheſus*, under *Dioſcorus*, has procured him the Title of Confeſſor; but to that Title he would have had a much better Claim, had he not been in too great a Hurry to leave the Place; nay, had he ſtayed only one Day longer at *Epheſus*, he had bidden fair for the Title of Martyr. But he was, it ſeems, fully ſatisfied with that of Confeſſor; and therefore, being informed of the Treatment *Flavianus* had met with (for he had taken care to abſent himſelf from that Seſſion), he withdrew that very Night from *Epheſus*, in Diſguiſe, and with the utmoſt Precipitation, leaving every thing he had behind him *y*. He was, by his Inſtructions, to repair from *Epheſus* to *Conſtantinople*, being charged by *Leo* with Two Letters, the one for the Emperor *Theodoſius*, and the other for the Empreſs *Pulcheria*. But, inſtead of complying with that Part of his Inſtructions, he bent his Flight to *Italy*, not thinking himſelf anywhere ſafe in the Eaſt. The Danger he apprehended his Life to be in on this Occaſion remained freſh in his Memory ſo long as he lived, and he was ever afterwards thankful for his happy Deliverance. But, robbing the true Author of his Safety of the Glory that was due to him alone, he gave it to St. *John the Evangeliſt*, whom he had invoked, as the Tutelary Saint of *Epheſus*, in his Diſtreſs. For, being raiſed, Twelve Years after, to the Papal Dignity, he built a magnificent Chapel, in Honour of that Saint, ſtyling him, in the Inſcription, *his Deliverer* (A). This would have been deemed rank Idolatry but

Builds Two Chapels in Honour of Saints.

y Concil. t. 4. p. 52.

(A) *Liberatori ſuo Beato Joanni Evangeliſtæ Hilarius Epiſcopus famulus Chriſti.* He built another Chapel in Honour of St. *John Baptiſt*, with the following Inſcription on the Frontiſpiece; ✝ *Hilarus Epiſcopus*, ✝ *Sanctæ plebi Dei* ✝; and on the Gates, which were of Braſs, were ingraved, and lined with Silver, the following Words: *In honorem Beati Joannis Baptiſtæ Hilarus Epiſcopus, Dei famulus, offert.* Both Chapels ſtood in the Baptiſtery, near the *Lateran*, now commonly called the *Baptiſtery of Conſtantine* (1). Adjoining to the Porch of the Baptiſtery was an Oratory; on the Walls of which *Hilarius* cauſed to be repreſented, in Moſaic Work, the Martyrdom of *Flavianus*, with *Dioſcorus*, and his Satellites, ſtamping on his Breaſt, as he lay on the Ground. This Oratory, with ſome Remains of the Moſaic Work, was ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Sixtus* V (2).

(1) Vide Bar. ad ann. 449. n. 89. 100.

(2) Bar. ibid. n. 99.

half a Century before. For St. *Auſtin*, who flouriſhed in this very Age, in diſputing with *Maximinus*, the *Arian* Biſhop, uſed the following Argument to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt: That he muſt be God, becauſe Temples were built and dedicated to him, which it would be Sacrilege to build or dedicate to any Creature [z]. The ſame Father anſwers elſewhere [a], with Scorn and Contempt, the Charge brought by *Fauſtus*, the famous *Manichee*, againſt the Catholics, as if they built and dedicated Temples to their Martyrs, calling it a falſe and groundleſs Imputation. Had he lived a few Years longer, his Argument againſt *Maximinus* had loſt all its Force; and he had been obliged to own what *Fauſtus* alleged againſt the Catholics to be but too true, and well-grounded. For now Saint-worſhip began to prevail; to Saints Temples and Chapels were built and dedicated; and Men began anew *to ſerve the Creature more than the Creator.* Year of Chriſt 467.

As to the Writings of *Hilarius*, a Letter has been aſcribed to him, and even inſerted, as his, in the Second Council of *Nice*, wherein he quotes a Paſſage out of *Chryſoſtom*, to prove the Lawfulneſs of Image-worſhip. But that Letter is now given up by all as ſuppoſititious. His Style is leſs florid than that of *Leo*, but clear and expreſſive. It was at his Requeſt, while he was yet Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, that *Victorius*, a Native of *Limoge* in *Aquitain*, compoſed his famous *Paſchal Cycle*, ſo much commended by *Gennadius*, *Caſſiodore*, *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Iſidore* of *Seville*. *His Writings.*

[z] Aug. contr. Maxim. l. 1. t. 6. p. 288.

[a] Aug. contr. Fauſt. l. 2. c. 21.

SIMPLICIUS,

LEO THRACIUS, LEO the younger, ZENO,

SIMPLICIUS,

ANTHEMIUS, BASILISCUS.

Forty-ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 467. Simplicius *choſen.*

HILARIUS was ſucceeded by *Simplicius*, choſen Ten Days after the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor; that is, according to the moſt probable Opinion, on the 20th of *September* 467. All we know of him before his Election is, that he was a Native of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, and the Son of one *Caſtinus* [b]. There either happened ſome Diſturbances at his Election, or he apprehended ſome might happen at that of his Succeſſor. For on his Death-bed he charged *Baſilius*, then *Præfectus Prætorio* to *Odoacer* King of *Italy*, to aſſiſt at the Election, and ſuffer none to be made without his Advice and Direction [c]. This afforded Princes a plauſible Pretence to interpoſe in the Elections, which they improved, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Great Revolutions in the State.

Simplicius governed the *Roman* Church in the worſt of Times; and in his Pontificate happened great Revolutions both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, both in the Church and the State. *Italy*, with its proud Metropolis, which for ſo many Ages had given Law to the reſt of the World, ſaw itſelf enſlaved by a contemptible Barbarian, whoſe Family, Country, and Nation, are not well known to this Day (A). For *Odoacer*, having taken, and confined to a Caſtle in *Campania*, the young Emperor *Auguſtus*, or *Auguſtulus*, and reduced all *Italy*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of that Country, not caring to

[b] Vide Bolland. 2. Mart. p. 233.

[c] Concil. Rom. ſub Symm. cap. *Bene*, diſt. 96.

(A) *Odoacer*, the firſt King of *Italy*, is called by *Theophanes*, a *Goth* (1), by *Marcellinus*, King of the *Goths* (2), and by *Iſidore*, Prince of the *Oſtrogoths* (3). *Jornandes* ſtyles him, in one Place, King of the *Rugians* (4), and in another, King of the *Turcilingians* (5). He was meanly born, (6) and a private Man in the Guards of the Emperor *Auguſtulus*, when the Barbarians in the *Roman* Service revolting, choſe him for their Leader (7). He profeſſed the Doctrine of *Arius*, but being a Friend to Toleration, troubled no Man on the ſcore of his Faith or Religion, during the 17 Years he continued Maſter of *Italy*: ſo that the Church enjoyed under him, and ſo ſhe did under the *Oſtrogoths*, his Succeſſors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, though likewiſe *Arians*, the ſame Liberty and Privileges, which ſhe had enjoyed under her own Princes.

(1) Theoph. p. 102. (2) Vide Valeſ. rer. Franc. p. 228. (3) Iſidor. chron. (4) Jornand. reg. ſucc. c. 49. (5) Idem rer. Goth. c. 45. (6) Ennod. Panegyr. Theodor. p. 308. (7) Procop. p. 308.

aſſume

assume the Purple, or any other Mark of the Imperial Dignity. Thus failed the very Name of an Empire in the West, in the Year 476. of the Christian Æra, and the Ninth of *Simplicius*. As for the other Provinces formerly belonging to the Western Empire, the *Romans* had taken their last Farewel of *Britain*, ever since the Year 422. or 423 [d]. *Spain* was held by the *Sueves*, and *Visigoths*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; and the *Burgundians*, *Visigoths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected several Tetrarchies in *Gaul*. In the East *Zeno*, the Successor of *Leo*, was driven from the Throne by *Basiliscus*; and *Basiliscus*, in his Turn, by *Zeno*. Of these, the latter favoured, under-hand, the *Eutychian* Party; and the former openly, having from the very Beginning of his Reign, or rather Usurpation, publicly declared against the Council of *Chalcedon*. This occasioned great Confusion, and endless Disorders in the Church; and the *Eutychian* Faction once more became formidable. Year of Christ 467.

And Disturbances in the Church.

While the Princes were thus contending for Kingdoms and Empires, the Prelates of the Church were struggling, with no less Warmth and Ambition, for Spiritual Power and Dominion. The Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* were become the Prey of ambitious and interested Men; and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, no longer satisfied with the Second Place, began, in Defiance of the Council of *Chalcedon*, to aspire to the First; though the Bishop of *Rome* would not even allow him the Second, but strove, in Defiance of the same Council, to keep the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* between him and his Rival. *Acacius* was, at this time, Bishop of *Constantinople*, a Prelate of great Abilities, and greater Ambition; a Despiser of Wealth, but covetous of Glory; of an engaging Behaviour, and an external Appearance, that commanded Respect; easy of Access, ever ready to serve all, who applied to him, or stood in need of his Assistance, and on that account greatly beloved both by his People and Clergy, especially by his Clergy, who, to testify their Gratitude for the tender Regard he shewed for them, placed his Portrait in all the Churches of *Constantinople*. He was the best Courtier of his Time; understood Mankind the best; and as by his Complaisance and good Offices he endeared himself to all Persons of an inferior Rank, so he won, by the Arts of Insinuation and Flattery, in which none excelled him, the Favour and Confidence of the Great. The Emperor

Acacius, *his Character.*

[d] Vide Alford ad ann. 422. et Bed. chron.

Year of Christ 467.

Leo entertained so high an Opinion of his Talents, of his Integrity, and sincere Attachment to the true Interest both of the Empire, and the Imperial Family, that he determined nothing concerning either, till he had consulted him; he even allowed him a Seat in the Senate, where no Ecclesiastic had sate before him, either in the East or the West; and would have him in all Points, that were canvassed there, to deliver his Opinion the first [e]. He was chosen Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Gennadius*, who died in the latter End of the Year 471. and the very next Year he entered the Lists with the Bishop of *Rome*; and, after a short Truce, the War was kindled anew between the Two Sees. The Emperor *Marcian*, by obliging *Anatolius*, the Predecessor of *Gennadius*, to yield to *Leo*, and commending the Zeal of that Pope for the Observance of the Canons, had tacitly revoked, as it was understood at *Rome*, his Edict confirming the 28th Canon of *Chalcedon*. *Acacius* therefore, that no room might be left to dispute or question the Honours and Privileges granted to his See by that Council, as wanting the Imperial Sanction, applied to the Emperor *Leo*, and obtained of him an Edict, confirming, in a most ample manner, all the Honours, Privileges, and Prerogatives, that had ever been yielded to, or enjoyed by the most holy Church of *Constantinople* [f]. As the Emperor, in that Edict, styles the Church of *Constantinople*, *the Mother of his Piety*, *of all Christians*, *and of the Orthodox Faith*, and will have *Acacius* and his Successors, to take place of other Bishops, without Restriction or Limitation, *in consideration of the Royal City*, *Baronius* is of Opinion, and his Opinion is not ill-grounded, that *Acacius*, seeing the Western Empire on the Brink of Ruin, and governed by a Subject of the Eastern Empire, for such was *Anthemius*, appointed by the Eastern Emperor, and sent from *Constantinople*, began to look upon that City as the Metropolis, and first City of the Empire, and upon himself as the first Bishop [g]. This *Baronius* styles a bold, daring, foolish, unwarrantable, and wicked Attempt. But, in spite of all his Epithets, it had been intirely agreeable to the Principles, on which the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was originally grounded. For why was the First Place allotted to the See of *Rome*, the Second to that of *Alexandria*, and the Third to the See of *Antioch*, when Primacies and Prece-

Is chosen Bishop of Constantinople, *and quarrels with the Bishop of* Rome.

Year of Christ 472.

Obtains an Edict, confirming the 28*th Canon of* Chalcedon.

Aspires to the Primacy.

[e] Theod. Lect. p. 553—555. Theoph. p. 97. Evagr. l. 2. c. 11. Niceph. chron. Suid. p. 117. [f] Leg. 16. c. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. [g] Bar. ad ann. 472.

dencies

dencies were firſt eſtabliſhed in the Church? For no other Reaſon, but becauſe the Cities were ſo ranked when that Regulation was introduced. And why was the See of *Conſtantinople* afterwards raiſed, by Two Oecumenical Councils, above thoſe of *Alexandria* and *Antioch?* Becauſe the City of *Conſtantinople*, in becoming a *New Rome*, and *the Seat of the Empire*, as well as *Old Rome*, was thereby raiſed above the other Two. Might not therefore the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, agreeably to the ſame Principles, claim the Firſt Place, when, upon the Downfal of the Weſtern Empire, that City became the Firſt, and the only Seat of the Empire? Had he not then the ſame Title to the Firſt Place, which he had before to the Second? Was it ſo very abſurd in him to pretend that the Primacy was removed, when the Ground was removed, on which it ſtood? However that be, *Simplicius* was no ſooner informed of the Edict iſſued by the Emperor, than, taking the Alarm, as if the Chriſtian Religion, and the whole Church were in imminent Danger, he diſpatched into the Eaſt *Probus*, Biſhop of *Canuſium* in *Apulia*, with the Character of his Legate, charging him to remonſtrate againſt it as repugnant to the known Laws of the Catholic Church. What was the Iſſue of this Legation is not known, ſince Pope *Gelaſius*, the only Writer who mentions it, ſays no more, than that *Probus* proteſted againſt the Imperial Edict, in the Name of *Simplicius*, and made it appear, that is, attempted to make it appear, in the Preſence of the Emperor, that *it was not on the Dignity of the Cities that the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities depended, but on the manner of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſpenſation, confirmed and eſtabliſhed by the Tradition of the Fathers* [g]. But on what was the Eccleſiaſtical Diſpenſation founded? On the Civil, without all doubt, that is, on the Dignity of the Cities, as I have demonſtrated in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory.

Year of Chriſt 472.

Oppoſed by Simplicius.

While *Simplicius* was thus pleading the *Manner of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſpenſation*, and *Tradition of the Fathers*, againſt the pretended Uſurpations of his Rival in the Eaſt, he was himſelf ſtriving to maintain and improve, in Defiance of both, the real Uſurpations of his Predeceſſors in the Weſt. Of this ſuch of his Letters to the Weſtern Biſhops, as have reached our Times, are a ſufficient Proof; and of them I ſhall ſpeak here according to the Order, in which they are commonly placed, not being able to aſcertain the Times, in

[g] Gelaſ. ep. 11. t. 1. Epiſt. Rom. Pont.

Year of Christ 472.

which they were written. His First Letter is to *Zeno* Bishop of *Seville*, and Metropolitan of the Province of *Bætica*, appointing him his Vicar in those Parts, and charging him, as such, to see that the Apostolical Decrees, and the Rules of the Fathers, were punctually complied with by all his Brethren [h]. The appointing of Vicars was, as I have observed elsewhere [i], a most subtle Contrivance, and perhaps, of all others, the best calculated to extend and inlarge the Papal Authority. For such of the Bishops as were the most capable, by their Rank or Interest, of defeating the ambitious Views of the Popes, being taken with the Bait of that imaginary Honour, instead of opposing the daily Encroachments of *Rome*, thought themselves bound, by their new Office, to support and promote them; and they were the more inclined to think so, and to act accordingly, as every Addition to the Papal Power was, at the same time, an Addition to their own. The appointing of Vicars was the Contrivance of *Damasus*; and that Contrivance his Successors took care to improve with such Art and Address, as to reduce, in the Term of a few Years, the extensive Country of *East Illyricum*, where it first took place, to the servile Condition, in most respects, of a suburbicarian Province [k]. It is therefore very surprising, that from the Time of *Damasus* to the Days of *Simplicius*, that is, for the Space of near One hundred Years, none of the intermediate Popes, though daily contriving new Ways and Means of establishing their spiritual Monarchy, should ever have thought of this, when they knew it, by Experience, to be the most successful of all. It is not to be doubted but *Zeno* accepted the Commission, and, acting agreeably to the pretended Power annexed to it, caused, so far as in him lay, all the Decrees that were sent from *Rome*, to be punctually executed; for I find him highly commended by *Felix*, the Successor of *Simplicius* in the *Roman* See [l] (A).

The Bishop of Seville *appointed Vicar of the See of* Rome.

The appointing of Vicars a most subtle Contrivance.

His Letter to John *of* Ravenna.

The Second Letter of *Simplicius* was written to *John* Bishop of *Ravenna*, and Metropolitan of the Province of *Æmilia*, on the following Occasion: The People and Clergy of *Modena* chose one *Gregory*, Presbyter of the Church of *Ravenna*, for their Bishop; but, not being able to prevail upon him, by any other means, to accept that Dignity, they took him by Force, and dragged him before *John* his Metropolitan, who ordained him, in spite of his Opposition, and

[h] Concil. t. 4. p. 1068. [i] See Vol. I. p. 226—229. [k] See Vol. I. p. 227. [l] Concil. ibid. p. 1072. Bolland. 25. Feb. p. 508.

(A) This Letter, though placed the First among those of *Simplicius*, bears no Date.

repeated

repeated Proteſtations againſt the violent Proceedings of the People. Forced Ordinations were very frequent in the primitive Times, but that Practice had been lately prohibited by the Imperial Laws (B); and beſides, as *Gregory* was poſſeſſed of an Eſtate, belonging to the Church of *Ravenna*, which he was to give up, upon his being tranſlated to another Church, it was ſurmiſed *John* had ordained him againſt his Will, that he might have the Diſpoſal of that Eſtate. However that be, the Pope reprimands him very ſeverely; nay, and threatens to diveſt him of the Right of ordaining in that Province, or even in his own Church, ſhould he for the future be guilty of the like Tranſgreſſion. He adds, that he would have deprived him then of that Right, but for a Reaſon which he did not chuſe to commit to

Year of Chriſt 472.

(B) Innumerable Inſtances of forced Ordinations occur in Hiſtory. St. *Auſtin* was ordained Presbyter by Force (1); and ſo were *Paulinus* (2), *Nepotianus* (3), *Paulinianus* St. *Jerom*'s Brother (4), St. *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours* (5), and many others; nay, in ſome Places, it was a common Practice with the People, when they had choſen a Perſon for Presbyter, or Biſhop, if he declined that Burden, to lay violent Hands on him, and carry him, by main Force, to the Biſhop, who was to ordain him, whether he conſented to his Ordination or not. If he fled, every Biſhop was impowered to apprehend and ordain him where-ever he was found, and to ſend him back, thus ordained, to his own Biſhop (6). Of all forced Ordinations, that of the famous Anchoret *Macedonius* is, perhaps, the moſt remarkable; for *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, by whom he was ordained, did not even let him know what he was doing, till the Ceremony was over. When the Anchoret underſtood that he was ordained Presbyter, he broke forth into a violent Rage againſt the Biſhop, and all who had been any-ways concerned in the Action (7). I leave the *Roman* Catholic Divines to reconcile this Practice, allowed by the Church in thoſe early Times, with their preſent Doctrine, requiring not only in the Biſhop who ordains, the Intention of ordaining, but in the Perſon who is to be ordained, the Intention of receiving Ordination, as Conditions, without which the Ordination would be abſolutely void and null. The Practice of forced Ordinations continued to obtain, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, till the middle of the Fifth Century, when it was ſuppreſſed by the Emperors *Leo* and *Majorianus*, forbidding any Man to be ordained againſt his Will, and ſetting at Liberty all, but Biſhops, who were thus ordained, as if they had never received Ordination (8). As for Biſhops, their Ordination, however forced, was, by the ſame Law, to ſtand good; and they were not allowed to relinquiſh their Office, or ever afterwards to return to a ſecular Life (9); nay, another Law of the Emperors *Leo* and *Anthemius*, among the other Qualifications of a Biſhop, requires him to be ſo far from ſeeking the Epiſcopal Dignity, that he muſt be compelled to accept it (10). However this Practice was certainly wrong, without any Warrant from Scripture, and contrary to the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion. It was alſo particularly hard in thoſe Times, when, by being forced into Orders, Men were forced into a State of Celibacy too.

(1) Poſſid. vit. Aug. c. 4. (2) Paulin. ep. 35. inter Epiſt. Aug. (3) Hier. ep. 3. (4) Epiph. ep. ad Joan. Hieroſol. (5) Sulpit. Sever. vit. S. Mart. l. 1. p. 224. (6) Epiph. ubi ſupra. (7) Theodoret. Hiſt. Relig. c. 13. (8) Leo Novel. 2. in Append. ad Cod. Theodoſ. (9) Leo Novel. ibid. (10) Cod. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 31.

Writing;

Year of Christ 472.

He invades the Right of the Metropolitans.

Writing; but had charged the Biſhop *Projectus* to acquaint him with it by Word of Mouth. However, he will have *Gregory* to continue Biſhop of *Modena*; but, by an Attempt on the known Rights of Metropolitans, yet unprecedented, he exempts him from all Subjection to the Biſhop of *Ravenna*, and declares him immediately ſubject to the See of *Rome* [m] (A).

As for the Eſtate which *Gregory* poſſeſſed, the Pope orders him to reſign it, and the Biſhop of *Ravenna* to pay him an annual Penſion out of the Revenues of another Eſtate, in the Territory of *Bononia*, now *Bologna*, which likewiſe belonged to his Church [n] (B).

Gaudentius *of* Aufinum *accuſed to the Pope, of embeziling the Revenues of his Church.*

The Third Letter of *Simplicius* is addreſſed to the Biſhops *Florentius*, *Equitius*, and *Severus*, who had charged *Gaudentius*, Biſhop of *Aufinum*, now *Ofene* in *Abruzzo*, in their Neighbourhood, with ſeveral Tranſgreſſions of the Canons concerning Ordinations; with having ſold ſome Bond-men or Slaves, belonging to his Church; and having appropriated to himſelf, for the Space of

[m] Concil. t. 4. p. 1068, 1069.

[n] Concil. t. 4. p. 1069.

(A) From the Pope's threatening to deprive the Metropolitan of *Æmilia* of the Right of Ordination, *Baronius* concludes the Metropolitan Dignity, enjoyed by that Church, to have been a free Gift of the Apoſtolic See (1). But who can be ſo little converſant in the Annals of the Church, as not to know, that the Dignity of the Sees depended on that of the Cities, and the Dignity of the Cities on the Will and Pleaſure of the Emperor, who alone had, as is agreed on all hands, the Right and Power of raiſing a City to the Rank of a Metropolis? When a City was thus raiſed, the Biſhop was, till the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, thereby, without any farther Declaration, intitled to all the Rights and Privileges of a Metropolitan, unleſs the contrary was, as it ſometimes happened to be, expreſly decreed. But as it became a common Practice among Biſhops, eſpecially of conſiderable Cities, to apply to the Emperors, or their Friends at Court, for Reſcripts advancing their Cities, and of courſe themſelves, to a higher Rank, the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, to defeat the Views of their ambitious Brethren, and prevent the Confuſion, which the frequent Changes occaſioned in the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, declared by their Twelfth Canon, that the Biſhops of ſuch Cities, as were thus preferred to the Rank of a Metropolis, ſhould indeed enjoy the Honour and Title of a Metropolitan, but not the Rights annexed by the Canons to the Metropolitan Dignity (2). The Biſhop of *Ravenna* was, till the time of *Valentinian* III. Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Milan*, that City belonging to the Vicariate of *Italy*, of which *Milan* was the Metropolis. But *Valentinian* erecting it, at the Requeſt of the Pope, into a Metropolis, it became, by that means, the Capital of the Province of *Æmilia*. And in that Senſe the Biſhop of *Ravenna* may be ſaid to have been indebted to the See of *Rome* for his new Dignity. In ſhort, it was by the Intereſt of the Pope, not by his Authority, that the City of *Ravenna* was made a Metropolis.

(B) This Letter is dated the 30th of *May* 482. or, as ſome will have it, 470 (3).

(1) Bar. ad ann. 482.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 762.

(3) Vide Bolland. 2. Mart. p. 154.

Three Years, Three Fourths of the Revenues of his Church, deſtined, as is ſaid there, for the Fabric of the Church, for the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Subſiſtence of the Eccleſiaſtics [q] (A). The Pope, in Year of Chriſt 472.

[q] Concil. t. 4. p. 1069, 1070.

(A) The quadrupartite Diviſion, or the Diviſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues into Four Parts, firſt took place about this time, in the Pontificate of *Simplicius* (1), and not in that of *Sylveſter*, choſen in 314. as ſome have ſuppoſed. In this Diviſion, the Firſt Part was for the Biſhop; the Second for the reſt of the Clergy; the Third for the Fabric of the Church; and the Fourth for the Poor (2). The Revenues thus divided aroſe partly from the voluntary Oblations of the pious and charitable Chriſtians, and partly from the real Eſtates which the Church poſſeſſed. In the primitive Times, the Miniſters of the Goſpel depended intirely, as to their Maintenance, on the Charity of the Faithful, which indeed knew no Bounds, ſo long as the primitive Zeal continued warm. It is obſervable, that, in the Firſt Ages of the Church, an Opinion univerſally prevailed, that the World was to laſt but a ſhort time. *You muſt know*, ſays St. *Cyprian*, *and hold for certain, that the End of the World is at hand, and the Time of the Antichriſt* (3); and *Lactantius* aſſured the Chriſtians of his Time, that *all thoſe who had made a Computation of Time, grounded on Scripture and profane Hiſtory, had declared, that the World could not laſt longer than Two hundred Years* (4). This firm Perſuaſion inſpired the Chriſtians with an utter Contempt for the Things of this World, and therefore greatly contributed to the enriching of the Church. In the Year 251. the *Roman* Church, though not yet poſſeſſed of any real Eſtate, maintained no fewer than 1500 Poor, beſides Virgins, Widows, and all her Miniſters (5); and the Wealth of the other Churches, eſpecially in the great Cities, increaſed in Proportion. But this Increaſe of Wealth was of no Advantage to the Clergy, during the Firſt Two hundred Years of the Chriſtian Religion. For they lived all that time in common, as the Monkiſh Orders do now; had no Money, nor had they Occaſion for any, being ſupplied with the Neceſſaries of Life (and they required no more) by thoſe, who were charged with the Adminiſtration of the Eccleſiaſtical Goods. But about the Year 220. they began to live in ſeparate Houſes, and to have each their Subſiſtence-money paid daily, weekly, or monthly, in proportion to their Number, to the Number of the Poor, and the Wealth of each particular Church. In this Diſtribution a larger Portion was allowed to the Presbyters than to the Deacons, and a larger to the Deacons than to the other inferior Officers. St. *Cyprian* indeed put the Two Lectors *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* upon a Level with the Presbyters, allowing them the ſame Share (6). But he acted therein, as Writers obſerve, contrary to the common Rules, perhaps in conſideration of their extraordinary Merit, and the great Sufferings they had undergone for the Faith, though yet very young. Hence it appears, that each Miniſter's Portion was aſſigned by the Biſhop, and at his Pleaſure.

Though the Churches had acquired very early great Wealth, yet they poſſeſſed no real Eſtates till the latter End of the Third, or the Beginning of the Fourth Century; the Chriſtian Churches, as well as the *Jewiſh* Synagogues, being deemed unlawful Aſſemblies, and conſequently incapable, by the *Roman* Laws (7), of holding real Eſtates. And it was for this Reaſon, that *thoſe who were poſſeſſed of Lands and Houſes*, inſtead of giving them, as was practiſed after *Conſtantine*'s Time, ſold them,

(1) Vide can. *Vobis* 23. quæſt. 2. (2) Gelaſ. in can. quatuor. 27. 12. quæſt. 2. (3) Cyp. ep. 58. (4) Lact. Inſt. divin. l. 7. c. 25.
(5) Euſeb. l. 6. c. 41. Prud. p. 77. Chryſol. p. 468. (6) Cyp. ep. 34.
(7) L. 2. D. de Colleg. l. 1. c. de Judæ. l. 8. c. de hæred. inſtit.

Year of Chriſt 472.

in his Anſwer to the Letter of thoſe Three Biſhops, I. Charges *Severus* to cauſe a full Reſtitution to be made by *Gaudentius*, of every Thing

them, and gave the Prices of them to the Church. However, the Obſervance of the Laws being utterly neglected, during the Troubles that attended the Captivity of the Emperor *Valerian*, ſome devout People, laying hold of that Opportunity, ſettled real Eſtates on the Church. But theſe were all confiſcated, in the Year 302. by the Emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*. In the Year 310. *Maxentius* reſtored to the *Roman* Church all her Poſſeſſions; and *Conſtantine*, having embraced the Chriſtian Religion in 312. publiſhed an Edict Nine Years after, addreſſed to the People of *Rome*, whereby he gave all Perſons Liberty to leave, by Will, real Eſtates, and whatever elſe they pleaſed, to the Churches, eſpecially to the *Roman* Church (8). This Law, publiſhed by a Chriſtian Emperor, out of his great Zeal for the Chriſtian Church and Religion, proved, in the Courſe of a few Years, more hurtful to both, than any, that had ever been enacted, by the Pagan Emperors, againſt them. As the voluntary Oblations were ſtill very abundant, the Overplus of the accruing Revenues was now employed in the purchaſing of real Eſtates. By this means, as well as by Gifts and Donations, ſome Churches acquired immenſe Poſſeſſions, thoſe eſpecially of *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. Of theſe the latter, though the leaſt wealthy, maintained a very numerous Clergy, and fed daily more than 3000 Poor.

Though the Wealth of the Church was thus increaſed, the antient Method of adminiſtring and diſpenſing it was ſtill kept up. The Oblations, as well as the Revenues ariſing from the real Eſtates, were yet in common; nay, the private Gains of each Clergyman were thrown into the common Stock, and managed as formerly, by the Deacons, Subdeacons, and other Stewards. But as the Biſhops had the diſpoſing of them, and ordered the Diſtributions at their Pleaſure, they took the Liberty to apply the far greater Part of them to their own Uſe; ſo that the Fabrics, in many Places, fell to Ruin, the Poor were left quite deſtitute, and the Clergy but very indifferently ſupplied. To prevent theſe Evils, it was agreed, in the Weſtern Church (for the Eaſtern Church kept ſtill the eſtabliſhed Uſage of living in common), that the above-mentioned Diviſion into Four Parts ſhould be made; and it was made accordingly, about the Year 470. as is generally ſuppoſed, the Third of *Simplicius*. But it was not in all Places ſettled in the ſame Proportion; nor could it, in the Nature of Things, be ſo ſettled. In ſome Churches the Number of the Clergy called for a greater Share than the Poor; in other Churches the contrary happened; in great Cities the Expence of the Fabric required a larger Share than was neceſſary in the ſmaller Cities. By the Poor were meant only the Poor of the Place; for it was incumbent on the Biſhop to entertain the Clergy, and defray the Expences of the Poor, who came from other Places. The Fabric of the Church, beſides that properly ſo called, comprehended the Habitation of the Biſhop, of the Clergy, of the Sick, and the Widows.

This Diviſion was only with reſpect to the Revenues; for the Stock or Funds remained ſtill intire and undivided under the Adminiſtration of the Deacons and Subdeacons, who received the Rents, and aſſigned to each their Share. But Differences ariſing daily between the Biſhops and the Clergy, about their reſpective Shares, that no room might be left for ſuch Diſputes, a Diviſion of the Lands and Funds themſelves was propoſed, and readily agreed to by both Parties. As this Diviſion was not made by public Authority, but by a private Agreement between the Biſhops and their Clergy, it did not everywhere take place at the ſame time, but was in ſome Churches eſtabliſhed ſooner, and later in others. Theſe Portions of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates were, by a borrowed Name, ſtyled *Beneficia* or *Benefices*; for ſo

(8) L. 4. Cod. Theodoſ. de Epiſt. et cler. l. 1. C. Juſt. de SS. Eccleſ.

thoſe

Thing belonging to the Church, which he had either diſpoſed of to others, or appropriated to himſelf. II. He declares thoſe degraded and depoſed, whoſe Ordination was not agreeable to the Canons. III. He confines the Biſhop of *Aufinum* to the Adminiſtration only of one Fourth of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, that is, of his own Share, charging one *Onager*, Presbyter of that Church, with the Adminiſtration of the other Three. Laſtly, He diveſts him of the Power of ordaining, which he had abuſed, and appoints *Severus* to ordain in his room, and even in his Church [r]. This was leaving him ſcarce any Thing but the bare Name of a Biſhop. The Pope indeed was his Metropolitan, and, as ſuch, impowered to redreſs Abuſes, and puniſh Tranſgreſſions, within the Purlieus of his Juriſdiction. But as neither his Power, nor that of any other Metropolitan, was independent and arbitrary, he was neither to cenſure nor puniſh, eſpecially with ſo much Severity, without the Advice and Approbation of his Suffragans aſſembled in Council; and *Simplicius* is no-where ſaid to have aſſembled a Council on this Occaſion; nor even to have given the accuſed Biſhop an Opportunity of clearing himſelf from the heavy Charge brought againſt him by the neighbouring Biſhops (B).

Year of Chriſt 472. *And ſeverely puniſhed.*

But the Confuſion and Diſorders, that in the Year 475. began in the Eaſt, left *Simplicius* no Leiſure, during the remaining Part of his Pontificate, to attend to the Affairs of the Weſt: in that Year *Zeno*, the Son-in-law and Succeſſor of *Leo*, was driven from the Throne; or rather ſhamefully abandoned it to his Rival *Baſiliſcus*; and the new Emperor no ſooner found himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Empire, than he openly declared againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*, recalled the famous *Timotheus Ælurus* [s], who had been confined to the

Zeno *driven out by* Baſiliſcus.

Year of Chriſt 475.

[r] Concil. ibid.

[s] See above, p. 108. et ſeq.

thoſe Lands were called in the *Latin* Tongue, which the Princes diſtributed among their Soldiers, engaging them thereby to guard the Frontiers, to ſerve in War, when wanted, to defend the Strong-holds, and to perform other Services of the like Nature. This Name the Eccleſiaſtics choſe, as alluding to their ſpiritual Warfare. Of the other Branches of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; eſpecially of Tithes and Firſt-fruits, the paying of which was quite free and voluntary, during the Three Firſt Centuries of the Church, began to be ſtrongly recommended in the Fourth and Fifth, but was not eſtabliſhed by Law till late in the Sixth.

(B) This Letter is dated the 19th of *November* of the Year after the Conſulſhip of *Leo Auguſtus* (1); ſo that we cannot fix the preciſe Year in which it was written, *Leo* having been Conſul in the Years 471. 473. and 474.

(1) Concil. ibid. p. 1070.

Year of Christ 475.

Who declares against the Council of Chalcedon.

Ælurus restored to the See of Alexandria.

Taurica Cherſoneſus by the Emperor *Marcian*, and, by a particular Reſcript, reſtored him to the See of *Alexandria*, held at that Time, by *Timotheus Salophacialus* [t], a zealous Stickler for the Faith of *Chalcedon*. The Imperial Reſcript had ſcarce reached *Egypt*, when *Ælurus*, who muſt have kept himſelf concealed ſomewhere there, unexpectedly appeared, and, entering *Alexandria* at the Head of a numerous Band of Robbers and Outlaws, put *Salophacialus* to Flight, and took anew Poſſeſſion of that See [u]. He was ſoon joined by *Petrus Mongus*, a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, who had been baniſhed with him for his violent Attachment to the *Eutychian* Party; by *Petrus Fullo*, of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and by many others, who had diſſembled their Sentiments during the Reigns of *Marcian* and *Leo*.

Repairs to Conſtantinople.

Ælurus, finding he had nothing to fear at *Alexandria*, where he was in great Favour with the Populace, left *Egypt* this very Year, and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, with a Deſign to acquaint himſelf with the Strength of the *Eutychian* Party in that Metropolis, and found the Diſpoſition of the People and Clergy there. The Court was changed, and he did not doubt but the Church would change with the Court. But he was ſoon convinced of his Error; for though he entered the City in a kind of Triumph, being attended by Crouds of People, crying out, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*; yet the Clergy and Abbots, with *Acacius* at their Head, declared againſt him, and would not even allow him, notwithſtanding the favourable Reception he met with at Court, to ſet Foot in any of their Churches [w]. However, the Favour that was ſhewn him there, recommended him to many; and, in Spite of the Eccleſiaſtics, and all their Efforts, his Party grew daily more powerful and formidable. Some Eccleſiaſtics therefore of *Conſtantinople*, with the Abbots and Monks of that City, apprehending the Faith of *Chalcedon* to be in imminent Danger, agreed to acquaint *Simplicius* with the State of Affairs, not doubting but he would heartily join his Intereſt and Authority to theirs, againſt a Man, who had been already condemned by his See. Their Letter the Pope received on the 10th of *January* 476. and, thinking no Time was to be loſt at ſo critical a Juncture, he wrote the ſame Day to the Emperor *Baſiliſcus*, conjuring him, as he

Well received there by the Populace, but oppoſed by the Clergy.

Year of Chriſt 476.

[t] See above, p. 137. [u] Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Evagr. l. 3. c. 4. Liberat. c. 16.
[w] Concil. t. 4. p. 1070—1077. Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theoph. p. 104. Cedren. p. 352.

tendered his own Happineſs, and the Preſervation of the Authority, with which he was veſted, to maintain inviolable what had been approved and decreed by the whole Church, concerning either the Faith or *Ælurus*; to remand that Parricide, that new *Cain*, to the Deſart, which he had been ſo deſervedly confined to; and to peruſe the Letters, which *Leo*, his Predeceſſor in the Apoſtolic See, had formerly written to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and to the Emperors *Marcian* and *Leo* [x]. *Simplicius* did not, or, more probably, would not know, that *Ælurus* was countenanced by *Baſiliſcus* himſelf; for he ſtyles him a moſt religious and Chriſtian Prince. Of *Leo*'s Letters he tranſmitted Copies to *Acacius*, though then under no ſmall Concern at his not having heard from him on ſuch an Occaſion. *Acacius* perhaps, jealous of the Power and Authority of his Rival, induſtriouſly avoided giving him an Opportunity of intermeddling in the Affairs of his Church. However that be, *Simplicius* wrote Two Letters to him; one at this Time, and the other on the 30th of the ſame Month, exhorting him in both to oppoſe, with all his Might, the wicked Attempts of the Enemies of God, and his Church; and, above all, to prevent the aſſembling of a new Council [y]. His Anſwer to the Eccleſiaſtics and Abbots of *Conſtantinople* was much to the ſame Purpoſe [z].

Year of Chriſt 476.

The Pope writes to the Emperor againſt him.

But the Emperor was ſo far from paying any kind of Regard to the Letters of *Simplicius*, or the Remonſtrances of *Acacius*, that he ſuffered *Ælurus* to aſſemble a Council this very Year at *Conſtantinople*, when the Biſhops, who had been driven from their Sees for maintaining the Doctrine of the Fathers, that is, the *Eutychian* Biſhops, were all reſtored; and whatever had, till that Time, been done or attempted againſt *Ælurus*, was declared void and null [a]. Of what Biſhops this Council conſiſted, or how many, is not recorded. But it no ſooner broke up, than *Baſiliſcus* publiſhed his famous Encyclical Letter, Ordinance, or Decree, addreſſed to *Timotheus, the moſt Reverend and moſt Holy Archbiſhop of the noble City of* Alexandria. The Emperor begins it with declaring, that he has nothing ſo much at Heart, as to ſee all good and well-diſpoſed Chriſtians united in one Faith, the antient Faith of the Church; and that as it was his firſt and chief Duty to eſtabliſh that Faith, ſo it was the Duty, which he thought himſelf firſt of all bound to diſcharge. He then launches

Ælurus *aſſembles a Council at* Conſtantinople.

Baſiliſcus *publiſhes his famous Encyclical Letter.*

[x] Concil. ibid. p. 1072, 1073. [y] Concil. ibid. p. 1072—1077. [z] Concil. ibid. p. 1078. [a] Concil. t. 4. p. 1081. Liberat. c. 16.

Year of Chriſt 476.

into high Commendations of the Symbol of *Nice*; propoſes it as the only Rule of Faith, and Bulwark againſt all Hereſies; confirms the Acts of that Council, and with them thoſe of the ſecond Oecumenical Council, and of the Firſt and Second of *Epheſus*. But as for Pope *Leo*'s famous Letter, and the Acts, Deciſions, and Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, he ſtrictly injoins all Biſhops not only to anathematize, but to burn them, where-ever they are found, as introducing a Doctrine repugnant to that of *Nice*, and only calculated to raiſe and foment eternal Quarrels among the Prelates of the Church.

And commands all Biſhops to ſign it.

He peremptorily requires the Biſhops throughout the Empire to ſign this Letter; and adds, that if any Perſon whatever, from that time forward, ſhall dare only to name the Council of *Chalcedon*, in ſpeaking, writing, or diſputing, he ſhall be depoſed, if a Biſhop, or an Eccleſiaſtic; and puniſhed, if a Monk, or a Layman, with Exile, and the Confiſcation of all his Effects [a].

Acacius *refuſes to ſign it.*

The Publication of this Letter, or Decree, was attended with greater Diſturbances at *Conſtantinople*, than the Emperor had foreſeen. The Clergy, and the Monks, who were very numerous in that City, took the Alarm; the Populace joined them, and *Acacius*, putting himſelf at their Head, peremptorily refuſed, in Defiance of the Emperor's expreſs Command, to ſign a Decree, which appeared to him calculated, not to eſtabliſh, but utterly to overſet the antient Faith of the Church. But the Emperor was as peremptory as the Biſhop; he abſolutely inſiſted on the Biſhop's paying that Obedience to his Commands, which he ſaid was due from every Subject to his Sovereign.

The Emperor inſiſts on his ſigning it.

On the other hand, the Biſhop pleaded his Conſcience, and the Offence it would give to all good Chriſtians to ſee a Man, in his Station, publicly anathematize the Doctrine which he had hitherto profeſſed, and profeſs the Doctrine which he had hitherto anathematized. The Emperor was deaf to all Remonſtrances; and, finding he could prevail by no other means, reſolved, in the End, to employ Force; and, repairing in Perſon to the great Church, compel *Acacius*, in the Preſence of his Clergy, to ſign the Decree. But he had timely Notice of the Emperor's Deſign, and even of the Day on which it was to be put in Execution. On that Day therefore, to raiſe the Mob, and the Monks, he appeared clad in black; and, at the ſame time, cauſed both the Epiſcopal Throne, and the Altar to be covered

Acacius's *Stratagem to raiſe the Mob.*

[a] Evagr. l. 3. c. 4. Theod. Lect. p. 556. Liberat. c. 16.

with

with Veils of the ſame Colour. This was a new Sight to the *Greeks*, nothing of that Colour being allowed in their Churches; and it had the wiſhed-for Effect. The Mob, alarmed at the Appearance of ſuch a Phænomenon, portending, as was given out, the imminent Ruin of the Church, flew from all Parts of the City to her Reſcue. The Women were no leſs forward, on this Occaſion, than the Men; and the Children as forward as either. They were all alike ſeized with an enthuſiaſtical Fury; all alike determined to ſtand up in Defence of their Biſhop, and in him of the Church, againſt any Violence that ſhould be offered to the one or the other. At the ſame time appeared a formidable Army of Monks, with Clubs in their Hands, and great Store of Stones, their uſual Ammunition, and the only Arguments they were capable of employing with Succeſs, in Defence of the Church, and the Faith [b]. The Emperor, finding the Populace thus inflamed, thought it adviſeable to forbear all public Violence, which he was ſenſible would be attended with a good deal of Bloodſhed, and ordered *Acacius* to be privately murdered. But neither could that Order be put in Execution, the Biſhop being guarded Night and Day by numerous Bands of Monks relieving one another [c]. *Acacius* was bound, on a particular Account, to maintain the Council of *Chalcedon*, the preſent Grandeur of his See being grounded, as we have ſeen, on a Decree of that Council. But, in other reſpects, he was certainly no Enemy to the *Eutychian* Party, as appeared ſoon after; nay, ſome Hiſtorians, ſuppoſing him to have been, at this very time, an *Eutychian* in his Heart, will have the Oppoſition he made to have been owing to the Fear he was in of the Populace and the Monks, zealouſly attached to the Faith of *Chalcedon* [f]. But as, in Countries under an abſolute and arbitrary Government, Men are ſeldom more afraid of the Populace than the Prince, the Oppoſition of *Acacius* may, perhaps, be more naturally aſcribed to the Motive I have mentioned, ſeeing he could not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*, without renouncing the Honours, Privileges, and extenſive Juriſdictions, intailed on his See by that Council.

Year of Chriſt 476.

Acacius *no Enemy in his Heart to the* Eutychian *Party.*

The Biſhops in the Provinces were more complaiſant; for the Emperor's Letter was no ſooner publiſhed in *Aſia*, than the Biſhops of that Exarchate, being aſſembled in Council, received it all to a Man; nay, and, by a ſynodical Letter, returned the Emperor Thanks for

The Emperor's Letter received by the Biſhops in the Provinces.

[b] Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theophan. p. 105. [c] Suid. β, p. 540. [f] Theophan. p. 105.

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employing, in Defence of the antient Faith of the Catholic Church, the Power which it had pleaſed Heaven to put into his Hands. They did not ſtop here, but, with great Solemnity, excommunicated, depoſed, and anathematized *Acacius*, and all, who, with him, ſhould refuſe to receive the *Divine and Apoſtolic Letter of their moſt holy Lord* Baſiliſcus [g]; thus making a Pope of the Emperor, and ſubmiting not only the Diſcipline and Order of the Church, but the Faith itſelf, to an Imperial Decree. The Example of the *Aſiatics* was followed by moſt other Biſhops; and no fewer than 600 ſigned the Emperor's Letter [h]. Thus was the Council of *Chalcedon* as univerſally condemned and rejected, as it had been, but 18 Years before, univerſally approved and received.

Acacius *engages in his Quarrel* Daniel Stylites.

In the mean time the Emperor having cauſed one of the Eunuchs of his Bed-chamber to be burnt alive, for daring to ſpeak in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, his Death ſtruck the Monks and Populace with Terror; and their Zeal for the Church, and the Faith of the Fathers, began viſibly to cool. *Acacius* therefore, in order to revive it, and keep alive among them that Spirit of Rebellion, on which alone his Safety depended, reſolved to engage in his Quarrel, if by any means he could, an Anchoret named *Daniel*, who had ſtood many Years on the Top of a Pillar in the Neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, and was on that Account held by the Populace in the greateſt Veneration. For ſeveral were now induced by the Fame and Reputation which *Symeon*, the firſt Author of that Whim, had acquired, to embrace the ſame whimſical Method of Life. To *Daniel* therefore *Acacius* firſt wrote a pathetic Letter, acquainting him with the Danger, to which his Zeal for the Catholic Faith of *Chalcedon* had expoſed him, and imploring, in his preſent Diſtreſs, the Prayers and Protection of a Man, whom Heaven had diſtinguiſhed with particular Bleſſings. The ſimple Anchoret, fired with Zeal on the Receipt of this Letter, and forgetful of the Subjection, that is owing by every Soul to the higher Powers, wrote to his Sovereign in ſuch Terms, as would have been deemed in any, but a Saint, the Height of Arrogance and Preſumption. For, in his Letter, he taxed him with Tyranny, ſtyled him a new *Dioclesian*, and inſolently threatened him, as if he had been the Diſpenſer of Kingdoms, with the Loſs of the Empire [i].

Who writes to the Emperor.

[g] Evag. l. 3. c. 5. et 6. [h] Evagr. l. 3. c. 4. [i] Evagr. l. 3. c. 7. Surius 2. Decemb. p. 228.

Acacius,

Year of Chriſt 476.

Acacius, having thus, by a pretended Zeal for the Faith of *Chalcedon*, ſecured to his Party ſo great a Saint, reſolved to make a proper Uſe of the high Opinion, which the People of *Conſtantinople* entertained of his Sanctity. He was ſenſible, that, ſhould he prevail upon the Hermit to deſcend from his Pillar, to repair to the City, and there preach openly againſt *Baſiliſcus* as an avowed Enemy to the Church, the Monks and Populace would, by that means, be wrought up to ſuch a Pitch of enthuſiaſtical Madneſs and Fury, as might end in a general Rebellion, and endanger at the ſame time the Emperor's Life and his Crown. To attain this End Two Biſhops were employed, who, repreſenting to *Daniel*, in *Acacius*'s Name, the Danger that threatened the Church, and the Faith, conjured him, as he tendered the Welfare of both, to quit his Pillar for awhile, and repair with them to *Conſtantinople*, where his Preſence would give new Life to the Orthodox Party, and reclaim many Souls from eternal Perdition. The Anchoret was not a little ſurpriſed at ſuch a Propoſal. He had ſtood already Sixteen Years on his Pillar; and was very unwilling to remove farther from Heaven, and return to the Earth. However he recurred to Prayer, and received, in an Ecſtaſy, an expreſs Command, as is ſaid, from Heaven, to obey *Acacius*. He obeyed, came down, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried to *Conſtantinople*; for we are told his Legs were ſo weakened, that he could not walk, tho' he had ſtood already Sixteen Years without ever once ſitting down, and ſtood afterwards Eighteen more. The whole City crouded out to meet him, received him with loud Acclamations, and attended him in Triumph to the Place, where *Acacius* waited his Arrival. There he preached to the numberleſs Multitude; and his Sermon was intirely made up of moſt bitter and reviling Invectives againſt the Emperor, as a Traitor to God, as an Enemy to his Church, as a Heretic, on whoſe Head was ready to burſt the Indignation of Heaven. His Words had the foreſeen and wiſhed for-Effect; the Populace were inflamed againſt *Baſiliſcus* to ſuch a Degree, that ſome, out of Spite to him, were for ſetting Fire to the City, and others for burning the Palace, and the Emperor in it with the whole Imperial Family. But *Baſiliſcus*, appriſed of their Diſpoſition and Deſigns, thought it adviſeable to quit the City; and accordingly withdrew to the Palace of *Hebdomon*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Conſtantinople*, leaving *Daniel*, as he expreſſed himſelf at his Departure, Maſter of the City, and all its Inhabitants [k].

And at the Requeſt of Acacius, *repairs to* Conſtantinople.

Where he preaches againſt the Emperor, and raiſes the Mob.

The Emperor obliged to quit the City.

[k] Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theoph. p. 104.

The

Year of Chriſt 476.

Daniel *follows him at the Head of the Monks and the Rabble.*

The Anchoret, not ſatisfied with thus raiſing in the Populace a Spirit of Rebellion, and thereby driving his Sovereign from the Metropolis, reſolved to follow him, and taking Advantage of the preſent Diſpoſition of the People, and the Emperor's Fright, oblige him to retract his Encyclical Letter. He therefore no ſooner underſtood, that the Emperor was retired to the *Hebdomon*, than he ſet out for the ſame Place, at the Head of the ſeditious Rabble, and an Army of Monks. He is ſaid to have performed a miraculous Cure on the Road, and on his Arrival at the Palace to have ſtruck a *Gothic* Lord dead, who could not forbear laughing at ſeeing a Perſon of his odd Figure carried on the Arms of Men, like a Conſul [l]. However, the Soldiers of the Emperor's Guard, being either unacquainted with the Miracles wrought by *Daniel*, or not believing them, which is more likely, as they were not Orthodox, but *Goths* and *Arians*, reſolutely declared, that neither he, nor any of his Retinue, ſhould ſet Foot in the Palace. Their Reſolution damped the Courage of the Multitude, allayed their Zeal; nay, and ſeems to have even checked the miraculous Power of their Head and Ringleader. For though it would have coſt him but one Miracle more to beat down the Gates and Walls of the Palace, and open himſelf a Way, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, into the Emperor's Cloſet itſelf, he tamely withdrew, and, ſhaking off the Duſt of his Feet, returned to the City; and there reſumed, and exerted anew, his Wonder-working Power [m]. *Daniel* had, like moſt other Saints, an unlimited Power of working Miracles among thoſe who believed in Miracles; but could perform none among thoſe who did not. Miracles are now wrought daily abroad, by every Monk, Prieſt, or Nun, of any Reputation for Sanctity; few indeed in *France*, but many in *Italy*, and more in *Spain* and *Portugal*. But none even of their Miſſionaries can perform the leaſt Miracle among us, though they muſt own Miracles to be quite neceſſary here, and quite unneceſſary in their own Countries.

But is obliged to return without ſeeing him.

Miracles ceaſe when moſt wanted.

Ælurus *employed in eſtabliſhing the* Eutychian *Party in the Eaſt.*

During theſe Diſturbances at *Conſtantinople*, *Ælurus* was not idle, but labouring, and not unſucceſsfully, to ſtrengthen the *Eutychian*, and weaken the oppoſite Party in the other Cities of the Empire. He left the Metropolis after a ſhort Stay there, and, repairing to *Epheſus*, replaced *Paul* on that See, who had been depoſed by *Acacius*, becauſe he had cauſed himſelf to be ordained by the Biſhops

[l] Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Vide Bar. ad ann. 476. n. 52—59. [m] Idem ibid.

of

of his Dioceſe, according to the antient Cuſtom; and not by the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, agreeably to the 28th Canon of *Chalcedon*. At the ſame time he exempted the Patriarchal See of *Epheſus*, as well as thoſe of *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, and *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, from all Subjection to the See of *Conſtantinople*, reinſtating them in all the Rights and Privileges which they had enjoyed before the Council of *Chalcedon*. Such Biſhops as refuſed to receive the Emperor's Letter, he cauſed to be every-where depoſed, and others, who ſigned it, to be choſen in their room. In a Council held at *Epheſus*, and conſiſting of all the Biſhops of that Dioceſe, he excommunicated, anathematized, and depoſed *Acacius*, as one, on many Accounts, unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity. This Sentence was ſigned by all, who were preſent at the Council, that is, by all the Biſhops of the Exarchate of *Epheſus* [n]. The ſame Year was *Petrus Fullo*, a Name famous in the Annals of the Church, reſtored, by Means of *Ælurus*, to the See of *Antioch*, which he had formerly ſeized by Force, but had been driven out by the Emperor *Leo* [o] (A).

Year of Chriſt 476.

Exempts the Patriarchal Sees from all Subjection to the See of Conſtantinople.

He was now ſent back to *Antioch*, after he had ſigned the Emperor's Letter, with an Order from Court, for the Count of the Eaſt to ſee him reinſtalled, and to maintain him in Poſſeſſion of that See. *Julian*, the lawful Biſhop, did not long outlive the Loſs of his See; but died ſoon after of Grief [q]. *Anaſtaſius* of *Jeruſalem* was one

Petrus Fullo *reſtored to the See of* Antioch.

[n] Evagr. l. 3. c. 6. Theoph. p. 104. [o] Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 5. Theod. Lect. p. 556. [q] Theodor. Lect. ibid. Theoph. p. 104.

(A) *Petrus* was originally a Fuller, and thence ſurnamed *Cnapheus* or *Fullo*. He afterwards embraced a Monaſtic Life; but, being expelled after the Council of *Chalcedon*, for his inviolable Attachment to the Sentiments of *Eutyches*, he repaired to *Conſtantinople* in the Time of the Emperor *Leo*. There he became firſt known to *Zeno*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, and afterwards Emperor, who liking his Converſation, and not diſliking his Doctrine, took him with him to *Antioch*, upon his being appointed Count, or Governor of the Eaſt. At *Antioch*, *Fullo* ſoon gained ſuch Numbers of Followers, being protected and countenanced by *Zeno*, that *Martyrius*, then Biſhop of that City, finding himſelf become, by his artful Inſinuations, obnoxious to, and forſaken by the greater Part of his Flock, reſigned his Charge, declaring in the great Church, at the time of his Reſignation, that he willingly *abandoned a diſobedient Clergy, a rebellious People, and a polluted Church*. Upon his Reſignation *Fullo* cauſed himſelf to be ordained, and ſeized by Violence on the Epiſcopal Throne, being ſupported by thoſe of his Party, and underhand by *Zeno* himſelf. But the Emperor no ſooner heard of his Intruſion, than he ordered him to be apprehended, and ſent into Exile. This Order however was not put in Execution, *Fullo* having, no doubt, with the Connivance of *Zeno*, made his Eſcape before it was publicly known (1).

(1) Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Liberat. c. 18.

Year of Christ 476. of the few who refuſed to ſign the Emperor's Letter; but he too was driven from his See, and an Abbot, named *Gerontius*, a moſt zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, put in his room [r]. Thus did the *Eutychian* Party prevail anew all over the Eaſt; all the chief Sees, but that of *Conſtantinople*, being now in the Hands of the avowed Enemies of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

A great Revolution both in the State and the Church.

Year of Chriſt 477. But their Reign was ſhort; for the very next Year 477. the great Revolution that happened in the State, was attended with a no leſs remarkable Revolution in the Church. *Zeno*, who had lain about Twenty Months concealed in *Iſauria*, his Native Country, being privately informed, by his Friends, of the State of Affairs in *Conſtantinople*, and encouraged by them not to neglect ſo favourable an Opportunity of recovering the Empire, appeared unexpectedly; and, putting himſelf at the Head of what Troops he could aſſemble, bent his March ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*. *Baſiliſcus* was Thunder-ſtruck with the News; he diſtruſted the Soldiery, whom he had diſobliged by his Avarice; and as to the People, he was well appriſed they would declare againſt him, and join his Rival as ſoon as he appeared. In this Diſtreſs he was ſo mean-ſpirited as to repair, attended by his Wife *Zenonides*, to the great Church, and there, forgetful of the Imperial Dignity, publicly to ask Pardon of *Acacius* and *Daniel*, for his paſt Conduct, and implore, with a Flood of Tears, their Favour and Protection. He even demeaned himſelf ſo as to fall proſtrate before *Daniel*, and embracing his Knees, to beg he would ſuffer Mercy to take place of Juſtice, and no longer look upon him as an Enemy to God, or his Church, ſince he was ready to atone, in what manner *Acacius* and he ſhould think proper, for the Miſchief he had done. But the inſolent Anchoret, proud of his Victory, and quite unaffected with ſeeing his Sovereign thus proſtrate at his Feet, triumphed over him, reprimanded him in the ſharpeſt Terms, and aſſured him, that Vengeance would ſoon overtake him [s]. Such was the Spirit of this Man, of this great Worker of Miracles, a Spirit very different from that of the Goſpel.

Baſiliſcus *ſubmits to* Acacius *and* Daniel.

The inſolent Conduct of the latter.

He annuls his former Decree by another.

Baſiliſcus had promiſed *Acacius* and *Daniel* to atone for the Miſchief he had done; and he was as good as his Word, notwithſtanding the little Encouragement he met with from them. For upon his Return to the Palace, he annulled his former Decree by another,

[r] Evagr. l. 3. c. 5. Theoph. p. 107. [s] Theodor. Lect. p. 556, 557.

which

which was thence called the *Anticirculatory* Letter or Decree. For he there commanded the antient Faith, in which he himſelf had been baptized, to be alone profeſſed by all; declared void and null all other Regulations, Ordinances, and Decrees whatever, iſſued in his Reign, and repugnant to that Faith; and reſtored to the holy See of *Conſtantinople*, and to *Acacius*, whom he ſtyles *The moſt Reverend and moſt Holy Patriarch and Archbiſhop*, all the Honours, Rights, and Privileges, enjoyed by them to that Time [s]. Thus he hoped to appeaſe the Storm raiſed againſt him, or at leaſt to ſtop any further Miſchiefs from it to himſelf and his Kingdom. But all was in vain. *Acacius* was implacable. The Anchoret ſtill continued to preach and inveigh againſt him; the Multitude, governed by them, grew every Day more outrageous; *Zeno* advanced without Oppoſition; and the unhappy *Baſiliſcus*, abandoned by all, left the Palace; and taking Refuge with his Wife and Children, in the great Church, laid down his Crown on the Altar, and reſigned the Empire. But *Acacius*, partly out of Revenge, and partly to ingratiate himſelf with *Zeno*, delivered them all into his Hands; and they were, by his Order, ſtarved to Death in a Caſtle of *Cappadocia*, where they died embracing each other [t]. And now the Work being done, for which the Hermit had been invited to *Conſtantinople*, *Acacius*, who had no farther Occaſion, either for his Zeal or his Miracles, ſuffered him to return to the Solitude; and accordingly he reſumed his former Station on the Top of his Pillar, where he was honoured this very Year with a Viſit from the Emperor, and his Wife *Ariadne* [u].

Year of Chriſt 477.

Baſiliſcus *driven out, and* Zeno *reſtored.*

Zeno no ſooner found himſelf replaced on the Throne, than he wrote to *Simplicius*, returning him Thanks for the Zeal and Steadineſs, with which he had, in Conjunction with *Acacius*, oppoſed *Baſiliſcus* (A). In the ſame Letter he aſſures the Pope, that he has brought with him to the Throne a firm Reſolution utterly to aboliſh the *Eutychian* Hereſy, to exterminate all who profeſs it, to cauſe the Council of *Chalcedon* to be received by all, and to reſtore *Salophacialus* to the See of *Alexandria* [w]. The Pope, in his Anſwer, dated the 9th of *October*, congratulates *Zeno* on his Reſtoration, approves

Who writes to the Pope.

[s] Evagr. l. 3. c. 7. Theodor. Lect. p. 557. [t] Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 1. c. 7.
[u] Sur. 11. Decemb. p. 229. [w] Concil. t. 4. p. 1078, 1079.

(A) No Notice is taken by the contemporary Hiſtorians, of any Oppoſition made by *Smplicius*; nor indeed of his having anyways concerned himſelf with thoſe Affairs.

Year of Chriſt 477.

The Pope's Anſwer.

and commends the godly Reſolution he had taken to extirpate all, who were infected with the *Eutychian* Hereſy, and begs him not only to drive out *Ælurus*, and reſtore *Salophacialus*, but to condemn to perpetual Baniſhment all who had been ordained by the former [x].

The Doctrine of Eutyches *condemned by thoſe, who had received it a few Months before.*

The News of *Zeno*'s Reſtoration no ſooner reached the Provinces, than Biſhops flocked from all Parts to *Conſtantinople*, to aſſure him of their Attachment to his Intereſt, and the Faith he profeſſed, the Faith of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor received them with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Reſpect and Eſteem, but ſoon remanded them all to their reſpective Churches, where their Preſence was more neceſſary than in the Metropolis. At the ſame time he wrote to the Biſhops of the Two Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Epheſus*, who had, but a few Months before, received, almoſt univerſally, the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and thundered Anathemas againſt that of *Chalcedon*, commanding them to aſſemble in Council, and ſettle among themſelves, what they ſhould judge neceſſary for the Peace, Welfare, and Tranquillity of the Church. They underſtood his Meaning; a Council was convened without Delay, and by all who compoſed it, the Doctrine of *Eutyches* was anathematized and condemned. *Paul* of *Epheſus*, and *Fullo* of *Antioch*, the Abetters of that Hereſy, were excommunicated and depoſed; the Symbol or Decree of *Chalcedon* was received as the only Rule and Standard of the Chriſtian Faith, concerning the Incarnation; and the ſame Curſes were now pronounced, nay, and by the ſame Perſons, againſt all, who did not receive it as ſuch, that had been pronounced but a few Months before, againſt all who did [y]. Unhappy Times! when the Prelates of the Church, better Courtiers than Biſhops, had no other Rule of Faith but the Will and Pleaſure of the Prince. And are the Definitions of ſuch Men, whether aſſembled in National or Oecumenical Councils, to be received by us as Oracles, and put upon the Level with Scripture? Can their Faith be ſet up for the Standard of ours, when it is not well known to this Day, what their Faith was, what they believed or disbelieved? On this Occaſion the *Aſiatics* diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the reſt. It had been given out the Year before, that they had not ſigned the Letter of *Baſiliſcus* freely, and of their own Motion; and they, to prevent ſuch a Report from gaining Credit, had publiſhed a kind of

The Biſhops, better Courtiers than Biſhops.

Uncertain what they believed.

[x] Concil. ibid. p. 1079.

[y] Concil. ibid. p. 1042. Evagr. l. 3. c. 8. Theoph. p. 107.

Manifeſto,

Manifeſto, wherein they proteſted and declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that with them no Force, no Violence or Compulſion, had been uſed; but that they had all ſigned *freely, by Choice, and wholly of their own Motion, the Divine and Apoſtolic Letter of the moſt religious and moſt Chriſtian Emperor* [z]. But now they were not aſhamed to declare, and even proteſt upon Oath, in a Letter to *Acacius*, that their ſigning the Letter of *Baſiliſcus* was owing merely to Force and Compulſion; and that they had never held any other Faith, but that of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Chalcedon* [a].

Year of Chriſt 477.

The Aſiatics *diſtinguiſh themſelves on this Occaſion.*

This ſudden Revolution and Change of Affairs, though not unforeſeen, affected *Ælurus* to ſuch a Degree, that he died this Year at *Alexandria*. His Followers gave out, that he foretold the Day of his Death; and well he might, if what *Liberatus* writes be true, *viz.* that he put an End to his Life with a Draught of Poiſon [b]. But that Report was perhaps induſtriouſly ſpread in Oppoſition to the other, and to prevent the ignorant and credulous Multitude from looking upon him as a Prophet. He was ſcarce cold, when *Petrus Moggus* or *Mongus*, whom he had appointed his Archdeacon, was choſen, by thoſe of his Party, to ſucceed him. But him the Monks ſoon drove out, and replaced on that See *Salophacialus* the lawful Biſhop. The Emperor not only approved what they had done, but ordered all Eccleſiaſtics, as well as Laymen, who in the Term of Two Months did not communicate with *the Bleſſed Timotheus Salophacialus*, to be diveſted of their Dignities, and baniſhed *Egypt* [c]. At *Antioch* the *Eutychian* Party ſtill prevailed, being countenanced there by *John* who had driven out *Fullo*, and ſeized on his See. The other Biſhops therefore, aſſembling in Council, depoſed him, and ordained one *Stephen* in his room, *a zealous Preacher of the true Faith* [d], that is, a violent Man of their Party. But his Zeal, and the violent Meaſures he purſued, provoked thoſe of the oppoſite Party to ſuch a Degree, that the enraged Multitude falling upon him one Day in the Church of St. *Barlaam*, murdered him at the very Altar, dragged his Body through the chief Streets of *Antioch*, and threw it into the *Orontes* [e]. He is now honoured as a Saint, and his Feſtival is kept on the 25th of *April*. The Emperor, to revenge his Death, ordered all to be ap-

Ælurus dies.

Salophacialus *reſtored.* Year of Chriſt 478.

John *of* Antioch *is driven out, and* Stephen *choſen in his room.*

Who is murdered. Year of Chriſt 479.

[z] Evagr. l. 3. c. 9. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Liber. c. 16. [c] Concil. t. 4. p. 1055. [d] Concil. ibid. p. 1256. Theoph. p. 107. [e] Concil. ibid. p. 1032. Evagr. l. 3. c. 10. Theoph. p. 110.

prehended

Year of Christ 479.

prehended and executed, without Distinction, who should be found to have been any-ways accessary to it.

The new Bishop of Antioch *ordained by* Acacius *at* Constantinople.

But now at *Antioch* the Two Parties were so exasperated against each other, that the Emperor, apprehensive of the Disturbances that would infallibly attend the ordaining of a new Bishop in that City, commanded *Acacius* to perform the Ceremony at *Constantinople*. *Zeno* and *Acacius* were both well apprised of the Umbrage the Bishop of *Rome* might take at such an Ordination. For though an intire Harmony reigned at this Time between *Rome* and *Constantinople*, yet the Bishop of *Rome*, still looking upon his Brother of *Constantinople* as his Rival in Power, kept a watchful Eye over him, lest he should any-ways improve the present Disturbances to the Advancement of his See. To prevent the Pope therefore from looking upon the Ordination of the Patriarch of *Antioch* by the Bishop of *Constantinople* in that Light; when the Ordination was over, and not before, both the Emperor and *Acacius* wrote to *Simplicius*, acquainting him with it, and at the same time with the Reasons that had obliged them to dispense with the antient Practice. The Emperor, in his Letter, even condescended to promise, with a kind of Oath, that the Patriarch of *Antioch* should, for the future, be ordained as usual, by the Bishops of his Diocese [h]. The Pope, in his Answer to these Letters, approves the Ordination, since the distracted State of the Church of *Antioch* had made it necessary; but strongly recommends to the Emperor the Observance of his Promise, and warns *Acacius* to forbear, in time to come, all Attempts of the like Nature, that no room may be left for Complaints on either Side [i].

Zeno and Acacius *acquaint the Pope with it.*

Who approves it.

Year of Christ 482.

Salophacialus *dies.*

And John Talaia *is chosen in his room.*

The Person whom *Acacius* had ordained, *Stephen the younger* (so called to distinguish him from his Predecessor, named likewise *Stephen)*, died in the Year 482. the Third of his Episcopacy, and was succeeded by *Calendion*, a zealous Stickler for the Faith of *Chalcedon* [k]. The same Year died *Salophacialus* of *Alexandria*, and in his room was chosen and ordained *John Talaia*, a Presbyter of that Church, who immediately wrote, according to the Custom that then obtained, to the Bishops of the chief Sees, acquainting them with his Promotion, and begging their Communion. With his Letter to *Simplicius* he dispatched Two Ecclesiastics [l]. But the Letters for the other Two Patriarchs, *Acacius* and *Calendion*, with one for

[h] Concil. t. 4. p. 1032. [i] Concil. ibid. [k] Evagr. l. 3. c. 10.
[l] Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1081.

the Emperor, and another for *Illus*, the prime Miniſter, and his great Friend and Protector, he ſent by the common Courier, charging him to deliver the Letter he had for *Illus* before any other. But *Illus* was not then, as *Talaia* ſuppoſed, at *Conſtantinople*. The Emperor growing jealous of his Power, in order to keep him at a Diſtance from the Metropolis, had appointed him General of the Eaſt, and ſent him to *Antioch*. The Courier therefore purſued his Journey to that City, carrying with him the Letters he had for *Acacius* and the Emperor. In the mean time *Acacius* heard of the Promotion of *Talaia*, and receiving no Letters from him, conſtrued his ſuppoſed Silence into Contempt; the rather as *Talaia* had been wanting, on another Occaſion, as he apprehended, in the Reſpect that was due to a Perſon in his Station. For having been ſent by *Salophacialus* to *Conſtantinople* upon ſome private Affairs in 478. he there gained the Confidence of *Illus*, and, depending upon his Friendſhip, ſeemed to undervalue, and intirely neglect, that of *Acacius* [m]. The haughty Prelate therefore, tranſported with Rage, and bent on Revenge, reſolved to employ all the Intereſt he had at Court againſt the new Patriarch; and his Intereſt there was very great, the Emperor owning himſelf indebted chiefly to him for the Recovery of his Crown. He aimed at nothing leſs than to drive the new-choſen Biſhop from his See, and to get another appointed in his room. With this View he painted him to the Emperor in the blackeſt Colours, as a Man unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and even of the Name of a Chriſtian. He charged him with *Eutychianiſm*, with Hypocriſy, with an inviolable Attachment to *Illus*, who was now in Diſgrace, and ſoon after joined the Uſurper *Leontius*. But what he chiefly urged againſt him was his having accepted the Epiſcopal Dignity by a ſacrilegious and bare-faced Violation of the Promiſe he had made to the Emperor himſelf, and confirmed with his Oath. For the Emperor, diſcovering in him, during his Stay at *Conſtantinople*, a great deal of Ambition, and apprehending that, upon the Demiſe of *Salophacialus*, he might, by improper means, cauſe himſelf to be choſen in his room, and thereby give Occaſion to new Diſturbances, would not ſuffer him to return to *Alexandria*, till he had promiſed, upon Oath, not to accept the Biſhoprick of that City [n]. As *Talaia* joined the Pope againſt *Acacius* and is now, on that ſcore, honoured as a Saint, the Writers on that Side,

Year of Chriſt 482.

Occaſion of the Quarrel between him and Acacius.

Who employs all his Intereſt at Court againſt him.

Talaia *charged with Perjury.*

Whether guilty of that Crime.

[m] Liberat. c. 16. Theoph. p. 110. Liberat. c. 17. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20.

[n] Concil. t. 4. p. 1169, 1170.

Year of Christ 482.

Side, to clear him from Perjury, pretend, upon the Authority of *Zacharias* the Rhetorician, a Writer in other Matters of no Authority even with them, that he only promiſed, upon Oath, not to ſeek or canvaſs for the Epiſcopal Dignity. But that he bound himſelf, by his Oath, not to accept it, is poſitively affirmed by *Liberatus*, by *Evagrius*; nay, and by the Emperor himſelf [o], who, in the Letter he wrote to the Pope concerning this Affair, expreſſed himſelf thus: Talaia *is to blame for diſturbing the Church to get himſelf acknowleged Biſhop of* Alexandria, *after he had promiſed, upon Oath, never to ſit in the Throne of that Church. He has broken his Oath, and is guilty of Sacrilege* [p]. That *Talaia* therefore was guilty of a Breach of his Oath in accepting the Epiſcopal Dignity ſeems undeniable; and as to the Charge of *Eutychianiſm*, it would be no eaſy Task to clear him from it, if what was ſaid of him be true, *viz.* that he perſuaded *Salophacialus* to inſert the Name of *Dioſcorus* in the Diptychs [q]. Indeed *Eutychius* of *Alexandria* ſtyles him an *Eutychian* [r]. But his Authority is as precarious as that of *Zaccharias*, and there is no depending upon either.

Petrus Mongus *propoſed for the See of* Alexandria.

Acacius, having by his artful Inſinuations, as we are told, though there ſeems to have been no Occaſion for Art, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed the Emperor againſt *Talaia*, as a Man quite unworthy of the high Poſt, to which he was raiſed, began, in the next place, to think of a proper Perſon to put in his room. There were at this time in the Church of *Alexandria* ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics of great Abilities, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Zeal for the Symbol of *Chalcedon*, and their Abhorrence of the oppoſite Doctrine. But *Acacius* was for reconciling the Two Parties, and not inflaming them ſtill more againſt each other; and therefore, overlooking thoſe Zealots, as he had no Occaſion at preſent for their Zeal, he fixed, in his Mind, on *Petrus Mongus*, as the only Perſon, who, if he came into his Meaſures, might enable him to accompliſh ſo commendable a Deſign. *Mongus*, it is true, had ever been a moſt zealous Defender of the *Eutychian* Doctrine, and was now at the Head of that Party. But *Acacius* well knew, that his Zeal would hardly be Proof againſt ſo tempting an Offer as that of the Patriarchal See of *Alexandria*; and, beſides, was determined to propoſe no Terms to him, but what he might readily comply with, both in Honour and Conſcience. *Mongus* lay

[o] Liberat. Evagr. ibid. [p] Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. [q] Liberat. c. 17.
[r] Eutych. t. 2. p. 107.

at

at this time concealed in *Alexandria*, but had ſome Friends at *Conſtantinople*, in whom he could confide; and by them an Agreement between him and *Acacius* was managed, and ſoon concluded. By this Agreement, *Acacius* was to prevail upon the Emperor to confirm *Mongus* in the See of *Alexandria*, to which he had been formerly, but unlawfully, choſen; while *Mongus* engaged, on his Side, to contribute, ſo far as in him lay, to the uniting of the Two Parties, and putting an End to the Schiſm, that had reigned ſo many Years all over the Eaſt. The Agreement being made, *Acacius*, without Loſs of Time, applied to the Emperor, who indeed was not a little ſurpriſed at firſt, to hear *Mongus* propoſed for the See of *Alexandria*, and propoſed by *Acacius*, whom he knew to have hitherto behaved, on all Occaſions, as his moſt bitter and inveterate Enemy. However, being ſatisfied, in the End, with the Reaſons that Prelate alleged, he not only promiſed to ſecond his Views, but extolled, with the greateſt Encomiums, his Zeal and upright Intention in thus ſacrificing, as it became a Chriſtian Prelate, his private Reſentment to the public Tranquillity of the Church, and the State [s].

Year of Chriſt 482.

An Agreement between him and Acacius, *and upon what Terms.*

It is approved by the Emperor.

As *Mongus* had been condemned by *Simplicius*, and declared by him, at the Remonſtrances and Requeſt of *Acacius*, unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity; nay, and of the Name of a Chriſtian [t]; the Emperor thought, that the Pope ſhould be acquainted, either by himſelf, or *Acacius*, with his Deſign of raiſing ſuch a Man to that Dignity before it was put in Execution. He wrote accordingly himſelf to *Simplicius*; for *Acacius* declined that Office; and, at the ſame time, diſpatched a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, charging *Uranius*, who was at the Head of it, to perſuade the Pope, if by any means he could, to concur in the ſame Meaſures with him and *Acacius*. Such a Propoſal from the Emperor, who had iſſued, not long before, an Order for apprehending, and even for executing *Mongus*, ſhould he be found in *Egypt*, or preſume to ſet his Foot in that Province [u]; ſo heavy a Charge againſt *Talaia*, whom the Emperor, in his Letter, arraigned of Perjury; and the Silence of *Acacius* in an Affair of ſo great Importance; ſurpriſed and alarmed the Pope to ſuch a Degree, that he avoided returning any Anſwer to the Embaſſadors at their firſt Audience. He heard them again the next Day, and ſo far yielded to their Remonſtrances, as not to anſwer, for the preſent, the Letter he had

He acquaints the Pope with his Deſign of raiſing Mongus *to the See of* Alexandria.

[s] Liberat c. 17, 18. Theoph. p. 112. [t] Concil. t. 4. p. 1082. [u] Evagr. l. 3. c. 11.

Year of Chriſt 482.

received from *Talaia*, though he was, at the time of their Arrival, upon the point of anſwering it, and thereby acknowleging him for lawful Biſhop of *Alexandria*. As for *Mongus*, he declared, that he would not, upon any Conſideration whatever, communicate with him, and much leſs own ſuch a Monſter of Wickedneſs for his Collegue. The Embaſſadors urged, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the Reaſons that inclined the Emperor, though a moſt zealous Defender of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, to raiſe him to the See of *Alexandria*, notwithſtanding his former Demerit, of which their Maſter was as well appriſed as the Pope; but thought that even the greateſt Crimes ought to be forgotten, and that Mercy ought to take place of Juſtice, and Forgiveneſs of Revenge, upon the Proſpect of any Advantage accruing thence to the Church or the State. But the Pope was inflexible, and deaf to all Reaſons. The Embaſſadors therefore, having no Hopes of ſucceeding in their Negotiation, left *Rome*, after a very ſhort Stay there, and returned to *Conſtantinople*. By them the Pope wrote to the Emperor, and likewiſe to *Acacius*, though he had received no Letters from him, acquainting both with his firm and unalterable Reſolution of never acknowleging *Mongus* for lawful Biſhop. In his Letter to the Emperor, he conjures him, by all that is holy, not to ſuffer the Church of *Alexandria* ever to depart from the Doctrine of St. *Mark*; and in that to *Acacius* he gently upbraids him with his Silence on ſuch an Occaſion; and, not ſuſpecting him to have any Hand in the Promotion of *Mongus*, begs him, by their mutual Friendſhip, to divert, by all means, the Emperor from putting in Execution a Deſign, which would be attended with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Intereſt in *Egypt*, and moſt dreadful Diſturbances all over the Eaſt [w]. The Emperor and *Acacius*, ſatisfied by theſe Letters, and the Relation of the Embaſſadors, that the Pope would never yield, nor be prevailed upon to approve of their Meaſures, gave themſelves no farther Trouble about his Approbation; nay, *Acacius* did not even anſwer this Letter, nor another to the ſame purpoſe, which the Pope wrote to him a few Months after [x] (A). As he was determined to purſue his own Meaſures in ſpite of the Pope, he probably thought it adviſeable to break off, at once, all Correſpondence with *Rome*, being well appriſed, that ſuch a Corre-

Who oppoſes it.

And writes to the Emperor and Acacius.

[w] Concil. t. 4. p. 1032, 1033. [x] Concil. ibid.

(A) His firſt Letter to *Acacius* is dated the 15th of *July* of the preſent Year, and his Second the Sixth of *November*.

ſpond-

ſpondence would only give Occaſion to mutual Reproaches, would exaſperate both Parties, and end at laſt in Curſes and Anathemas on both Sides. Year of Chriſt 482.

In the mean time Deputies arrived at *Conſtantinople*, ſent by *Mongus*, with full Powers to negotiate a Reconciliation between the Two Parties. They had ſeveral Conferences with *Acacius*; and the Reſult of theſe Conferences was the famous *Henoticon*, or *Letter of Union*, publiſhed by the Emperor, with a Deſign to unite all his loving Subjects in one Faith and Communion; and addreſſed to the Clerks, Monks, and People of *Egypt* and *Libya*. In that Letter the Emperor, after ſolemnly proteſting, that he has nothing ſo much at Heart as the Purity of the Catholic Faith, the Tranquillity of the Church, and the Welfare of his Subjects, 1. Declares, in the Name of the Churches ſpread over the whole World, that no other Symbol, Doctrine, or Definition of Faith, has been received, or ought to be received, but that of *Nice*, confirmed by the Fathers of *Conſtantinople*. 2. He pronounces all ſeparate from the Congregation of the Faithful, who held any other. 3. He receives the Doctrine and Definitions of the Fathers, aſſembled at *Epheſus* to condemn *Neſtorius*, becauſe agreeable to the Definitions of *Nice*; and likewiſe the Doctrine of thoſe, who met afterwards to condemn ſuch as maintained the ſame Errors. This was receiving the Second Council of *Epheſus*, at which *Dioſcorus* preſided, as well as the Firſt. 4. He requires all to anathematize *Eutyches*; to confeſs the Word to have taken Fleſh of the holy Virgin, whom he ſtyles *The Mother of God*; to have taken Fleſh really, and not only in Appearance; to be One, and not Two; to be conſubſtantial with his Father, according to his Divinity, and with us, according to his Humanity, without any Mixture or Confuſion. Laſtly, He anathematizes all who ſhall profeſs, teach, or maintain any Doctrine not contained in this Letter, where-ever, and by whomſoever defined, whether by the Council of *Chalcedon*, or by any other Council [z]. The Emperor induſtriouſly avoids, as the Reader muſt have obſerved, all mention of the *Nature* or *Natures* of Chriſt, judging, and indeed very wiſely, that it mattered little, whether Men believed Chriſt to be *in Two Natures*, and *of Two Natures*, or only *of Two Natures*, but not *in Two Natures*, ſo long as they believed him to be true God, and true Man, to be one Chriſt,

The Emperor publiſhes his Henoticon, *or* Decree of Union.

The Articles it contained.

[z] Liberat. c. 17. Evagr. l. 3. c. 14. Leont. ſect. 5. p. 512.

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and not Two, which they all did. The Council of *Chalcedon* indeed defined Christ to be *of* and *in Two Natures*; and their obliging all to receive that metaphyſical Speculation as an Article of Faith, and engaging the Emperors to perſecute thoſe, who did not, as Heretics, and the worſt of Men, gave Riſe to the Diſturbances I have hitherto deſcribed. The Emperor therefore, having firſt laid down, in the 4th Article of his *Henoticon*, the Doctrine that was held and profeſſed by both Parties, concerning the Incarnation, forbids any other to be taught or maintained; which was ſilencing the *Eutychians*, as well as thoſe who oppoſed them.

It is received by Mongus.

The *Henoticon* was no ſooner publiſhed at *Conſtantinople*, than *Acacius* cauſed a Copy of it to be tranſmitted to *Mongus* at *Alexandria*, with an Order from the Emperor, injoining *Apollonius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, to drive out *Talaia*, and ſee *Mongus* inſtalled in his room, upon Condition that he received the Emperor's Letter, and promiſed to write Letters of Communion to *Acacius*, to *Simplicius*, and to the Biſhops of the other chief Sees. To theſe Two Conditions was added a Third; *viz.* That he ſhould not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon* farther than it was anathematized by the Emperor in his Letter; ſo that he was to receive all the Decrees, Definitions, and Canons of that Council; and among the reſt, the 28th, placing his See after that of *Conſtantinople*; and only to reject the perplexing Article, concerning the Two Natures in Chriſt. With theſe Conditions *Mongus* readily complied; and was thereupon, purſuant to the Emperor's Orders, proclaimed lawful Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and placed, with great Solemnity, on the Epiſcopal Throne[a].

Who is inſtalled in the See of Alexandria.

The Henoticon *received in* Egypt.

The new Biſhop, ſoon after his Inſtallation, convened a general Aſſembly of the Laity, as well as the Clergy of *Alexandria*, where the *Henoticon* was read, and received by all who were preſent. *Mongus* made an excellent Diſcourſe on the Occaſion, exhorting his Flock to mutual Love and Charity, and conjuring them to unite in one Faith, as they were united in one Baptiſm; to join in one Place, as they were joined in one Worſhip; and above all, to lay aſide the odious Names of *Eutychian* and *Neſtorian*, with which they had hitherto branded each other. At the ſame time he wrote, agreeably to his Promiſe, Letters of Communion to *Acacius*, to *Simplicius*, and to the Biſhops of the other great Sees. All in the Eaſt, but *Ca-*

[a] Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. Theodor. Lect. p. 565. Theoph. p. 112.

lendion

lendion of *Antioch*, received them, acknowleged him for lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*, and embraced his Communion [b]. As for *Simplicius*, he rejected his Letter, as we may well suppose, with the utmost Indignation. At *Constantinople* the *Henoticon* was publicly received by *Acacius* and his Clergy; and such as had passed till that time for *Eutychians*, whether *Ecclesiastics* or Laymen, were, upon their receiving it, admitted to his Communion [c]. The Example of *Acacius* was followed by all the Eastern Bishops, *Calendion* only excepted, even by *Martyrius* of *Jerusalem*, famed above all the rest for his Sanctity [d]. In *Egypt* indeed some Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, obstinately refused to receive the Emperor's Decree; not that it contained, even in their Opinion, any Heresy, but because no mention was made there of the *Nature of Christ*; and rather than to part with the important Article, that Christ was *in and of Two Natures*, they were, out of the Abundance of their Zeal, for rekindling the War, of which they had all seen, and some of them had felt the woful Effects. But *Mongus* put it out of their Power, driving them from their Churches, as Disturbers of the public Tranquillity; and appointing others, more peaceably inclined, in their room [e].

Year of Christ 482. *And* Mongus *acknowleged for lawful Bishop.*

Mongus *causes the* Henoticon *to be received in* Egypt.

In the mean time *John Talaia*, who had been driven from the See of *Alexandria* to make room for *Mongus*, privately withdrew from that City; and, not thinking himself safe in *Egypt*, fled in Disguise to *Antioch*, to put himself there under the Protection of his Friend *Illus*. But *Illus* had forfeited all his Power and Interest at Court; and therefore could only recommend him, which he did very warmly, to the Patriarch *Calendion*, who had admitted him to his Communion, as lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*; and besides bore a secret Grudge to *Acacius*, for having taken upon him to ordain, without his Knowlege, one *John Codonatus* Bishop of *Tyre*, a See subject to the See of *Antioch*. However, he wrote in Behalf of the deposed Bishop, both to *Acacius*, and the Emperor. But apprehending his Letters would be of very little Weight with either, he advised *Talaia* to repair to *Rome*, to lay his Case before *Simplicius*, and implore the Protection of his See [f] (B). The very worst Advice he could

Talaia *withdraws to* Antioch.

[b] Liberat. c. 17. et 18. [c] Idem c. 17. [d] Evagr. l. 3. c. 1. [e] Concil. t. p. 4. 1072. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21. Liberat. c. 18. [f] Evagr. l. 3. c. 15. et 16. Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1042.

(B) This *Baronius* (1), and the other *Roman* Catholic Writers, style an Appeal. But, 1. There can be no Appeal, properly speaking, where no Judgment has been

(1) Bar. ad ann. 483. n. 1.

given;

Year of Christ 482.

could have given him, since he, by following it, not only revived the Troubles, that were upon the Eve of being intirely composed, but gave Occasion to an intire Separation between *Rome* and *Constantinople*, as we shall soon see.

And from thence to Rome. Year of Christ 483.

Talaia, in Compliance with the Advice of *Calendion*, set out for *Rome* in the latter End of this, and arrived in that City in the Beginning of the following Year 483. He was received by the Pope, as all were, whether guilty or innocent, who had recourse to the Apostolic See; and upon that Merit alone, for I know of no other, acknowleged by him for lawful Bishop. In his first Audience, he acquainted the Pope with all the Particulars of the cruel Persecution raised and carried on, with an implacable Hatred, by *Acacius* and *Mongus* against him. This Persecution, the Loss of his See, and the other Calamities, that had befallen him, he ascribed to his inviolable Attachment to the Doctrine of *Leo*, and the Faith of *Chalcedon*, boldly asserting, that they had driven him from the See, to which he had been canonically chosen and ordained, merely to make room for a Man, who had signalized himself by his Zeal for the opposite Tenets. To inflame the Pope still more against *Acacius*, he did not forget his having ordained, by an open Violation of the Canons, *Codonatus* Bi-

Where he is acknowleged for lawful Bishop.

given; and against *Talaia* no Judgment had been given. The Emperor knew him to be guilty of Perjury; and thereupon, thinking him quite unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, removed him, and appointed another in his room. 2. I should be glad to know, why his recurring to the Pope should be called an Appeal, rather than his recurring to *Illus?* He recurred to both with the same View, to crave their Protection; first to *Illus*, and then to the Pope, whom he probably would never have troubled, had that Minister still been in Power. 3. On his Arrival at *Rome* the only Favour he begged of *Simplicius* was, that he would write to *Acacius* in his Behalf (2). And was not this evidently applying to the Pope only as a Mediator? Had he applied to him as a Judge, he would not have been satisfied with only desiring him to write in his Favour; but would have required him to act as a Judge, to try his Cause, and restore him if innocent, by his sovereign Authority, to the Possession of his See. The Historian indeed uses the Word *appellavit*, *he appealed*. But from what I have said, it is manifest, that in what manner soever he expressed himself, he could mean no more than that *Talaia* had recourse to the Pope, or applied to the Pope. But *Baronius*, and indeed all other Writers on his Side of the Question, are very apt, for want of Reasons, to lay Stress upon Words, without any Regard to the Meaning of the Authors, or the Sense in which they used them. Thus, because *Simplicius*, in one of his Letters to *Acacius*, uses this Expression, *Delegatum tibi munus attendes*, *Attend to the Charge delegated to you*, *Baronius* concludes him to have been appointed by the Pope, his Legate, or Vicar-General, for the East. Had *Simplicius*, instead of *delegated*, used the Word *committed* (which he might have done, it being plain from the Context, that he meant no more by the former, than is imported by the latter), *Baronius* would never have thought of vesting *Acacius* with the Legatine Dignity.

(2) Liberat. c. 18.

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ſhop of *Tyre*, without the Conſent or Knowlege of *Calendion*, as if he aimed at nothing leſs than to extend his Juriſdiction all over the Eaſt. He concluded with begging *Simplicius*, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church of *Alexandria*, to write in his Behalf to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* g. He took no manner of notice of the only Crime, that was laid to his Charge, and for which alone he had been depoſed, that of Perjury. As that Crime rendered him quite unworthy of the Dignity, to which he had been raiſed, and he had been charged with it by *Zeno* himſelf, in the Letter he wrote to *Simplicius*, it was the Height of Inſolence in the Pope to acknowlege ſuch a Man for lawful Biſhop without the Conſent, or even the Knowlege, of the Emperor. For to believe him innocent was giving the Emperor the Lye; and if he believed him guilty, but thought that his Guilt might be overlooked in Conſideration of the extraordinary Zeal, which he pretended to have for the Council of *Chalcedon* (A), he ought ſurely to have acted therein in Concert with *Zeno*, who had depoſed him. But Perjury was not the only Crime laid to his Charge. *Zacharias* arraigns him of Simony, as if he had ſupplied with Money the want of Merit, and by dint of Money opened himſelf a Way to the Epiſcopal Throne h. That Writer, it is true, was no Friend of his; but *Liberatus*, who was, owns, that while *Talaia* was *Oeconomus* of the Church of *Alexandria* (B), he ſent frequently very rich Preſents to *Illus*, the reigning Favourite. And what End could he have in thus courting the Friendſhip of that Mi-

Year of Chriſt 483.

The Conduct of the Pope greatly to blame.

Talaia *charged with* Simony.

g Concil. t. 4. p. 1082. Evagr. l. 3. c. 15. Liberat. c. 18.

h Apud Evagr. l. 3. c. 12.

(A) Pope *Gelaſius*, in one of the Letters he wrote in behalf of *Talaia*, ſays, whatever Character he might have or deſerve in other reſpects, his Faith had never been found Fault with, ſince he had been always deemed a true Catholic (1), that is, he was a good Catholic, whether a good or a bad Man, and as ſuch worthy of a Biſhoprick.

(B) The *Oeconomus* was an Officer, choſen out of the Clergy, to manage the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, under the Inſpection of the Biſhop. The Fathers of *Chalcedon* ordained, by their 26th Canon, that every Church having a Biſhop ſhould likewiſe have an *Oeconomus* or Steward, to manage the Revenues of the Church, that they might not be imbezziled, nor any Reproach brought upon the Prieſthood. That Office was originally diſcharged by the Biſhop himſelf, with the Aſſiſtance of his Archdeacon. But they having, upon the general Converſion of the Heathens, too much Buſineſs of another Nature to mind this, it was thought neceſſary to appoint Officers, under the Name of *Oeconomi*, or Stewards, who ſhould have no other Employment (2).

(1) Concil. t. 4. p. 1169.

(2) Vide Morin. de Ordinat. Eccl. Part. 3. Exerc. 16. c. 5.

niſter,

Year of Christ 483.

nister, but to engage him in his Interest against the approaching Election of a new Bishop, *Salophacialus* being then advanced in Years, and very infirm? What *Zacharias* writes therefore was not, it seems, a mere Fiction and Calumny, without any Ground or Foundation, as *Baronius* would make us believe. *Liberatus*, however prejudiced in his Favour, observes, that he made those Presents to *Illus* while he was *Oeconomus*; which was plainly charging him, at least, with a Misapplication of the Ecclesiastical Revenues. However, the Emperor urged no other Crime against him, but the Breach of his Oath, that being the only Crime of which he knew him to be guilty; and he would lay no other to his Charge.

Simplicius *writes to* Acacius *in his Behalf.*

Simplicius had already written Two Letters to *Acacius* without receiving an Answer to either, as I have related above. However, at the Request of *Talaia*, he wrote a Third; nay, and a Fourth, if *Liberatus* may be credited [i], reproaching *Acacius* anew with his Silence in an Affair of such Importance; complaining of him for having admitted *Mongus* to his Communion without the Knowlege and Consent of the Apostolic See; and striving to convince him, that he must either prevail upon *Mongus* to receive the Definition of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, without any Restriction or Limitation whatever, or absolutely separate himself from his Communion [k]. The Reason he alleged why *Acacius* ought not to have communicated with *Mongus* without the Consent of the Apostolic See, was, because he had been excommunicated both by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and himself; and therefore ought not to have been released from that Bond by either without the Consent of the other [l]; which was declaring, that no Bishop, not the Pope himself, was impowered to absolve a Person condemned, without the Consent of the Bishop, who condemned him. To neither of these Letters did *Acacius* return any Answer; and *Simplicius* died soon after, that is, on the 2d of *March* of the present Year 483. having presided in the *Roman* Church 15 Years, 5 Months, and some Days [m]. He is now honoured as a Saint, and on the 2d of *March* his pretended Reliques are yearly exposed to public Veneration at *Tivoli*, where he is said to have been born.

Simplicius *dies.*

[i] Liberat. c. 18. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Bar. ad ann. 483. n. 4. Bolland. 2. Mart. p. 138.

FELIX

Year of Christ 483.

ZENO, ANASTASIUS,

FELIX II.

ODOACER, King of *Italy*.

Forty-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *Simplicius* was attended with ſome Diſturbances in *Rome* [a], which, however, did not prevent the People and Clergy from proceeding to the Election of a new Biſhop. But while they were aſſembled for that Purpoſe, in the Church of St. *Peter*, *Baſilius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and Lieutenant of King *Odoacer*, entered the Aſſembly; and, addreſſing the Electors, that is, the People, the Senate, and the Clergy, expreſſed great Surprize at their taking upon them to appoint a Succeſſor to the deceaſed Biſhop, without him; adding, that it belonged to the Civil Magiſtrate to prevent the Diſturbances that might ariſe on ſuch Occaſions, leſt from the Church they ſhould paſs to the State; that *Simplicius* had conjured him, on his Death-bed, as they all well knew, to ſuffer no Election to be made, without his Advice and Direction; and that, were *Simplicius* ſtill alive, nothing of Moment ought to be undertaken till it was approved by him, who repreſented the Perſon of the King. He then declared all they had done, without him, to be null, and ordered the Election to be begun anew, though it was already near concluded. But, in the firſt place, he cauſed a Law to be read in the Name of *Odoacer*, forbidding the Biſhop, who ſhould now be choſen, as well as his Succeſſors, to alienate any Inheritance, Poſſeſſions, or ſacred Utenſils, that now belonged, or ſhould for the future belong, to the Church; declaring all ſuch Bargains void; anathematizing both the Seller and the Buyer; and obliging the latter, and his Heirs, to reſtore to the Church all Lands and Tenements thus purchaſed, how long ſoever they may have poſſeſſed them [b]. From this Law it is manifeſt, that great Abuſes muſt have prevailed at this time in *Rome*, in the Management of the Goods belonging to the Church; and that the Popes muſt have given Occaſion to ſuch a Regulation, ſince it ſeems to have been made for them alone, though none had ſate in that See, through a long Series of Years, but ſuch as were ſainted after their Death. We frequently meet with Laws reſtraining Abuſes, eſpecially in the Clergy, of which not the leaſt Notice is taken by the

The Præfectus Prætorio *will not ſuffer the Election to be made without him.*

Publiſhes a Law, forbidding the Popes to alienate the Goods of the Church.

[a] Concil. t. iv. p. 1336.

[b] Concil. ibid.

Year of Christ 483. Felix *chosen.*

Ecclesiastical Writers of those very Times, who, it seems, did not think it necessary to acquaint Posterity with them (A). The Law being read, the Votes were gathered anew; when *Cælius Felix* was unanimously chosen, after a Vacancy of Six Days, according to some, and, according to others, of Twenty-six[c]. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of a Presbyter, named likewise *Felix*; and probably had been married, and had Children (B).

Talaia *presents a Petition to him against* Acacius.

The new Pope was no sooner ordained, than *John Talaia*, who was still at *Rome*, presented a Petition to him, containing heavy Complaints against *Acacius*; and at the same time minutely informed him, by Word of Mouth, of the State of Affairs in the East, of the general Defection of the Bishops there, of the cruel Treatment those met with from *Acacius* and *Mongus*, who dared to stand up in Defence of the true Faith; and of the deplorable Condition to which the Church of *Alexandria* was reduced by the Usurper of that See. The Pope, proud to see a Patriarch of *Alexandria* thus applying, in the Quality of a Suppliant to his *Throne*, resolved to exert all his Interest and Power, that it might not be said he had applied in vain.

The new Pope assembles a Council.

A Council therefore was assembled without Delay, the Bishops, who had met to ordain the new Pope, being still in *Rome*; and it was there determined, that since Letters had hitherto proved ineffectual, neither *Acacius*, nor the Emperor having deigned to answer them, Legates should be immediately dispatched, with proper Instructions, into the East. For this Legation were chosen *Misenus*, and *Vitalis*, the for-

Legates sent into the East.

[c] Bolland. 25 Feb. p. 504.

(A) In a Council held at *Rome* in 502. under Pope *Symmachus*, the Conduct of *Basilius* on this Occasion was censured, as an Attempt on the Rights which the People had of chusing their own Pastors: But very unjustly; since *Basilius* left them at full Liberty to chuse whom they pleased, and only complained of their proceeding to an Election without him, on whom it was incumbent to prevent or suppress all Disorders and Disturbances incident to popular Elections. But what the Bishops of that Council chiefly complained of, and very loudly, was, *Odoacer*'s presuming, tho' a Layman, to anathematize those who were of the Ecclesiastical Order; *Laicum hominem anathema ecclesiastico ordini dictare*, was what they could not brook. But that Dialect *Odoacer*, and before him the Emperor *Zeno* (1), had learnt of them; and both thought, that they had as good a Right to curse the Clergy, and the Pope himself, as the Pope and the Clergy had to curse the rest of the World. The present Council indeed declared it repugnant to the Canons for a Layman to anathematize an Ecclesiastic (2); but I should be glad to know by what Law or Canon the Right of Cursing was restrained to their Order.

(B) It is more probable, considering the Distance of Time, that he was the Great-Grandfather of Pope *Gregory* I. chosen in 590. than *Felix* III. chosen in 526. for one of the Two was (3).

(1) See above, p. 187. (2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1337, 1338. (3) Vide Bar. not. mart. p. 94. & Bolland. ubi supra.

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mer Biſhop of *Cumæ* in *Campania*, and the latter of *Tronto*, a City of *Picenum*, long ſince ruined. To them was added *Felix*, Defender or Syndic of the *Roman* Church (C), whom the Pope ſtiles a Man of great Integrity. By them *Felix* wrote both to *Zeno* and *Acacius*, conjuring them, as they tendered the Salvation of their Souls, for which he expreſſes great Concern, not to ſuffer a Man, whom the one had condemned, and the other had proſcribed as a Heretic, to ſit in the See of St. *Mark*. In his Letter to *Acacius* he tells him, that he is loth to find Fault with his Conduct; but cannot help ſuſpecting his Silence in an Affair of ſuch Moment; that, conſidering the Intereſt he was known to have at Court, there was good Reaſon to believe, that he was not willing to hinder what he did not hinder; and that not to oppoſe an Error, or defend the Truth, when one may, is approving the one, and betraying the other [d].

Year of Chriſt 483.

By them the Pope writes to the Emperor and Acacius.

Beſides theſe Letters, the Legates were charged with Two Papers; the one addreſſed to *Acacius*, and ſtiled a *Summons* (*Citationis Libellus*); for *Acacius* was there ſummoned to juſtify his Conduct in an Aſſembly of Biſhops *before St. Peter*. The other was addreſſed to the Emperor, and called a *Lamentation* (*Deplorationis Libellus*); the Pope lamenting, in that Piece, the unhappy State of the Church of *Alexandria*, of which he lays the whole Blame on *Acacius*; adding, that ſince the Perſon, whoſe See *Mongus* had uſurped, had preſented a Petition againſt that Biſhop, the Laws both Eccleſiaſtic and Civil obliged him to clear himſelf from the Crimes that were there laid to his Charge [e]. The Pope knew *Talaia* to be extremely obnoxious to the Emperor, and therefore induſtriouſly avoided ever mentioning his Name in the Letter he wrote to that Prince, or in his Lamentation. *Evagrius* writes, that *Acacius* was ſummoned to appear at *Rome* in Perſon [f]. But Pope *Gelaſius* ſays, in expreſs Terms,

Acacius *ſummoned to* Rome.

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 1097, 1098. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18. Liberat. c. 18. [e] Concil. ibid. [f] Evagr. ubi ſupra.

(C) The *Defenſores Eccleſiæ* were the Proctors or Syndics of the Church, whoſe Province it was to ſolicit the Cauſe of the Church, or of any ſingle Eccleſiaſtic, when injured or oppreſſed; and to ſue for Redreſs in a Civil Court, or apply immediately to the Emperor. Theſe *Defenſores* were, in ſome Places, choſen out of the Clergy, and, in others, out of the Laity. Nay, I find them in the ſame Place Eccleſiaſtics at one time, and Laymen at another. Thus at *Rome* they were Laymen in the Time of *Zoſimus* (4), and Eccleſiaſtics in the Pontificate of *Gregory the Great* (5).

(4) Zoſ. ep. 1. c. 3. (5) Greg. ep. 48.

Year of Christ 483.

Instructions given to the Legates.

that it was left to his Choice, either to appear in Person before St. *Peter*, or to appoint another to appear in his room [f]. The private Instructions given to the Legates, were, to press the Emperor, but with great Circumspection and Prudence, to drive *Mongus* both from the See, and the City of *Alexandria*; to maintain the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*; to let *Acacius* know, that he must anathematize *Mongus*, and answer the Request which *Talaia* had presented to St. *Peter* against him; to try whether they could persuade the Emperor to send *Acacius* to *Rome*, that his Cause might be judged and decided there; which had been gaining a great Point; but it was both Presumption and Folly to attempt it; lastly, the Legates were strictly injoined not to communicate, under any Pretence whatever, with *Acacius*, till he had done what the Pope required him to do [g].

The Legates arrested and imprisoned.

With these Instructions the Legates, that is, the Two Bishops (for *Felix* was detained by Sickness) set out for *Constantinople* in the latter End of the present Year 483. But on their Arrival at *Abydus*, on the Streights of the *Hellespont*, now the Streights of the *Dardanels*, they were arrested there by an Order from the Emperor, and thrown into Prison. Their Papers were all by Force taken from them, and they even threatened with Death, as Disturbers of the public Peace, if they did not communicate with *Mongus* and *Acacius*. The Threats and Menaces they withstood with great Firmness and Constancy; but their Virtue was not Proof against Caresses, Promises, and the large Sums that were offered them. To these they yielded, and, upon their yielding, they were set at Liberty, and allowed to pursue their Journey to *Constantinople*, where they were received with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Esteem both by *Acacius* and *Zeno*. The former immediately challenged their Promise, and, finding them disposed to perform it, that is, to communicate with *Mongus* and himself, he appointed them, and likewise the *Apocrisarii*, or *Nuncios* of *Mongus*, to attend him the very next Day at his Habitation, in order to proceed together from thence to the great Church, and there, in Token of an intire Reconciliation, celebrate together in common the sacred Mysteries. To this the Legates readily agreed; but it was no sooner known that they had, than some Monks and Presbyters, the avowed Enemies of the Two Bishops, flew to the House where

They yield, and publicly communicate with Acacius.

[f] Concil. t. 4. p. 1201, 1202. Theoph. p. 113, 114.

[g] Concil. ibid. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18.

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the Legates were lodged, to divert them, if poſſible, from ſo ſcandalous a Reſolution, which they ſaid, would reflect an eternal Ignominy on their Memory, and be in the End unavoidably attended with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Cauſe in the Eaſt. But the Legates were determined to earn the promiſed Sums; and therefore, knowing upon what Errand theſe importunate Zealots were come, they could by no means be prevailed upon to hear, or even to ſee them. The Monks and Presbyters attempted, by all the Stratagems their Zeal could ſuggeſt, to gain Admittance; but, their Stratagems proving all unſucceſsful with Perſons come from *Rome*, they wrote a Note, reproaching them, in the ſharpeſt Terms, with their ſcandalous Conduct: And, of that Note, they conveyed one Copy to them in a Basket of Herbs, another in a Book, and a Third they had the Boldneſs to faſten with a Hook to the Garment of one of the Legates, while they were attending *Acacius* in the public Proceſſion. For the next Day the Legates met *Acacius* at the Epiſcopal Palace, agreeably to their Appointment; and from thence attended him, with the *Apocriſarii* of *Mongus*, in Proceſſion to the great Church; which was a kind of Triumph for the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Divine Service was performed with the greateſt Solemnity, in the Preſence of a numberleſs Multitude; *Acacius* officiated; the Name of *Mongus* was rehearſed aloud in the Diptychs; and the Legates received the Euchariſt with the *Apocriſarii*; which was communicating with them in the ſtricteſt Senſe, and conſequently with *Mongus* as lawful Biſhop [h].

Year of Chriſt 483.

The Pope informed by the Monks of the Prevarication of the Legates.

The Pope was ſoon acquainted with the Conduct of his Legates. *Cyril*, Abbot of a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, who from the Beginning had oppoſed the Union of the Two Parties, immediately diſpatched *Symeon*, one of his Monks, to inform *Felix* of what had paſſed. The Legates themſelves arrived ſoon after (for they made but a very ſhort Stay at *Conſtantinople*), and brought with them Two Letters for the Pope, the one from *Acacius*, and the other from the Emperor. The former owned, in his Letter, that he communicated with *Mongus*, whom he maintained to be lawful Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *John Talaia* having, by a ſacrilegious Violation of his Oath, rendered himſelf unworthy of that Dignity. The Emperor urged the ſame Crime, in his Letter; and begged the Pope would give himſelf no Trouble about a Man of that Character, which, he told him, was

The Emperor and Acacius *write to the Pope.*

[h] Concil. t. 4. p. 1082—1084. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20, 21. Theoph. p. 114.

Year of Christ 483.

absolutely to no Purpose. As to *Mongus*, he assured him, that his Faith was Orthodox; that, after the strictest Examination, it had been found to be Orthodox; and that he had not been acknowleged either by *Acacius* or himself, for Bishop of *Alexandria*, till he had signed the Definitions of *Nice*, to which those of *Chalcedon* were intirely agreeable [y].

The Legates deposed.

Year of Christ 484.

The Pope received the Letters; but *Symeon* had so prejudiced him against the Legates, that he would not admit them to his Presence, till he had assembled a Council; which, after hearing them, and those who accused them, might, together with him, judge of their Conduct. A Council was assembled accordingly, consisting of 67 *Italian* Bishops; and before them *Misenus* and *Vitalis* were arraigned, and convicted of having communicated with *Acacius* and *Mongus*, to the great Prejudice of the Catholic Cause in the East. As they had acted therein in direct Opposition to their Instructions, and the positive Orders received from the Pope, they were, for their Disobedience, and the Countenance they had given to the *Eutychian Heresy*, declared unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and at the same time excluded from the Participation of the Sacred Mysteries, so long as the See of *Alexandria* should be held by an heretical Bishop [z] (A).

Mongus *excommunicated anew by the Pope.*

The Legates being thus condemned, the Council, in the next Place, excommunicated *Mongus* anew; for he had been already excommunicated by *Simplicius*, and at the same time, declared, that the *Roman* Church never had, nor ever would own him for lawful Bishop, because he had been ordained by Heretics, and therefore ought to be for ever debarred from governing a Catholic Church [a].

Articles of the Charge brought against Acacius.

But the most notable Feat performed by this Council, and which has rendered it famous in the Annals of the Church, was the Trial and Condemnation of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. That Prelate had greatly provoked the Bishops of *Rome*, and plainly shewn, by his late Conduct, that he made no Account of the boasted Power of

[y] Concil. ibid. p. 1082. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. Liberat. c. 18. [z] Concil. ibid. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. [a] Concil. ibid. p. 1083. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21.

(A) *Vitalis* died about the Year 495. of a sudden Death; and in the same Year *Misenus* was restored by Pope *Gelasius*, both to the Communion of the Church, and his Rank, though the See of *Alexandria* was then, and many Years after, held by Bishops whom *Rome* styled Heretics (1).

(1) Concil. ibid. p. 1272.

the

the *Throne* of St. *Peter*. He had excommunicated *Mongus* as a Man unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and even of the Name of a Chriſtian; and perſuaded *Simplicius* to pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt him: yet, upon his being afterwards reconciled with him, he not only abſolved him, by his own Authority alone, but raiſed him, by his Intereſt, to the Second See in the Eaſt, without ſo much as acquainting the Pope with ſuch a Deſign, either before or after it was put in Execution. He had undertaken to unite the Two Parties, and with that View dictated to the Emperor the *Henoticon*, or *Decree of Union*; cauſed it to be publiſhed in the Emperor's Name; obliged all Biſhops to ſign it; perſecuted the Eccleſiaſtics, and drove from their Sees the Biſhops, who did not receive it; and all this without thinking it neceſſary to conſult the Pope in an Affair of ſuch Importance, or even deigning to return an Anſwer to the many Letters, to the repeated Declarations, Remonſtrances, and Proteſtations of *Felix* himſelf, and his Predeceſſor *Simplicius*, againſt it. Of the Summons requiring him to anſwer the Petition of *Talaia*, and clear himſelf, before St. *Peter*, from the things laid there to his Charge, he took no more Notice than if it had never been iſſued; which was interpreted by the Pope as a Mark of the greateſt Contempt. He had by an open Violation of the Canons forbidding Biſhops to meddle with the Affairs of another Dioceſe, or to exerciſe there any kind of Power, Authority, or Juriſdiction, ordained *Codonatus*, Biſhop of *Tyre*, ſubject to the See of *Antioch*; and not only reſtored, but raiſed to the Prieſthood, a Deacon, named *Hymerius*, whom that Patriarch had formerly depoſed. To all this was added the Treatment, which the Legates had met with, the Violence that was offered them, and their Prevarication in communicating with a Man anathematized by the Apoſtolic See, which was by them chiefly aſcribed to *Acacius*.

Year of Chriſt 484.

Theſe were the Heads or Articles, upon which a Council, conſiſting only of 67 Biſhops, all of *Italy*, and moſt of them, if not all, immediately ſubject to the Pope, took upon them to try the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, though they could not but know (for I can hardly ſuppoſe them to have been to ſuch a Degree unacquainted with the Laws and Practice of the Church), that they had no kind of Authority over him. When *Chryſoſtom*, one of the Predeceſſors of *Acacius*, was ſummoned, by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, to appear before a Council, conſiſting chiefly of *Egyptian* Biſhops, he paid no ſort

The Weſtern Biſhops had no Power over the Biſhop of Conſtantinople.

Year of Christ 484.

ſort of Regard to that Summons, alleging, that, *agreeably to the Canons, the Affairs of the Provinces were to be regulated by the Biſhops of the Provinces; and conſequently, that it was very incongruous the Biſhops of* Thrace *ſhould be judged by thoſe of* Egypt [b]. And was it not ſtill more incongruous, that the Firſt Biſhop of the Eaſt ſhould be judged by thoſe of *Italy?* The *Egyptians* finding *Chryſoſtom* did not appear, tried him nevertheleſs, and condemned him. But of their Sentence the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* made no more Account than he had done of their Summons, urging the ſame Reaſon, that the Biſhops of one Dioceſe had no Power over thoſe of another; that the Biſhops of *Thrace* were not to be judged by thoſe of *Egypt*. From thoſe of *Egypt* therefore he appealed to a General Council, which was plainly declaring, that he acknowleged no other ſuperior Power. Of this Appeal Pope *Innocent* approved; nay, and did all that lay in his Power to procure the aſſembling of a Council. He was *Chryſoſtom*'s great Friend; he was fully convinced of his Innocence: and yet he did not take upon him to judge his Cauſe himſelf, and declare him innocent; which it cannot be doubted but he would have done, eſpecially when he found that the Emperor would not hear of a Council, had he believed ſuch a Power to be veſted in him, or any Aſſembly of Weſtern Biſhops, however numerous.

Acacius *judged, and depoſed by the Pope, and his Council.*

The above-mentioned Articles being read to the Council, and proved by *Acacius*'s own Letters, as well as by the Depoſition of the Legates, and the Monks, ſent for that Purpoſe, by their Abbots, from *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhops, who compoſed that Aſſembly, were all of Opinion, for ſuch was the Opinion of the Pope, that *Acacius* deſerved to be condemned, anathematized, and depoſed. Hereupon an Act was drawn up, in the Nature of a Letter, addreſſed to *Acacius* in the Name of *Felix* alone, but ſigned by the 67 Biſhops of the Council. In that Act or Letter the Pope upbraids the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* with his paſt Conduct; repeats and exaggerates every Article of the Charge; and concludes thus: *Undergo therefore, by the preſent Sentence, the Lot of thoſe whom you are ſo inclined to favour; and know that you are depoſed from the Epiſcopal Dignity, deprived of the Catholic Communion, cut off from the Number of the Faithful; that you have no longer the Name, nor the Power, of a Biſhop,*

[b] Pallad. dial. 2.

having

having been condemned by the Holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtolic Authority; and that you can never be looſened from the Bond of the preſent Anathema [a]. In the ſame Council another Act, or Decree, as *Evagrius* ſtyles it, was made in the Pope's Name, importing, in a few Words, for it was deſigned to be ſet up in all public Places both at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, that *Acacius* had been depoſed by the Sentence of Heaven, for ſlighting the monitory Letters that had been ſent him, and impriſoning the Pope in the Perſon of his Legates. All Biſhops therefore, Eccleſiaſtics, Monks, and Laymen, were warned by *Felix, Biſhop of the holy Catholic Church of the City of* Rome, not to communicate with the ſaid *Acacius* late Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, on Pain of being anathematized, and puniſhed by the Holy Ghoſt, who would not fail to execute the Sentence *S. Spiritu exequente* [d]. This was the boldeſt Attempt the Popes had yet made. They had indeed aſſumed, and were daily exerciſing, as we have ſeen, a kind of *Supremacy*, or abſolute Authority, over the Biſhops of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*; and had long ſince attempted to bring all *Africa* under Subjection. But with the Eaſtern Biſhops they had hitherto uſed great Caution and Reſerve, contenting themſelves, let the Provocation be ever ſo great, to deny them Communion, which every other Biſhop had a Power to do. Thus when the Legates of *Innocent* were not only impriſoned, but treated with the utmoſt Barbarity by *Atticus*, then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* [e]; that Pope no otherwiſe reſented the many Outrages offered to him in the Perſon of his Legates, than by ſeparating himſelf from the Communion of thoſe, to whom he aſcribed them. Had *Innocent* thought himſelf veſted with any kind of Power or Authority over the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, he was not a Man to have let it lie dormant on ſuch an Occaſion.

Year of Chriſt 484.

The boldeſt Attempt the Popes had yet made.

The above-mentioned Sentence, or Letter to *Acacius*, is dated the 28th of *July*; and a few Days after *Felix* wrote to the Emperor, to the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, and to the Eccleſiaſtics and Monks of the Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, acquainting them with the Judgment that had been given by the *Church* againſt *Acacius* and *Mongus*, as if he and a few *Italian* Biſhops were the whole Church; exhorting them to ſubmit to her ſacred Laws; and, at the ſame time,

Felix *diſpatches* Tutus *to* Conſtantinople, *to acquaint* Acacius *with the Sentence.*

[c] Concil. t. 4. p. 1072, 1073. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21. [d] Concil. ibid. p. 1083. Evagr. ibid. [e] See Vol. I. p. 299.

Year of Chriſt 484.

letting them know, that they muſt either renounce the Communion of *Peter Mongus*, or that of the Apoſtle St. *Peter* [f]. With theſe Letters the Pope did not chuſe to diſpatch Legates into the Eaſt, not doubting but they would meet with the ſame Treatment as *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* had lately done, if not worſe: and, beſides, the Emperor, to prevent the Diſturbances which he apprehended the Pope would ſtrive, by his Emiſſaries, to raiſe in *Conſtantinople*, where all things were quiet, had ordered the Avenues to that City, both by Sea and Land, to be narrowly guarded, and all Perſons, who could not give a ſatisfactory Account of themſelves, to be arreſted, and their Papers, if any ſhould be found upon them, to be ſeized, and immediately conveyed to himſelf, or *Acacius*. Of this Order Intelligence was ſoon given by the Monks to the Pope, who thereupon choſe an antient Clergyman of the *Roman* Church, named *Tutus*, who was well acquainted with the Roads, as the moſt proper Perſon to execute ſo dangerous a Commiſſion. *Tutus* readily accepted it, and, having every-where eſcaped, with great Addreſs, the Vigilance of the Guards, he arrived ſafe and undiſcovered at *Conſtantinople*. But now apprehending the Danger that would probably attend his delivering to *Acacius* the Letter, with which he was charged, he applied to the Monks, who in all deſperate Attempts were the forlorn Hope of their Party. And indeed they acted as ſuch, on the preſent Occaſion: For taking upon themſelves to acquaint the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* with his Condemnation, they faſtened the Pope's Letter to his Garment, while he was either celebrating, or entering the Church to celebrate, the Sacred Myſteries. This occaſioned, according to *Nicephorus* [g], a great Tumult, in which ſeveral Monks were killed, and ſeveral wounded, by the Friends of *Acacius*. But of this Tumult no Notice is taken by *Liberatus*, who lived the neareſt to thoſe Times, and began to write about the Year 460. Neither did *Felix*, or any of his Succeſſors, ever reproach the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* with the Murder of thoſe Monks, though, to blacken his Character, they did not even ſcruple to charge him with Crimes which he had never committed. *Baronius* however has allotted a Place to the ſuppoſed Martyrs in the Calendar of Saints; and their pretended Reliques are expoſed in ſeveral Places, to public Worſhip, on the 8th of *February* [h]. *Acacius* gave himſelf no Trouble about the Monks; but being ſoon informed,

Who gets ſafe to that City.

The Sentence, how notified to Acacius.

[f] Concil. t. 4. p. 1083—1088. [g] Niceph. l. 16. c. 17. [h] Bar. Martyr. 8 Feb.

that

that the Pope's Letter had been brought by *Tutus*, he reſolved to put his Conſtancy to the ſame Tryal as he had lately done that of the Legates. He recollected, that they had withſtood his Threats, but yielded as ſoon as Money was offered them; and thence concluding the Offer of Money to be the proper Bait for the *Roman* Clergy, he cauſed, in the firſt Place, a conſiderable Sum to be privately promiſed to *Tutus*, on condition that he would communicate with him. There was no Occaſion for any other Trial; the old Prieſt yielded at once; agreed to the Propoſal, and communicated with *Acacius*, though he had ſtill freſh in his Memory the ſevere Sentence againſt the Legates, and could not doubt but the like Sentence waited him. But preſent Advantage blinds and hardens Men, generally ſpeaking, againſt all the Terrors of a future Puniſhment. The Fall of *Tutus*, joined to that of the Legates, mortified the Friends, and afforded new Matter of Triumph to the Enemies, of the *Roman* See. The Monks took care to acquaint the Pope immediately with it. They even found means to get into their Poſſeſſion the very Letter which *Tutus* wrote to *Acacius*, when he agreed to his Propoſal. That Letter they convey'd to *Rome*; and the unhappy Clergyman, upon his Return, was anathematized as a Traytor to God, and the Apoſtolic See, and for ever excluded from the Participation of the Sacred Myſteries, that is, of the Euchariſt [i].

Year of Chriſt 484.

Tutus *gained over by* Acacius, *communicates with him.*

Who is excommunicated on his Return to Rome.

The Pope's Letter having been conveyed to *Acacius*, in the manner I have related, that Prelate expreſſed in peruſing it, for he read it as ſoon as the Service was ended, more Surprize at the unprecedented Boldneſs of the Biſhop of *Rome*, than Concern at the Sentence it contained. He knew that the Pope had no ſort of Power or Authority over him; and therefore, to ſhew how little he valued his Communion, or feared his Anathemas, he in his Turn anathematized him, cut him off from his Communion, and ordered his Name to be ſtruck out of the Diptychs. The Conduct of *Acacius* was approved not only by the Emperor, and the whole Church of *Conſtantinople*, Three Abbots excepted, and ſome of their Monks, but by almoſt all the Biſhops in the Eaſt, even by *Andreas* of *Theſſalonica*, at that Time the Pope's Vicar for *Eaſt Illyricum*. They all joined *Acacius*, and, together with him, ſepa-

Acacius, *in his Turn, excommunicates the Pope.*

[i] Concil. t. 4. p. 1085, 1086. Liberat. c. 18. Theoph. p. 114. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18.

Year of Christ 484.

An intire Separation between the East and the West.

rated themſelves from the Communion of the Pope, and of ſuch as communicated with him, that is, of all their Brethren in the Weſt [k]. Such was the Riſe, and ſuch the Occaſion, of the firſt general Schiſm, a Schiſm that continued for the Space of 35 Years, between the Eaſt and the Weſt, between the *Latin* and the *Greek* Churches. I will not take upon me to juſtify *Acacius*, nor to examine here how far he was guilty; but only obſerve, that had he been undeniably guilty of every Article contained in the Charge brought againſt him, it did not belong to the Pope, and a few *Italian* Biſhops, intirely at his Beck and Devotion, to try, condemn, and depoſe the Firſt Biſhop in the Eaſt. This could only be lawfully done by a General Council; and the Pope's having preſumed to do it, by his own Authority, was the chief Plea of the Eaſtern Biſhops for ſeparating themſelves from his Communion, and joining *Acacius*. They did not all approve of the paſt Conduct of that Prelate; and many among them, had an Oecumenical Council been called, would have probably voted againſt him. But to acknowlege him to have been lawfully condemned and depoſed, when condemned and depoſed only by the Pope, and his Council, had been acknowleging in the Pope a ſupreme and uncontrouled Authority over all the Biſhops of the Earth, and ſubjecting the whole Church to the arbitrary Will of one Man. It was chiefly on this Conſideration, that they ſided with *Acacius*, as appears from the Letters of the Popes themſelves [l], who therefore ought not to have reproached thoſe Prelates, as they frequently did, with preferring the Friendſhip of *Acacius*, and the Favour of *Zeno*, to the Communion of the Apoſtolic See; ſince it was not to gain the Favour or Friendſhip of either, but to defeat the moſt bold, illegal, and dangerous Attempt, that had been yet made by the Apoſtolic See, that they joined in the preſent Diſpute the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. In ſhort, Matters were now, by the Raſhneſs of *Felix*, brought to a Criſis. The Eaſtern Biſhops found themſelves reduced to the Neceſſity of living ſubject to, or ſeparated from, the *Roman* See (for *Felix* had excommunicated all, who, after his Sentence, ſhould communicate with *Acacius*); and they choſe the latter.

What induced the Eaſtern Biſhops to ſide with Acacius.

The Pope the Author and Cauſe of this Schiſm.

From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that the preſent Schiſm, and the Evils attending it, ought, in Juſtice, to be charged to the Account of the Pope alone, notwithſtanding the incredible Pains,

[k] Concil. ibid. p. 1092. Facund. in Mocian. p. 565. Liberat. c. 18. [l] Concil. t. 4. p. 1199.

which

which the *Roman* Catholic Writers have all taken to clear him, and lay the whole Blame on the *Greeks*. For it was he who ſeparated himſelf the firſt from their Communion, and ſeparated himſelf from it, becauſe they would not ſubmit to a Judgment which he had given, and they apprehended to be, as it undoubtedly was, inconſiſtent with their Liberties, as well as the known Laws and Practice of the Church: As for the Arguments in Favour of the Papal Supremacy, founded on the Excommunication and Depoſition of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, they are quite frivolous, and ſcarce worthy of Notice, though diſplayed with great Pomp and Flouriſh of Words by *Baronius*, and the other *Roman* Catholic Writers. For, 1. As *Felix* excommunicated and depoſed *Acacius*: ſo did *Acacius*, in his Turn, excommunicate and depoſe *Felix*. And why ſhould the ſame Sentence be an Argument of Supremacy in the one, and not in the other? 2. The *Greeks* paid no more Regard to the Sentence of the Pope, than if it had been iſſued by the Biſhop of *Eugubium*, of *Rhegium*, or of *Thanis* (A). And whether we may not conclude from thence, more agreeably to Reaſon and good Senſe, that he had no kind of Power over the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, than from his taking upon him to exerciſe ſuch a Power, that he really had it, I leave the Reader to judge; and ſhall only obſerve, that if he was truly veſted with an abſolute and uncontrouled Authority over all the Biſhops of the Catholic Church, it is very ſurpriſing, that the greater Part of the Biſhops of the Catholic Church ſhould have been, for the Space of near 500 Years, utterly unacquainted with a Truth which it was of the utmoſt Importance for them to know. 3. *Felix*, it is true, excommunicated and depoſed *Acacius* by *the Apoſtolic Authority*, that is, by *the Authority of the Apoſtolic See*, as the Sticklers for the *Supremacy* have taken care to obſerve. But he himſelf was ſoon ſenſible, that he had gone

Year of Chriſt 484.

His depoſing the Biſhop of Conſtantinople *no Argument of his Supremacy.*

Not looked upon as ſuch by the Popes themſelves.

(A) The Biſhops of *Eugubium*, of *Rhegium*, and of *Thanis*, are inſtanced by St. *Jerom* as the loweſt and the leaſt conſiderable in the Church; and yet are ſaid, by the ſame Father, to be equal (by their original Inſtitution, and abſtracted from the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, and Imperial Laws) to the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Alexandria*, all Biſhops being alike the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, who had no Superiority over one another, and were commanded by our Saviour to affect none. *Where-ever a Biſhop is*, ſays *Jerom*, *whether at* Rome *or* Eugubium, *at* Conſtantinople *or* Rhegium, *at* Alexandria *or* Thanis, *he is of the ſame Worth, and of the ſame Prieſthood. The Power of Wealth does not make a Biſhop higher, nor does the Lowneſs of Poverty make him lower; for they are all alike the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles* (2).

(2) Hier. ep. 85.

Year of Christ 484.

too far; and therefore, to remove the juſt Umbrage which the *Greeks*, whom he did not expect to find ſo much upon their Guard, had taken at ſuch an extraordinary Attempt, he declared, in a Letter to *Vetranio*, an eminent Prelate in thoſe Parts, and of no ſmall Intereſt at Court, that it was not by his *own Authority* he had excommunicated and depoſed the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but by *the Authority* of the Council of *Chalcedon*, excommunicating and depoſing all who held, or communicated with thoſe who held, the *Eutychian* Doctrine [m]; which was plainly diſowning what he had done, and reſigning the Authority he had aſſumed, when he found, that the *Greeks* had taken the Alarm, and were determined not to acknowlege it. Had he thought himſelf veſted with that extenſive and unlimited Power which his Succeſſors have claimed, he would not have failed to aſcertain it at ſo critical a Juncture. He would have let the *Greeks* know, as Pope *Eugenius* did a Thouſand Years after, that *all Patriarchs*, and conſequently all other Biſhops, *muſt yield to his Will* [n]; and either have told them, in the Words of *Innocent* III. that *the Confirmation, Tranſlation, and Depoſition, of Biſhops, were reſerved to the* Roman *Pontiff, not ſo much by Canonical Conſtitution as by Divine Inſtitution* [o]; or informed them, upon their pleading the Liberties and Independency of the *Greek* Church, that *it was of Neceſſity to Salvation for every human Creature to be ſubject to the* Roman *Pontiff*, as was afterwards defined by Pope *Boniface* VIII. [p]. But ſuch Doctrines were yet unknown to the Popes themſelves, none of them being yet arrived at ſuch a Height of Arrogance, or rather Impiety, as to damn all who refuſed to ſubmit to their ſovereign Will. *Felix* therefore, inſtead of maintaining the Authority which the *Greeks* apprehended he had aſſumed; or pretending to any Privilege, Power, or Juriſdiction, peculiar to him, or his See; took great Pains to perſuade his Brethren in the Eaſt, that he had aſſumed none but what was common with him to all other Biſhops, all Biſhops being, as he often declared, equally impowered to cut off from the Communion of the Church ſuch as communicated, in Defiance of the Laws of the Church, with known and avowed Heretics [q]. The like Declaration was made, and in a more ample Manner, by *Gelaſius*, the immediate Succeſſor of *Felix*, in a kind of Manifeſto which he wrote on this Subject, and addreſſed

No Power exerciſed by them but what they pretended to be common to all Biſhops.

[m] Concil. t. 4. p. 1092, 1093. Gregor. Decret. l. 1. tit. 7. c. 2. ibid.

[n] Concil. Flor. p. 484.

[o] Inn. III. in

[p] Extrav. com. l. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.

[q] Concil.

to

to the Biſhops of *Dardania*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. To what Streights and Diſtreſs muſt the Popiſh Writers be reduced, ſince, to ſupport the Supremacy, they are forced to recur to Facts which the Popes themſelves have declared to have no kind of Connexion with the Supremacy! Year of Chriſt 484.

And now, to reſume the Thread of the Hiſtory, all Communion and Correſpondence between the Eaſt and the Weſt being intirely broken off, the Emperor, to maintain Concord and Unity among the Biſhops in his Dominions, iſſued an Order, commanding all, without Diſtinction, to be depoſed, as Diſturbers of the public Peace, who ſhould refuſe to ſign the *Henoticon*, or to communicate with the moſt holy Archbiſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*. With this Order the far greater Part readily complied; and the few who did not, were, purſuant to the Emperor's Order, depoſed, driven from their Sees, and ſent into Exile; inſomuch that in the Term of a few Months there was not a ſingle Biſhop to be found in the whole Eaſt, who had not written Letters of Communion to *Mongus* and *Acacius*, and thereby renounced the Communion of *Rome*. *All the Biſhops in the Eaſt renounce the Communion of* Rome. Year of Chriſt 485.

In this State Matters continued, nothing worthy of Notice happening either in the Eaſt or the Weſt, till the Year 489. when *Acacius* died, and *Flavitas*, or *Fravitas*, was choſen in his room. He was a Presbyter of the Church of St. *Thecla* in *Conſtantinople*, and ſo renowned for what was then called Sanctity, that *Felix*, though highly incenſed againſt *Zeno*, could not forbear commending that Prince for procuring the Election of a Man, whoſe Faith, he ſaid, was as orthodox, as his Life was ſpotleſs[r]. His Election was thought to have been miraculous. For the Emperor, to prevent the Diſturbances which he apprehended would attend the Election of a new Biſhop at ſo critical a Juncture, cauſed a Blank Paper, ſealed with his own Seal, to be laid on the Altar of one of the Churches, and with it a Writing, whereby he and the whole Church of *Conſtantinople* bound themſelves to chuſe the Perſon, whoſe Name ſhould be found written on the Blank Paper. Both Papers being depoſited on the Altar, the Church was ſhut up, and the Avenues to it carefully guarded Night and Day by Bands of Soldiers, relieving one another, all under the immediate Command of *Coſmus* the Great Chamberlain; for the Emperor would truſt no other. A rigorous Faſt was injoined, and Acacius *dies, and* Fravitas *is choſen in his room.* Year of Chriſt 489. *His Election thought miraculous.*

[r] Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1086. Niceph. chron.

ſtrictly

Year of Christ 489.

ſtrictly obſerved by the whole City, for the Space of 40 Days; during which time, Prayers were daily put up to the Almighty, that he would be pleaſed to direct his People in the Choice of their Paſtor, and ſignify his Will to them by one of his Angels. When the 40 Days were expired, the Paper was opened, with great Solemnity, in the Preſence of the Emperor, of the Clergy, and of the whole City; and the Name of *Fravitas* appearing on it, written, as was believed, with a heavenly Hand, he was, with loud Acclamations, proclaimed lawful Biſhop of the Royal and Holy City of *Conſtantinople* [s]. No one entertained the leaſt Suſpicion of any Cheat or Impoſture, Miracles being now ſo frequently wrought, that Men were no more ſurpriſed at a miraculous Event, than at any common Event or Occurrence of Life, nor more inclined to queſtion the one than the other.

Fravitas *writes to the Pope.*

Fravitas anſwered, in Appearance, the good Opinion which all at *Rome* entertained of the Purity of his Faith. For he was no ſooner ordained, than he wrote a flattering Letter to the Pope, begging his Communion, and owning St. *Peter* to be the Firſt of the Apoſtles, to be the Foundation-ſtone of the true Faith, and the Pope to hold the Faith which was held, taught, and preached, by that Apoſtle. With this Letter, and one from the Emperor, recommending him to the Pope in Terms of the greateſt Eſteem and Affection, *Fravitas* diſpatched to *Rome* ſome Eccleſiaſtics, and ſeveral Monks in their Retinue, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Attachment to the *Roman* See, and the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*. On their Arrival at *Rome*, they were received by that Church with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy; *Felix* was fully ſatisfied with the Letters they brought; and nothing now ſeemed to remain, that could obſtruct an intire Reconciliation between the Two Churches. But while the Pope was upon the point of concluding it, by admitting *Fravitas* to his Communion, he unluckily bethought himſelf to ask the Deputies, whether the new Biſhop had yet eraſed, or had engaged to eraſe, the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs. This Demand ſurpriſed the Deputies; for, to require the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to ſtrike the Name of his Predeceſſor out of the Diptychs, was requiring him to own, that he had been lawfully depoſed, which, they knew, the Eaſtern Biſhops would never allow. The only Anſwer,

Who is ſatisfied with his Letter.

But requires the Name of Acacius *to be ſtruck out of the Diptychs.*

[s] Niceph. l. 16. c. 18.

therefore they returned to the Pope was, That they had no Inſtructions concerning that Point; and indeed *Fravitas* had given them none: *Felix* ſtrove to convince them of the Reaſonableneſs of his Demand; but finding they induſtriouſly avoided either approving or diſapproving it, he diſmiſſed them, without admitting the new Biſhop to his Communion; and immediately wrote both to him and the Emperor, acquainting them with the Motives that induced him to inſiſt on the Name of *Acacius* being put out of the Roll of lawful Biſhops, as an indiſpenſable Preliminary to the propoſed and wiſhed for Union between the Two Sees [t]. Year of Chriſt 489.

Theſe Letters *Felix* delivered to the Deputies, who immediately ſet out with them for *Conſtantinople*. But before they reached that City, *Fravitas* died; and, at his Death, it appeared that neither was his Life ſo ſpotleſs, nor his Faith ſo pure and orthodox, as the Pope had believed, and indeed the reſt of the World; nay, even thoſe who had moſt extolled his Sanctity, were ſoon convinced, and, to their great Mortification, forced to own, that he was an arrant Hypocrite, that his Holineſs was all counterfeit, and, what gave no ſmall Concern to the Emperor, and the whole City, that the ſuppoſed Miracle, which they had all believed, was a mere Impoſture. For his Death was no ſooner known, than ſome Uſurers began to ſue his Heirs for very conſiderable Sums. The Cauſe was brought before the Emperor, who, finding ſuch exorbitant Sums had been all borrowed by *Fravitas* during the Vacancy of the See, began to ſuſpect ſome ſimoniacal Practice. To diſcover the Truth, therefore, he ordered the Heirs of the deceaſed Biſhop to be put to the Rack; when they owned, that the Money was borrowed to bribe the Great Chamberlain, who, as ſoon as he received it, opened the Paper, wrote on it the Name of *Fravitas*, and then ſealed it again with the Imperial Seal [u]. Hereupon the Emperor, provoked beyond Expreſſion, in finding he had been thus impoſed upon, cauſed the Chamberlain to be immediately executed, and the Creditors of *Fravitas* to be paid out of his confiſcated Eſtate [w]. Had this Impoſtor lived long enough to repay the borrowed Sums, and not died, as he did, Three or Four Months after his Election, what a glorious Figure would ſo remarkable a Miracle have made in his Legend! For it is not to be doubted, but his *ſpotleſs Life*, his miraculous Election, and his flattering Letter to the

Fravitas *dies.* Year of Chriſt 490.

His ſuppoſed miraculous Election, a mere Impoſture.

[t] Concil. t. 4. p. 1087. 1091. [u] Niceph. l. 16. c. 18. [w] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 490.

Pope, would have procured him a Place in the Calendar of Saints, and a ſutable Legend.

Euphemius *choſen in his room.*

Fravitas was ſucceeded by *Euphemius*, a Man of an unblemiſhed Character, of eminent Piety, great Learning, and a moſt zealous Defender of the Catholic Faith [x]. The ſincere Deſire he had of ſeeing Concord and Unity reign again in the Church, prompted him, as ſoon as he was ordained, to replace, in the Diptychs, the Name of *Felix*, which had been ſtruck out by *Acacius*; to tranſmit to *Rome* a Confeſſion of his Faith, and to beg the Pope, as he tendered the Welfare of the Catholic Church, to admit him to his Communion, and by that means put an End to ſo dangerous a Schiſm. *Felix* received his Letter, owned his Faith to be truly orthodox; but peremptorily refuſed to communicate with him, or his Church, ſo long as the Names of *Acacius*, whom he had depoſed, and *Fravitas*, whom he had not acknowleged, were kept in the Diptychs. The Name of the former *Euphemius* could not eraſe, without allowing him to have been lawfully depoſed; nor that of the latter without owning him to have been no lawful Biſhop, becauſe he had not been yet acknowleged as ſuch by the Pope. The good Prelate therefore, aware of the dangerous Conſequences that might be drawn from his granting either, and not thinking the Communion of *Rome* worth purchaſing at ſo dear a Rate, forbore, ſo long as *Felix* lived, all farther Attempts towards a Reconciliation between the Two Sees [y].

He writes to the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 491.

Who inſiſts on his eraſing the Name of Acacius.

Mongus *dies, and* Athanaſius *is choſen in his room.*

In the mean time died *Petrus Mongus* of *Alexandria*, and in his room was choſen *Athanaſius*, Presbyter of that Church, and a moſt zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. *Euphemius* therefore ſeparated himſelf from his Communion, and likewiſe from the Communion of *Palladius*, who had been lately choſen Biſhop of *Antioch*, and, at his Inſtallation, had publicly anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon* [z]. Thus was the whole Church divided into Three different Parties or Factions. The *Egyptians*, with their Patriarch, formed one; the Biſhops of *Pontus*, *Aſia*, and *Thrace*, under the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, another; and the Weſtern Biſhops, with the Pope at their Head, a Third. The *Egyptians* profeſſed the *Eutychian* Doctrine, anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Definitions of that Council, and all who received them. The other Biſhops in the

Three different Parties in the Church.

[x] Evagr. l. 3. c. 23. Niceph. chron. Theophan. p. 115. [y] Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 23. Theoph. p. 16. Concil. t. 4. p. 1154. [z] Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 23.

East, except the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and ſome Orientals, who ſided with the *Egyptians*, received the *Henoticon*, and many among them, in which Number was *Euphemius* himſelf, the Decree of *Chalcedon* eſtabliſhing Two Natures in Chriſt. The Biſhop of *Rome* therefore, and his Brethren in the Weſt, intirely agreed, in point of Doctrine and Faith, with the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and thoſe of his Party; and the only Subject of the Quarrel between them was, whether the Name of *Acacius* (for that of *Fravitas* was ſoon dropt) ſhould be kept in, or ſtruck out of the Diptychs. *Euphemius* could not ſtrike it out, without diſobliging the Emperor, and the far greater Part of the Catholic Biſhops; and his diſobliging them would have occaſion'd a Schiſm or Diviſion among the Catholics themſelves, more prejudicial, in the preſent Circumſtances, to their Cauſe, than a Rupture with *Rome*. On the other hand, the Pope was inflexible, and peremptorily required the Name of *Acacius* to be eraſed before he would communicate with the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, or any of his Party, let the Conſequences be what they would. Perhaps he was not ſufficiently appriſed of the State of Affairs in the Eaſt; but if he was not, *Euphemius* was; and therefore apprehending greater Evils from his his communicating with *Rome*, upon the Pope's Terms, than could poſſibly ariſe from his continuing out of that Communion, he remained ſatisfied with having done what, in common Charity, he thought himſelf bound to do, in order to gain it.

Year of Chriſt 490.

In the Height of theſe Diſturbances and Diviſions died the Emperor *Zeno*, in the Beginning of *April* 491. and on the 11th of the ſame Month *Anaſtaſius* was choſen to ſucceed him, chiefly by the Intereſt of *Ariadne*, the deceaſed Emperor's Widow, whom he had promiſed to marry, and married accordingly, the very Day after his Acceſſion. *Euphemius*, ſuſpecting his Orthodoxy, and with a great deal of Reaſon, oppoſed his Promotion, to the utmoſt of his Power; nor could he be prevailed upon by the Empreſs, and the Senate, to approve of their Choice, till *Anaſtaſius* delivered to him a Confeſſion of Faith, under his Hand, intirely orthodox, and beſides promiſed, upon Oath, to take the Council of *Chalcedon* for the Rule of his Belief [z]. The Patriarch had the Populace on his Side, by whom he was greatly beloved, and revered: *Longinus*, the late Emperor's Brother, claimed the Crown as his Right; and *Anaſtaſius* had not yet even attained

Zeno *dies, and* Anaſtaſius *is choſen to ſucceed him.*

Year of Chriſt 491.

He promiſes to take the Council of Chalcedon *for the Rule of his Faith.*

[z] Evagr. l. 3. c. 29. Theodor. Lect. p. 558.

Year of Christ 491.

to the Rank of a Senator, but was only one of the Great Chamberlain's Officers. It was not therefore, in these Circumstances, thought adviseable to disoblige so popular a Man, by reminding him of his Duty, and letting him know, that State-Affairs were foreign to his Ministry, that he was to receive and obey the Person whom the Senate chose, and not take upon him to direct them whom they should chuse, or whom they should not. Had *Euphemius* been Bishop of *Rome*, his refusing to consent to the Election of the Person, whom the Senate had agreed to raise to the Empire, till he had examined his Faith, and found it Orthodox, would have supplied *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* with ample Matter for Descants on the temporal Power of the Popes; I mean the Power of setting up Kings, and pulling them down at their Pleasure, which the Popes have, in the latter Times, most boldly asserted. But of such a Power in them not the least Foot-step has yet appeared, though Occasions have not been wanting, on which it seasonably might, and even ought to have been exerted, for the Good of the Church, and the Catholic Cause.

Allows Liberty of Conscience to Christians of all Denominations.

Anastasius was himself strongly inclined to the Doctrine of *Eutyches*; but nevertheless began his Reign with granting Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects, it being unworthy of a Christian Emperor, as he declared in his Edict for Toleration, to trouble or persecute any who, together with him, adored Christ. Thus he hoped to put an End to all Disputes, and see Peace restored, in his Days, to the Church and the State[a]. But the Bishops, who received the Council of *Chalcedon*, refusing to communicate with their Brethren, who did not, and such as did not, with those who did, the Emperor found himself obliged to forbid all Bishops, on Pain of Deposition and Exile, to declare for or against that Council. Thus both Parties were silenced; but yet they would not communicate with one another, nor would the Pope communicate with either; so that they were still Enemies to each other in their Hearts, though restrained from open Hostilities, by the Fear of losing their Sees.

Felix *writes to* Anastasius.

Felix was no sooner informed of the Death of *Zeno*, and the Promotion of *Anastasius*, than he wrote to the new Emperor, to congratulate him on his Accession to the Crown; for he did not doubt, as he expressed himself in his Letter, but the Authority of so religious a Prince would prove as advantageous to the Church, and the

[a] Idem ibid. c. 31.

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true Faith, as that of his Predeceſſor had been prejudicial to both [b]. Of this Letter the Emperor took no Notice. But *Felix* did not live long enough to know what Reception it met with. He died in the latter End of this, or the very Beginning of the following Year 492. having governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, wanting ſome Days [c]. He may be ſaid to have exceeded in Pride, Arrogance, and Preſumption, all who went before him; at leaſt he attempted what none of them had dared to attempt, not *Leo* himſelf, who, in the Quarrel between him and *Anatolius*, one of the Predeceſſors of *Acacius*, only threatened to ſeparate himſelf from the Communion of that Prelate; which was indeed all the Canons of the Church allowed him to do. But *Felix*, more bold and enterpriſing, carried his Reſentment and Revenge to the Height we have ſeen, in open Defiance of the Eccleſiaſtic, as well as the Imperial Laws. I ſay, his *Reſentment* and *Revenge*; for it was not out of any Zeal for the Faith, or the Church, that he took upon him to excommunicate and depoſe the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but merely to be revenged on him, as the *Greeks* well obſerved, for the Contempt he had betrayed, on ſeveral Occaſions, for the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his See [d]. Had he had any real Concern for the Welfare of the Church, nothing would have tempted him to take ſuch an unwarrantable and unprecedented Step; for he could not but foreſee the dreadful Evils that would inevitably attend it. He foreſaw them; but, apprehending the Dignity of his See to be at Stake, and the Want of that Deference and Reſpect, which he claimed as due to St. *Peter*, that is, to himſelf, to be a greater Evil than any thing that could befal the Church, he purſued his Revenge, at all Events, and thereby gave Riſe to the preſent long and dangerous Schiſm. Such a Conduct, we may be ſure, intitled him to a Place among the Saints; and he is now accordingly worſhiped as a Saint, having deſerved well of the Apoſtolic See, how ill ſoever he may have deſerved of the Church.

Year of Chriſt 491.

Felix *dies*.

Year of Chriſt 492.

His Character.

He is ſainted.

Beſides the Letters of *Felix*, which I have already taken notice of, there is one from that Pope, dated the 15th of *March* 488. concerning thoſe, who, during the *Vandalic* Perſecution in *Africa*, had ſuffered themſelves to be baptized, or rebaptized, by the *Arians*. From the Regulations contained in that Letter, the Reader may judge of the

His Letter to the African *Biſhops*.

[b] Concil. t. 4. p. 1268. [c] Marcell. chron. Vide Bolland. 25. Feb. p. 508. et Apr. t. 1. p. 34. [d] Concil. ibid. p. 1198.

unrea-

Year of Christ 492.

The unreasonable Rigour of the Church-Discipline.

unreasonable, not to say antichristian Rigour of the Church-Discipline in those times. For the Pope there requires the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who had consented to be rebaptized, tho' forced by the Violence of Torments, to do public Penance so long as they lived; reduces them to Lay-Communion (A), and that to be administred only

(A) There are Three different Opinions concerning the Meaning of that Word. Lay-Communion was, according to some, communicating among the Laymen after the Clergy, and without the Rails of the Chancel. But Lay-Communion was administred to degraded Clergymen in private Houses, and on their Death-beds, where there could be no room for such a Distinction; and consequently Lay-Communion must import something besides that Distinction. Others therefore are of Opinion, that to reduce a Clergyman to Lay-Communion, was divesting him of all the Power which he had received by his Ordination, and reducing him to the State and Condition of a Layman. This seems to have been the Opinion of all the antient Councils and Fathers; for they all speak of the Ecclesiastics, who were only admitted to Lay-Communion, as mere Laymen, and as incapable of performing any Episcopal or Sacerdotal Functions, as if they had never been ordained. The greater Part of the *Roman* Catholic Divines allow (and this is the Third Opinion) Lay-Communion to import Degradation; but then by Degradation they mean no more than the Suspending of a Bishop or a Priest from the Functions of his Ministry. For tho' the Church may, according to them, grant or deny the Episcopal or Sacerdotal Power to whom she pleases, yet she can never revoke it, when once granted. Thus should a Bishop or a Priest be guilty of the most enormous Crimes; should he for his Wickedness be degraded, anathematized, and even cast out of the Congregation of the Faithful; nay, should he abjure Christ, and the Christian Religion, and embrace the *Jewish*, *Mohammedan*, or Pagan Superstition; he would, in spite of the Church, and all her Anathemas, still retain the Power she has given him, still continue to be a Christian Bishop or Priest, though no more a Christian; and might even ordain, confirm, absolve, consecrate, and perform all the other Functions of the Episcopal or Sacerdotal Office, as effectually as the Pope himself. This Doctrine, however repugnant to common Sense, and the Practice of the Catholic Church in all Ages preceding the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, necessarily follows from the Definitions of those Two Councils concerning the *Indelible Character*, which was by them thought a Matter of such Consequence as to be made an Article of Faith (1). By this *Character* is meant a real Quality, Sign, Mark, or Seal, produced and imprinted in the Soul of a Bishop or Priest at his Ordination, which can by no Power upon Earth be ever effaced, and is inseparably connected with all Episcopal or Priestly Authority. But that the Antients were all utter Strangers to such a Character, has been, I may say, demonstrated by several Protestant Writers (2); and therefore I shall only observe here, that the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning her *Indelible Character*, is evidently inconsistent with the Doctrine of the most revered Council that was ever held in the Church, that of *Nice*: For by that Council it was decreed, that such Bishops or Presbyters, as had been ordained by a degraded Bishop, *Meletius* of *Lycopolis* in *Egypt*, should not be admitted to serve the Church either as Bishops or Presbyters, till they had been re-ordained (3). And was not this plainly declaring Or-

(1) Concil. Flor. in Instruct. Armen. et Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 9. (2) See Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trid. part 2. p. 25. Rivet. Cath. Orthodox. Bellarmin. Enervat. t. 3. c. 5. Perkins Demonstrat. Problemat. p. 130. Alting. Theolog. Elenctica, p. 594. Calvin. Antidot. Concil. Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 9, &c. (3) Epist. Synod. apud Socrat. l. 1. c. 9. & Theodor. l. 1. c. 9.

ders

only at the point of Death; and excludes them for ever from the Prayers and Aſſemblies of the Faithful. As for the other Eccleſiaſtics, and Year of Chriſt 492.

ders conferred by a degraded Biſhop to be void and null, and conſequently ſuch a Biſhop to be abſolutely diveſted of all Epiſcopal Power and Authority? In compliance with this Decree, and the Directions of the Council in their Synodical Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, *Theodore*, Biſhop of *Oxyrinchus*, re-ordained all the *Meletian* Preſbyters, who returned to the Church, without any kind of Regard to their former pretended Ordination (4). Neither he therefore, nor they, knew any thing of an *Indelible Character inſeparably connected with all Epiſcopal Power and Authority*; but believed thoſe, whom the Church had depoſed for their Miſdemeanours, to be abſolutely diveſted of all the Power and Authority they had before. And indeed, that a Man ſhould be depoſed from his Office, and yet retain all the Power belonging to his Office, is ſo repugnant to Reaſon and common Senſe, that it is ſurpriſing the Church of *Rome* ſhould ever have adopted ſuch a Notion.

However, the Antients acknowleged, it muſt be owned, ſome kind of Diſtinction between a depoſed Eccleſiaſtic, and a mere Layman: But that Diſtinction they did not place in any ſpiritual *Mark* or *Character* in the Soul of the one, and not of the other; nor in any Power which the one had, and the other had not; but in this alone, that the Eccleſiaſtic had been once, by the outward Form of Ordination, or Impoſition of Hands, deſtined to the ſacred Miniſtry; and therefore was qualified to officiate again without a new Ordination, ſhould the Church think fit to recall him to his Office. But this Qualification the Layman wanted, who had never been commiſſioned by the Church to exerciſe any ſpiritual Office or Function. Ordination, tho' a tranſient Act, qualifies a Man, ſo long as he lives, to perform all Sacerdotal or Epiſcopal Functions, and therefore needs never be repeated. But a Man may be qualified for an Office, and at the ſame time have no more of the Power belonging to that Office, than if he were not qualified for it. The Diſtinction which the Antients acknowleged between a depoſed Clergyman, and a mere Layman, cannot be better illuſtrated and explained, than by that which they allowed between an apoſtate Chriſtian, and a mere *Jew* or Pagan. An Apoſtate from the Chriſtian Religion to the *Jewiſh* or Pagan Superſtition cannot be called, properly ſpeaking, a Chriſtian, is not a Member of the Chriſtian Church, nor has he any Right to the common Privileges of a Chriſtian, ſo long as he continues in his Apoſtaſy. But ſtill, in virtue of his Baptiſm, he is qualified, according to the Doctrine of the Antients, to be admitted to the Communion of the Church, after the greateſt Apoſtaſy, without a new Baptiſm; and this Qualification a mere *Jew* or Pagan has not. In like manner a depoſed Prieſt or Biſhop cannot be called, in Propriety of ſpeaking, a Prieſt or Biſhop; does not belong to the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, nor has he the Power and Authority of his former Office more than a Layman. But nevertheleſs he is qualified, in virtue of his paſt Ordination, to perform all the Functions of the Miniſtry, when it ſhall pleaſe the Church to reſtore him to his Rank and Dignity. That Qualification a Layman wants, who has never been ordained; and in that alone does the Difference conſiſt between him and a degraded Clergyman.

To conclude, if it is Hereſy, as has been defined by the Church of *Rome*, to ſay, that *a Clergyman may ceaſe to be a Clergyman, and become again a Layman*; that *a Man who is a Prieſt or a Biſhop To-day, may be a Layman To-morrow*; all the antient Councils were guilty of Hereſy. For by them a degraded Clergyman is ſaid to be *turned out of Office* (5); *to be totally depoſed* (6); *to fall totally from his Order* (7);

(4) Vide Valeſ. Not. in Socrat. l. 1. c. 9. (5) Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 48.
(6) Concil. Antioch. Can. 5. (7) Concil. Epheſ. Can. 6.

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and the Monks, Virgins, and Laymen, if they submitted, of their own accord, to be rebaptized, they are to atone for their Crime by a Twelve Years public Penance; but only by a Three Years Penance, if they yielded by dint of Torments; and to a Three Years Penance the Pope subjects those too, who had been rebaptized not only against their Will, but even without their Knowlege; for it was customary with the *Arians* to rebaptize the Catholics before they were aware, and often while they were asleep: And what Crime had those to expiate, who had been thus baptized? The Pope concludes this remarkable Letter with declaring those incapable of being ever admitted to the Clerical Order, who have been baptized or rebaptized by Heretics, whether that has been done with their Consent and Knowlege, or without either [e].

Some style this Pope *Felix* III. but I have shewn elsewhere [f] the Election of *Felix*, whom they call the Second of that Name, to have been null.

Anastasius.

GELASIUS,

Fiftieth Bishop *of* Rome.

Gelasius *chosen in the room of* Felix.

IN the room of *Felix* was chosen, after a Vacancy of Five Days only, *Gelasius*, the Son of one *Valerius*, by Birth an *African*, according to some, and a *Roman*, according to others. Perhaps he was a Native of *Africa*, but born a *Roman* (for so he styles himself [g]),

[e] Concil. t. 4. p. 1075—1077. Ep. 8. Concil. t. 4. p. 1182. [f] See Vol. I. p. 146. [g] Gelas.

to be unordained [deordinatur] (8); *to be removed out of the Order of the Clergy* (9); *to cease to be of the Number of the Clergy* (10). The last is the Expression of the Council of *Nice*; and to the Champions of the *Indelible Character* I leave the Task of reconciling a Man's *ceasing to be of the Number of the Clergy*, and his being still a Clergyman.

As to *Bellarmine*'s Opinion, understanding by *Lay Communion* Communion in one Kind only (11), it is scarce worthy of Notice; nothing being more certain than that Clergymen were, by the Censures of the Church, reduced to Lay-Communion, when the Laity communicated in both Kinds: This is owned by almost all the other *Roman* Catholic Writers, who indeed seem to have been quite ashamed of *Bellarmine*'s Ignorance (12).

(8) Apud Crab. Concil. t. 1. p. 318. (9) Concil. Arelat. 1. Can. 13. (10) Concil. Nicæn. Can. 2. (11) Bellar. de Eucharist. l. 4. c. 24. (12) Vide Cardinal. Bona de Reb. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19.

in the Senſe St. *Paul* was a *Roman*, though born in *Tarſus*. He was no ſooner inſtalled, than he wrote a moſt reſpectful Letter to *Anaſtaſius*, to acquaint him with his Promotion, and recommend to his Protection the Catholic Church, and the Faith of *Chalcedon* [h]. To this Letter the Emperor returned no Anſwer: But *Euphemius*, to whom the new Pope had not condeſcended to notify his Election, as was cuſtomary, wrote to him the firſt a Letter filled with the moſt tender Expreſſions of Affection and Friendſhip, intreating him to pity the unhappy and diſtracted State of the Church, by contributing, ſo far as in him lay, towards uniting in one Communion thoſe who were ſincerely united in one Faith. But at the ſame time he lets him know, that he muſt not think of having the Name of *Acacius* ſtruck out of the Diptychs [i]. Either *Gelaſius* did not anſwer this Letter, or *Euphemius*, impatient to ſee the Evils redreſſed that afflicted the Church, wrote a Second Letter before the Pope could anſwer his Firſt (for we know of no Anſwer to the Firſt). In the Second Letter *Euphemius* complains, but in the moſt friendly Manner, of the Pope, for not having acquainted him, according to the Cuſtom that obtained in the Catholic Church, with his Promotion to the Epiſcopal Dignity; expreſſes a moſt earneſt Deſire of ſeeing a perfect Harmony re-eſtabliſhed between the Two Sees; but aſſures his Collegue in Chriſt, and begs he may be believed, that the People of *Conſtantinople* will never ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be put out of the Roll of their Biſhops. He adds, that *Acacius* had never been guilty of any Hereſy; that his Faith had never been ſo much as ſuſpected; that he had indeed communicated with *Mongus*, but not till *Mongus* had publicly abjured the Errors with which he was charged; that *Acacius* had been tried, condemned, and depoſed, without the Concurrence, nay, and without the Knowlege, of his Collegues in the Eaſt, and conſequently in Defiance of the known Laws and Practice of the Church. However, if the Pope ſtill inſiſted on his Name being eraſed out of the ſacred Regiſter, he adviſes him to write to the People of *Conſtantinople*, or to ſend Legates into the Eaſt, capable of diſpoſing them to conſent to his Requeſt. He cloſes his Letter with conjuring the Pope to take the Will of God alone for the Rule of his Conduct, without ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed, in an Affair of ſuch infinite Conſequence, by any Engagements he may apprehend his See to be under [k].

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Writes to the Emperor, but not to Euphemius.

Euphemius *writes to him, begging his Communion.*

[h] Concil. ibid. p. 1168. [i] Concil. ibid. p. 1161. [k] Concil. ibid. p. 1159—1161.

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The Pope insists on his erasing the Name of Acacius.

This Letter the Pope answered in a most arrogant, imperious, and peremptory Style, declaring, that so long as the Name of *Acacius* was suffered to remain in the Diptychs, he would, upon no Consideration whatever, be reconciled to the Church of *Constantinople*. He allows *Acacius* to have been no Heretic, but nevertheless pretends that he had forfeited his Dignity by communicating with Heretics; and lays it down as a general Rule, that an excommunicated Person infects such as communicate with him, and that such as communicate with him infect all who communicate with them. Upon this Principle he peremptorily refuses to communicate with *Euphemius*, so long as he kept the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, and thereby communicated with one who had excommunicated himself by communicating with an excommunicated Person, meaning *Mongus*. He therefore tells *Euphemius*, that he must not look upon the Letter he writes to him as a Mark of Communion, since he writes to him only as to a Stranger, being absolutely determined to have no Communication with those, who preferred the Communion of Heretics to that of St. *Peter*. As to his writing to the People of *Constantinople*, or sending Legates into the East, he excuses himself from doing either, since it could not be expected, that those, who would not hearken to the Voice of their own Pastor, should obey the Voice of a Stranger [1]. This Letter gave great Concern to *Euphemius*. He had flattered himself, that the new Pope might be more peaceably inclined than his Predecessor, and that, as *Acacius* had not been excommunicated by him, he might connive at the small Regard that was paid to his Memory, the rather, as he had once deserved so well of the Church and the Faith, and had favoured *Mongus* with no other View but to gain him over to the Catholic Interest. But, to his great Disappointment, he found *Gelasius* more obstinate than *Felix* himself, and more untractable (*acerbus, asper, nimis durus, difficilisque*). Being therefore satisfied, that he could by no other means procure a Peace with *Rome*, but by kindling a War in *Constantinople*, and dividing the Catholics there among themselves, which he very justly called incurring a greater Evil to avoid a less, he despaired of seeing an End put to the Schism in his Days, and wrote no more.

Euphemius *refuses to comply with his Demand.*

[1] Concil. ibid. p. 1162.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

The

The following Year, 493. *Theodoric*, the new King of *Italy* (B), having diſpatched a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, at the Head of which were *Feſtus*, or *Fauſtus*, and *Irenæus*, both *Romans* of the firſt Rank, and diſtinguiſhed with the Title of *Illuſtrious*, *Gelaſius* took that Opportunity to write a long Letter, addreſſed to all the Biſhops of the Eaſtern Empire, whom he ſtyles, in the Addreſs, his *Beloved Brethren*, but ſtrives, in the Letter, to convince them, that they are all Heretics, and all alike excommunicated. The chief Purpoſe and Deſign of this Piece was, to anſwer the Reaſons alleged by the *Greeks* to ſhew, that *Acacius* had not been lawfully depoſed, and conſequently that it was very uncharitable in the Pope, with whom they agreed in all Points of Faith, to inſiſt on their omitting his Name in the Liſt of Biſhops, as a Term of Communion. Their Reaſons the Pope reduces to the Three following Heads: 1. That it did not belong to him, but to a General Council, to judge, condemn, and depoſe the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 2. That *Acacius* was neither a Heretic, nor had he communicated with Heretics condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*; ſince he had not admitted *Mongus* to his Communion, till he had received the *Henoticon*, and thereby abjured the Errors condemned by that Council. 3. That to condemn, anathematize, and depoſe the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, however guilty, without thinking it at all neceſſary to conſult his Collegues in

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Gelaſius *writes to the Eaſtern Biſhops.*

Strives to prove, that Acacius *had been lawfully condemned.*

(B) *Theodoric* was King of the *Oſtrogoths*, whom the Emperor *Marcian* had allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*, quite diſpeopled by the Incurſions of the *Hunns*, and other barbarous Nations. He was at firſt greatly favoured by the Emperor *Zeno*, and ſerved under him as Commander in Chief of the *Roman* Cavalry. But afterwards thinking himſelf illuſed by that Prince, he not only quitted the Service, but at the Head of his *Goths* made War on the Empire, till he was perſuaded by the Emperor to turn his Arms againſt *Odoacer*, who reigned in *Italy*. Some write, that *Zeno* yielded that Country to him, and his Poſterity (1); for it belonged of Right to the Emperor of the Eaſt; while others pretend, that, by the Treaty between him and the Emperor, he was to hold it only during his Life (2). However that be, the King of the *Goths* engaged in this new War with great Alacrity; and having, in the Term of Five Years, completed the Conqueſt of *Italy*, by the Reduction of *Ravenna* after a Three Years Siege, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed by his *Goths* King of that Country, without waiting for the Emperor's Permiſſion. And it was to excuſe this Liberty, and ſolicit the Emperor's Approbation, that he diſpatched *Fauſtus* and *Irenæus* to *Conſtantinople*, with the Character of his Embaſſadors. *Anaſtaſius* approved of what he had done, promiſed not to moleſt him in the Poſſeſſion of the Country he had conquered, and ſent him the Enſigns of Royalty. Hence it is manifeſt, that *Theodoric* himſelf owned he held his Kingdom of the Emperors of the Eaſt; and by them he even ſuffered the *Roman* Conſuls to be named (3).

(1) Jornand. Rer. Goth. c. 57. Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 6. (2) Mal. p. 84. Marcell. p. 479. (3) Procop. ibid.

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the East, in an Affair that so nearly concerned them, argued such a Contempt in the Pope for the *Greeks* in general, as nothing could justify or excuse. The First of these Reasons *Gelasius* answers as his Predecessor had done; *viz.* That he had only executed the Sentence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, excommunicating the *Eutychians*, and all who communicated with them; which, says he, was not arrogating to himself any particular or extraordinary Power, but exercising that which was common to him with all other Bishops. As nothing was more certain, than that *Mongus* had anathematized *Eutyches*, and all who held the same Doctrine, before *Acacius* would admit him to his Communion, the Pope seems to have been greatly at a Loss how to answer the Second Reason of the *Greeks*; how to maintain the former to have been an Heretic, and the latter to have been excommunicated for communicating with him, even after he had, in the most solemn Manner, renounced his Heresy. After a long Descant, therefore, on the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the Apostolic See, he concludes, that what St. *Peter*, that is, the Pope, had bound, no other Power could loosen, and what St. *Peter* had loosened, no other Power could bind. Upon this Principle he pretends *Mongus*, whom St. *Peter* had condemned as a Heretic, and never absolved, to have continued a Heretic; and consequently *Acacius* to have been lawfully deposed for communicating with him. In Answer to the Third Reason of the *Greeks*, he tells them, in plain Terms, that they were all byassed in favour of *Acacius*; that most of them were no less guilty than he; and that it was not usual for a Judge, in condemning a Criminal, to consult his Accomplices[m].

His Answer to the Reasons alleged by the Greeks *to shew, that he was not lawfully condemned.*

The inflexible Obstinacy of the Pope gave great Joy to the *Greeks* of the *Eutychian* Party, who chose rather to live separated from, than united with *Rome*, and triumphed in seeing their Enemies in the East thus deprived of the Assistance they might receive from their Orthodox Friends in the West. Of this Evil the Catholic Bishops were well apprised, and, in order to prevent it, resolved to make one Attempt more towards a Reconciliation between the Two Churches. They knew no Reasons alleged by them would be of any Weight; and therefore, applying to the Two Embassadors *Faustus* and *Irenæus*, who had brought the Pope's Letter, they begged them to apprise his *Reverend Holiness* of the fatal Consequences that would inevitably

The Greeks *apply to the Embassadors of King* Theodoric.

[m] Concil. t. 4. p. 1217—1221.

attend

attend their complying with his Requeſt. For they could not perſuade themſelves, that, were the Pope well acquainted with the unhappy State of the Church in the Eaſt, and aware of the Evils which they had ſo much Reaſon to apprehend from their eraſing the Name of *Acacius*, he would ſtill inſiſt on ſuch a Punctilio. *Fauſtus*, who was, it ſeems, a Man of ſome Piety, took upon him to write to the Pope, in their Name; and wrote accordingly, aſſuring him, among other Things, that neither the Emperor, nor the People of *Conſtantinople*, would ever ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs; and that to diſoblige either, at ſo critical a Juncture, when the *Eutychian* Party was acquiring daily new Strength, and the Catholic Intereſt was daily declining, would prove a Thing of moſt dangerous Conſequence, and might end at laſt in the total Ruin of the Faith in the Eaſt. From the Letter of *Fauſtus* it appears, that the *Greeks*, I mean thoſe of the Catholic Party, were ready even to own, that *Acacius* had done wrong in abſolving *Mongus* without the Conſent and Concurrence of *Rome*, nay, and to ask Pardon for the Contempt it was pretended he had thereby ſhewn for the Apoſtolic See, provided the Pope would only connive, for the preſent, at their keeping his Name in the Diptychs, and, joining them againſt the common Enemy, refer the Deciſion of ſo fatal a Quarrel to the Judgment of a General Council, to which they ſolemnly engaged to ſubmit. They added, that, as the Emperor had not yet openly declared either for the *Eutychian* or the Catholic Party, but ſeemed to be in Suſpenſe, and to waver between both, they could not juſtify, in the Sight of God or Man, their doing any thing that might eſtrange him from them, or give him the leaſt Byas in favour of thoſe, who were alike Enemies to them, and to *Rome*, and ſought the Deſtruction of both [n].

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Who write to the Pope in their Behalf.

The Terms they propoſed.

But the Pope was not to be moved, and would hearken to no Reaſons. The Apoſtolic See had condemned and depoſed *Acacius*; and that Judgment was to be maintained, let what would happen to the Church and the Faith. *Gelaſius* therefore, in his Anſwer to *Fauſtus*, whom he could not ſuppoſe to be any-ways byaſſed in favour of the *Greeks*, after repeating what he had ſaid in his Letter to *Euphemius*, concludes thus: As *Acacius* was condemned, and depoſed, according to the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers, and died

The Pope inflexible.

His Anſwer to the Letter of the Embaſſadors.

[n] Concil. t. 4. p. 1184, 1185.

under

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under that Sentence, the *Roman* Church cannot even connive at his being honoured as a lawful Bishop after his Death, without transgressing the Canons and Laws by which she condemned him. Let them therefore chuse whether they will communicate with *Acacius*, and his Followers, or with the Apostolic See, and the Apostle St. *Peter*; for they cannot with both, and in vain they attempt it [o]. This Letter *Faustus* communicated, as soon as he received it, to the leading Men of the Catholic Party; and it had the Effect which he apprehended it would. The unparalleled Obstinacy of the Pope, after they had given him such undeniable Proofs of the sincere Desire they had of being reconciled with him, after they had made all the Advances towards a Reconciliation, which they thought compatible with their Duty, and the Safety of the Church, at that time in imminent Danger, provoked them to such a Degree, that they separated themselves, in their Turn, from the Communion of *Rome*, struck the Name of *Gelasius* out of the Diptychs, and agreed, to a Man, not to communicate with him, or any who communicated with him [p]. Thus was the Schism continued, during the Pontificate and Life of *Gelasius*: and to whose Account the Continuation of so great an Evil, the Division of one half of the Church from the other, ought to be charged, needs no great Examination to determine. The *Greeks* had, as appears from the Letters of *Euphemius* and *Faustus*, very substantial and unanswerable Reasons to justify their not complying, at least in the present Circumstances, with the Terms of Communion required by the Pope; the Pope had none that could, in any Light whatever, justify his insisting on such Terms, as Matters then stood. He alleges indeed several, as we have seen; but they can by no Man of the least Discernment or Penetration be otherwise looked upon than as mere Pretences to disguise the true Motive of his Conduct; *viz.* the Engagement he apprehended himself to be under of maintaining, at all Events, what his Predecessor had done. He had deposed *Acacius*, and, to keep the Name of a Man, whom the Apostolic See had deposed, among the Names of other Bishops, was, with the Successor to his Power and Dignity, a greater Evil, so far as we can judge from his Conduct, than any that could befal the Catholic Faith, or the Catholic Church.

The Greeks *excommunicate* Gelasius, *and all who communicate with him.*

The Continuation of the Schism owing to the Pope.

[o] Concil. ibid. p. 1168——1172. [p] Concil. ibid. p. 1185.

The

The Biſhops of *Eaſt Illyricum*, over whom the Popes had exerciſed an uſurped Juriſdiction ever ſince the Time of Pope *Damaſus*, were not ſo unanimous, with reſpect to the Name of *Acacius*, as *Gelaſius* could have wiſhed; nay, the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, though Vicar of the Apoſtolic See in thoſe Parts, could not help cenſuring the Conduct of the Pope; and kept the Name of the late Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in the Diptychs of his Church. . However, as they agreed in all Points of Faith, they lived in brotherly Concord and Unity, not thinking it a Matter of ſuch mighty Moment, to mention, or omit, the Name of a Man who was no more, as to quarrel about it. This was treating as a mere Trifle what the Apoſtolic See had made a Term of Communion; and therefore *Gelaſius*, highly diſpleaſed with the Harmony that reigned among thoſe Prelates, in order to interrupt it, and ſet them at Variance, wrote Three long Letters, addreſſed to the Biſhops of the different Provinces of *Eaſt Illyricum*. The main Purpoſe of theſe Letters was, to juſtify the Conduct of his Predeceſſor, and his own, with reſpect to *Acacius*; to convince the Biſhops in thoſe Parts, and the other Eccleſiaſtics, as well as Laity (for to them too he deſired his Letters might be read), that to keep the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, or leave it out, was not, as they ſeemed to imagine, a Thing of little or no Concern, but a Matter of the laſt Importance; and to exhort thoſe who left it out, not to communicate with ſuch as kept it in, but to look upon them as Enemies to the Church, and Rebels to St. *Peter*, on pain of being themſelves looked upon as ſuch by the Apoſtolic See [q]; which was obliging them to quarrel either among themſelves, or with him. They ſeem to have choſen the latter; for they continued united among themſelves, notwithſtanding the great Pains *Gelaſius* took to divide them. In one of theſe Letters, that to the Biſhops of *Dalmatia*, dated the Firſt of *February* 495. he ſtrives to ſatisfy ſome of thoſe Prelates, who, it ſeems, thought it ſtrange, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have condemned a Biſhop of the Imperial City, without the Concurrence of an Oecumenical Council. He repeats there the ſame frivolous Reaſon which he had alleged in his general Letter to the *Greeks*, and in that to *Euphemius*; and, greatly piqued at their calling the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* Biſhop of the Imperial City, he moſt inſolently ſtyles him a pitiful Suffragan of *Heraclea*, as if the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had not the ſame Title to the Rank he then held, as the Biſhop of *Rome* had

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Gelaſius *writes to the Biſhops of* Eaſt Illyricum.

And ſtrives to ſet them at variance.

He writes to the Biſhops of Dardania.

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[q] Concil. ibid. p. 1167---1197.

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to his; all Bishops being originally, as I have often shewn, on the same Level.

Misenus of Cumæ absolved, and restored to his Rank.

These were the last Letters *Gelasius* wrote concerning *Acacius*. He held indeed a Council this Year at *Rome*, consisting of Forty-six Bishops. But the Acts of that Council have not reached our Times; and all we know concerning it is, that, with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops who composed it, *Misenus* of *Cumæ*, formerly deposed for communicating with *Acacius* [r], was readmitted to the Communion of the Church, restored to his Rank, and reinstated in his See. On this Occasion the Pope gave a remarkable Instance of his mortal Aversion to the *Greeks*; for, before he would grant the wished-for Pardon to the penitent Bishop, he required him solemnly to protest and declare, in the Presence of the Council, that he *condemned, anathematized, abhorred, and for ever execrated*, Dioscorus, Ælurus, Petrus Mongus, Petrus Fullo, Acacius, *all their Successors, Accomplices, Abetters, and all who communicated with them* [s]. This was cursing at once the better Half of the Church, the Emperor himself, and, what is more, many Persons at this very time eminent in the East for their Sanctity; *viz.* St. *Sabas*, St. *Theodosius*, St. *Elias* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, St. *Daniel Stylites*, the *Thaumaturgus* of his Age, *&c.* These all flourished at this very time, had all communicated with *Acacius*, lived in the Communion of his Successors, died out of the Communion, nay, under the Curse of *Rome*, and yet (strange Inconsistency of that Church!) they are now honoured by her as Saints of the First Rate, and invoked by the Successors of those by whom they were cursed.

Upon what Terms.

Inconsistency of the Church of Rome.

The Pope alleges a new Reason why the Name of Acacius *should be omitted.*

The Pope made a long Speech to the Bishops of the present Assembly, before the Sentence of Absolution was pronounced in favour of *Misenus*; and on that Occasion he alleged a new Reason, why he could not suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be kept in the Diptychs; *viz.* because that would be absolving him after his Death; which, he says, it was not within the Compass of his Power and Authority to do [t]. By whose Power and Authority then were the above-mentioned Saints, who died under the same Sentence with *Acacius*, not only absolved, but canonized, after their Death? To have inserted the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, when he was no more, had been certainly absolving him after his Death. But it is quite surpri-

[r] See above, p. 198. [s] Concil. ibid. p. 1270, 1271. [t] Ibid. p. 1274.

sing,

ſing, that *Gelaſius* ſhould pretend to have no ſuch Power; ſince it was, long before his Time, the common Practice of the Church to replace in the Diptychs the Names of thoſe, whom, upon any new Diſcovery after their Death, they found to have been undeſervedly condemned, and to ſtrike out the Names of ſuch as they found to have been undeſervedly abſolved. This was the uſual Way of condemning the Guilty, and abſolving the Innocent, after their Death, of cutting off the former from, and reſtoring the latter to, the Communion of the Church. Thus Pope *Innocent*, one of the Predeceſſors of *Gelaſius*, peremptorily inſiſted on the Name of *Chryſoſtom* being inſerted in the Diptychs after his Death; and had not *Atticus*, then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, yielded at laſt, the keeping a Name out had been attended with a no leſs fatal Diviſion in the Church, than that, which we have ſeen occaſioned by the keeping a Name in [t]. For *Innocent* was no leſs obſtinate than *Gelaſius*; and indeed it was a Maxim with them all never to yield.

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No leſs frivolous than the reſt.

The following Year 496. *Gelaſius* died, and is ſaid to have been buried in the Church of St. *Peter* [u]. His Death happened in the 5th Year of his Pontificate, having governed Four Years, Seven, Eight, or Nine Months, and ſome Days [w]. As his Life was, we may ſay, a conſtant Warfare for the Dignity of his See; as he maintained, with an inflexible Obſtinacy, what his Predeceſſor had done, *with an unſhaken Firmneſs and Obſtinacy*, ſays *Baronius*, I need not tell the Reader, that he has been diſtinguiſhed with the ſame Honours, and is now worſhiped as a Saint. He wrote ſeveral Letters beſides thoſe I have mentioned; but they only relate to ſome particular Points of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and contain nothing that is either material, or new. In his Time the Sect of the *Manichees* began anew to ſpring up in *Rome*, notwithſtanding the Pains *Leo* had taken to root it out [x]. They believed Wine to be the Gall of the Prince of Darkneſs, as I have obſerved elſewhere [y]; and therefore received the Euchariſt in one kind only, as the *Roman* Catholics do now, in Compliance with the Decrees of *Conſtance* and *Trent*. But that Practice *Gelaſius* condemned in the ſtrongeſt Terms, ordering ſuch, as did not receive in both kinds, to be excluded from both, BECAUSE ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT BE DIVIDED WITHOUT GREAT SACRI-

Gelaſius *dies.* Year of Chriſt 496.

And is ſainted.

His Writings.

He condemns Communion in one kind only.

[t] See Vol. I. p. 311, 312. Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 1.
[u] Vide Bolland. Apr. t. 4. p. 34.
[x] See above, p. 19, et ſeq.
[w] Bolland. ibid.
[y] Ibid.

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LEGE [z]. Either *Gelaſius* was guilty of a great Hereſy, or the Church of *Rome* is now guilty of a great Sacrilege. We ſhall ſee hereafter the Doctrine, advanced by *Gelaſius*, to have been, for the Space of 1200 Years, the Doctrine of the whole Catholic Church, however repugnant to that which is now practiſed and taught by the *Romiſh* Church; and conſequently, if *Gelaſius* was guilty of Hereſy, the whole Catholic Church to have been, for ſo many Centuries, guilty of Hereſy too. But that Decree, ſays Cardinal *Bona* [a], was made againſt the *Manichees*. And what matters it againſt whom it was made, ſo long as it is there declared, in general Terms, without any Reſtriction or Limitation, That *the Sacrament cannot be divided, that it cannot be received in one Kind only, without Sacrilege?*

His Treatiſe on the Anathema.

Beſides the Letters of *Gelaſius*, Four Tracts, or ſmall Treatiſes, compoſed by him at different Times, are ſtill extant. The firſt is on the *Bond* or *Tie* of the *Anathema (de Anathematis vinculo)*. This Piece is imperfect, extremely confuſed, and hardly intelligible; but ſeems to have been written to juſtify, or rather explain, an Expreſſion in the Sentence pronounced by his Predeceſſor againſt *Acacius, viz.* That *he never ſhould, nor ever could, be abſolved from that Anathema*, there being no Bond that may not be looſened by the Power of the Keys. But his Explanation is as unintelligible as the Expreſſion itſelf. In this Treatiſe he obſerves, that antiently the Royalty and Prieſthood were often united in one and the ſame Perſon among the *Jews* as well as the *Gentiles*; but that, ſince the Coming of Chriſt, theſe Two Dignities, and the different Powers that attend them, have been veſted in different Perſons; and from thence he concludes, that neither ought to encroach on the other; but that the temporal Power ſhould be left intire to the Princes, and the ſpiritual to the Prieſts, it being no leſs foreign to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, for a Prieſt to uſurp the Functions of Sovereignty, than it is for a Sovereign to uſurp thoſe of the Prieſthood. Let *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* reconcile, if they can, the Maxims of *Gelaſius* with thoſe of his Succeſſors.

The Temporal ought not to encroach on the Spiritual, nor the Spiritual on the Temporal Power.

His Treatiſe againſt the Lupercalia, *which he had ſuppreſſed.*

The ſecond Treatiſe is a kind of Remonſtrance againſt a *Roman* Senator, named *Andromachus*, and others, who were for reſtoring the *Lupercalia*, or Feaſts celebrated by the Pagan *Romans* in Honour of their God *Pan*. That Solemnity, lewd and ſcandalous as it was,

[z] Gelaſ. ap. Gratian. de conſecrat. diſt. 2. c. 12. [a] Bona rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19.

the

the Popes had ſuffered to be kept yearly under their Eyes, till the Time of *Gelaſius*. He ſuppreſſed it; but the City proving that Year very ſickly, the *Romans*, who, it ſeems, were yet but half Chriſtians, and had only grafted the Chriſtian Religion on the old Stock of *Pagan* Superſtition, aſcribed the Maladies, with which they were afflicted, to the Suppreſſion of that Feſtival; and it was to confute this Notion, that *Gelaſius* wrote the preſent Treatiſe. The Feaſt of the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, commonly known by the Name of *Candlemaſs*, becauſe Candles were bleſſed, as is ſtill practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, at the Maſs of that Day (C), is thought by ſome to have been introduced in the room of the *Lupercalia* [c], which were kept on the ſame Day. It is true there is no Conformity between the Ceremonies of the Two Feſtivals, as ſome have obſerved. But it is likewiſe true, that though the heatheniſh Rites were, generally ſpeaking, retained almoſt intire in the Chriſtian Feaſts, and only ſanctified by a Change of the Object, as the Statues were by a Change of the Name; yet ſometimes it happened, that, in the room of the Pagan, a Chriſtian Superſtition was introduced, intirely different from the Pagan; the People only wanting to riot and revel, no Matter in Honour of whom, or with what Ceremonies, as their Pagan Anceſtors had had done, and at the ſame ſtated Times and Seaſons of the Year.

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The Feaſt of the Purification, ſaid to have been introduced in their room.

The Third Treatiſe was compoſed by *Gelaſius*, to confute the Doctrine of the *Pelagians*, that a Man may live free from all Sin.

But of all the Writings of this Pope, that which he publiſhed *of the Two Natures*, againſt *Eutyches* and *Neſtorius*, is by far the moſt eſteemed. It is called, by a contemporary Writer, of no mean Character, an excellent Performance (D); and is often quoted by the

His Treatiſe of the Two Natures.

[c] Vide St. Elig. Serm. Hanſchen. ad diem 2 Feb.

(C) The Candles, that are bleſſed on *Candlemaſs-Day*, are thought to be a ſure Protection againſt Thunder and Lightning, and therefore are lighted by timorous Perſons in ſtormy Weather. But their chief Virtue is to frighten the Devils, and drive them away; and for this Reaſon they are kept burning in the Hands of dying Perſons, ſo long as they can hold them, and by their Beds, from the Time they begin to be in Agony, till they expire; none of the Spirits of Darkneſs daring to appear where they give Light. To this Practice the *Italian* Proverb, *ridotto alla Candela*, *reduced to the Candle*, owes its Riſe; and is uſed to expreſs the greateſt Diſtreſs a Man can be reduced to.

(D) *Gennadius*, a Presbyter of *Marſeilles*, who flouriſhed at this very time, and wrote ſeveral Books, of which he has given us himſelf the Catalogue. *I have written*, ſays he, *Eight Books againſt all Hereſies*, *Six againſt* Neſtorius, *Three againſt* Pelagius, *a Treatiſe of the Thouſand Years*, *and the Revelation of St.* John, *the preſent Treatiſe*, that is, of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, *and one declaring my own Doctrine*, *addreſſed to Pope* Gelaſius (1). But, of all his Works, only the Two laſt have reached our Times.

(1) Gennad. de Script. Eccleſ. c. 14.

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Authors of the following Ages. In this Treatise, so much extolled and commended by all the Antients, is a Passage which shews undeniably, that, in those Days, the Church was yet utterly unacquainted with the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, at least, that *Gelasius* was. For the right Understanding of a Passage so favourable to the Protestant Doctrine, I must premise, that the *Eutychians* were supposed to believe the human Nature in Christ to have been, by its Union with the Divinity, absorbed by, and transformed into, the Divinity; so that Christ could not be said to have Two Natures, after the Union. Against these *Gelasius* undertakes to prove the Reality of the Two Natures in Christ, notwithstanding that Union; and argues thus: *The Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we receive, are certainly a divine Thing; and by them we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature; but yet* THE SUBSTANCE OR NATURE OF BREAD AND WINE DO NOT CEASE TO BE IN THEM. *Indeed the* IMAGE *and* SIMILITUDE *of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious Action: we are therefore to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess, celebrate, and take in his* IMAGE, viz. *That, as by the perfecting Virtue of the Holy Ghost the Elements pass into a divine Substance, while their Nature still remains in its own Propriety; so in that principal Mystery* (the Union between the Divine and human Natures), *whose Efficacy and Power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ; and both Natures, of which he consists, remain in their Properties unchangeable* [d]. He must be quite blind, who does not see, that the whole Strength of the Pope's Argument rests upon this, That the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist retain the Nature and Substance of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding their sacramental Union with the Body and Blood of Christ. This he does not prove, but supposes as a Truth, not questioned either by the *Eutychians* or the Catholics, and from thence argues the human Nature in Christ to retain, in the same manner, its own Substance, tho' united with the Divinity. Should we suppose the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist to be changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, this Argument had been of no Force against the *Eutychians*, but might have been by them unanswerably retorted against the Catholics.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation *unknown in his Time.*

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 1199. et Biblioth. Patr. t. 4. p. 422.

This

This Paſſage has abſolutely put the *Roman* Catholic Divines to a Nonplus; and what they have hitherto ſaid, in anſwer to it, ſerves only to ſhew, that it cannot be anſwered. Some of them have attempted to perſuade the World, that the above-mentioned Treatiſe is not the Work of Pope *Gelaſius*, but of another *Gelaſius*, who was a Native of *Cyzicus*, and flouriſhed at this very Time, or of a Third *Gelaſius*, who was Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, in St. *Jerom*'s Time, and whoſe Life they prolong to the Riſe of the *Neſtorian* and *Eutychian* Hereſies, that they may father this Work upon him. But as we know of Two Biſhops, *John* and *Eulogius*, both ſitting in that See after *Gelaſius*, and before either of thoſe Hereſies was heard of, *Baronius* clears *Gelaſius* of *Paleſtine*, and fixes the Charge of writing ſuch a Piece on *Gelaſius* of *Cyzicus* [e]; nay, not ſatisfied with proving, he pretends *unanſwerably to demonſtrate*, the latter *Gelaſius* to have been the Author of that Work, and not his High Pontiff *Gelaſius*. It is not worth the Reader's while to hear the idle Notions, and far-fetched Conjectures, on which the Annaliſt founds his pretended Demonſtration, nor is it worth mine to repeat them. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, in anſwer to all that has been, or can be, ſaid, to prove or *demonſtrate* the preſent Treatiſe not to have been written by Pope *Gelaſius*; 1. That there is an intire Conformity, in point of Style, between this and the other Writings of that Pope, as the learned *Du Pin* ingenuouſly owns [f]. 2. That in all the antient Manuſcripts it is aſcribed to him, and placed among his other Works. 3. That it is ſaid by *Gennadius*, who lived at this very Time, and was well acquainted with the Pope, to have been *compoſed by* Gelaſius *Biſhop of the City of* Rome [g]; and is quoted as his by St. *Fulgentius*, who wrote not Thirty Years after, and is called, by *Du Pin*, an unexceptionable Witneſs [h], by Pope *John* II. and by all the Writers, who, till the Time of *Baronius*, have had Occaſion to mention it. But after all, what is it to the preſent Purpoſe, whether *Gelaſius* of *Paleſtine*, of *Cyzicus*, or of *Rome*, was the Author of this Piece? Whoever he was, he ſpeaks of the Nature and Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remaining in the Euchariſt, as of a known Truth, which no Man diſputed; and therefore could neither have himſelf, nor could he ſuppoſe others to have, any Notion or Idea of *Tranſubſtantiation*. And was *Tranſubſtantiation*, at this very

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Pope Gelaſius *undoubtedly Author of this Piece.*

The Doctrine contained in that Treatiſe, the Doctrine of the Church at that Time.

[e] Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 1, et ſeq. [f] Du Pin, Bibl. Eccleſ. in Gelaſ. [g] Gennad. de ſcript. Eccleſ. c. 14. [h] Du Pin, ubi ſupra.

Time,

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Time, the known Doctrine of the Church, and an Article of the Christian Faith? If it was, how came the Author of a Work, which the Antients have thought worthy of the greatest Commendations, not to know it? How can we account for his being so little acquainted, though otherwise a Man of Learning, with the received Doctrine of the Church, I may say, with his Catechism, as to suppose the Substance of the Bread and Wine to remain, when it was an Article of Faith that it did not remain? Had it in those Days been deemed a Heresy to deny *Transubstantiation*, would the contemporary Writers, who mention that Work, have all commended it, as they do, and not one of them taken the least Notice of the gross Heresy it contained?

Baronius *strives to reconcile the Doctrine of* Gelasius *with the present Doctrine of the Church of* Rome.

Baronius, having by a long, tedious, and senseless Digression, attempted to prove that Treatise to have been written by *Gelasius* of *Cyzicus*, and not by the Pope of that Name, though ascribed to him by all the contemporary Writers, undertakes, in the second Place, to shew, that nothing is there contained inconsistent with the Catholic Doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, nothing that can give the least Countenance to the opposite Heresy, and, consequently, that he might safely allow that Piece to be the genuine Work of the *Roman* Pontiff *Gelasius*. If so, he has surely taken a great deal of Trouble and Pains to very little Purpose. But to as little Purpose does he labour to reconcile the Doctrine laid down in that Treatise; *viz.* That, *in the Eucharist, the Substance or Nature of the Bread and the Wine is not changed, but remains*; with the present Doctrine of his Church, *In the Eucharist the Substance or Nature of the Bread and the Wine is changed, and does not remain.* But what he says on that Head, I shall give in his own Words, that I may not be thought to have misrepresented his Meaning, with a Design to expose him. *It is true*, says he, *that the Pope, if we allow, as we may, that Work to be his, owns the Substance of the Bread and the Wine to remain in the Eucharist. . . . . But what did he mean here by the Substance or Nature of Bread and Wine? Not what these Words truly and properly import. For he has declared, in this very Treatise, that he does not pique himself upon the Propriety of Words. . . . By the Substance therefore of Bread and Wine, he only could, and without all doubt did, mean the Species or Accidents of Bread and Wine*, that is, the Colour, Taste, Shape, Quantity. *These indeed are really distinguished from the Substance; but*

How absurdly.

he

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he choſe to expreſs them by that Word, the School-Word Species *or* Accidents, *by which they are properly expreſſed, not being yet adopted by the Church.* Thus *Baronius* [h]; and his Anſwer may, in a few Words, be reduced to this, that Gelaſius *ſaid one thing, and meant another.* However, the Annaliſt is ſo well pleaſed with it, as to call it, with his uſual Modeſty, a *plain Demonſtration, an unanſwerable Reply to the babbling and blaſpheming Heretics.* Indeed I ſhall not preſume to anſwer it; but cannot help blaming him for not giving us ſome certain Rule, whereby to judge of a Man's true Meaning, ſince it may not, according to him, be always conveyed to us by his Words, however plain and explicit. Without ſuch a Rule, we may queſtion the Definitions both of the Popes and the Councils, nay, and maintain, in ſpite of all their Decrees, the Doctrine diametrically oppoſite to that, which they ſeem to have eſtabliſhed by their Definitions and Decrees, however worded.

Bellarmine's *Anſwer.*

Bellarmine's Anſwer is, in other Words, the ſame with that of *Baronius.* For, according to him, *Gelaſius*, by ſaying that the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained, meant no more than that *it remained in Appearance*, or that *it only appeared to remain* [i]. But neither he, nor his Fellow-Champion, ſeem to have been aware, that thus they make the Pope, inſtead of combating the *Eutychians*, againſt whom he writes, ſupply them with an unanſwerable Argument in favour of their Doctrine; *viz.* that as in the Euchariſt the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained indeed in Appearance, but was really and truly changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt; ſo, in the Myſtery of the Incarnation, the human Nature of Chriſt remained indeed in Appearance, but was really and truly abſorbed and changed into the Divinity. Cardinal *Alan*, more ingenuous than either of the other Two Cardinals, candidly owns it to have been the Opinion of Pope *Gelaſius*, and likewiſe of *Theodoret*, that the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained in the Euchariſt. He calls it indeed an erroneous Opinion, chuſing rather to charge the Pope with an Error, than the Church, ſince he could, by no means, reconcile ſuch oppoſite Doctrines [k]. But *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* were bound to maintain the Infallibility both of the Pope and the Church, and therefore attempted, with the Succeſs we have ſeen, to reconcile them,

Cardinal Alan *owns the Pope, and likewiſe* Theodoret, *to have denied Tranſubſtantiation.*

[h] Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 2, 3, & ſeq. [i] Bell. de Euch. l. 2. c. 27. [k] Card. Alan. de Euch. Sacrament. l. 1. c. 35.

in

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in spite of all Contradiction. The Passage in *Theodoret*, to which Cardinal *Alan* alludes, was, no doubt, the following: *After Sanctification*, he speaks of the Eucharist, *the mystical Symbols do not depart from their own Nature; but* REMAIN *still in their* FORMER SUBSTANCE, *and Figure, and Form, and may be seen and touched just as before*[l]. This Passage *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* explain in the same Manner as they have done that of *Gelasius*; *viz.* that by *the Substance Theodoret* meant Things very different from the Substance, the Accidents; that he spoke improperly, though he has no-where declared, that *he does not pique himself upon the Propriety of Words*; in short, that he said one Thing, and meant another. But I should be glad to know in what other Terms *Gelasius* and *Theodoret* could have expressed themselves, had they really believed, that *the Symbols remained in their Substance.*

Gelasius's *Decree concerning the Canonical Books of the Scripture.*

To the other Writings of *Gelasius* we may add the Decree which he published concerning the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the Scripture, and the Primacy of the *Roman* See. For that Decree was drawn up by him, and only approved by the Council that was held at *Rome* in 494. and consisted of Seventy Bishops. He there places among the Canonical Books those which we reject as Apocryphal, and which the Church rejected in St. *Jerom*'s Time[m]. He mentions but one Book of the *Maccabees*, and that he makes Canonical, as his Predecessor *Innocent* had done. But both these Books were afterwards declared Apocryphal by Pope *Gregory the Great*[n]; and such they were deemed by many learned Men among the *Roman* Catholics themselves, till they were anew declared Canonical by the Council of *Trent*, probably *because they are of great Force against Heretics, Purgatory being no-where so expresly mentioned as in the* Maccabees; which is the Reason a *Roman* Catholic Writer has given why they ought to be admitted into the Canon[o].

Changes the Foundation on which the Primacy *had hitherto stood.*

As to the Primacy of the *Roman* See, it was now high Time for the Popes to think of changing the Foundation on which it had hitherto stood, the Dignity of the Imperial City, and the Decrees of Councils. The City of *Constantinople* was now superior in Dignity to that of *Rome*. It was the sole Imperial City in the whole Christian World; and *Rome* only the Metropolis of a small Kingdom, the Kingdom of *Italy*. The Councils had all founded the Pre-eminence,

[l] Theod. Dial. 1. t. 4. p. 17. [m] Hier. in Prolog. Gal. [n] Greg. Moral. in Job. l. 19. c. 17. [o] Jul. Rieger. de Lib. Canon. p. 80.

Honours,

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Honours, and Privileges granted by them to the See of *Rome*, on the Dignity of the City, and the Regard and Reſpect that was due to the Metropolis and Seat of the Empire [p]. That Foundation was now withdrawn; and *Gelaſius* did not know but as Two Oecumenical Councils (of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon*) had placed the Rival See next in Dignity to the See of *Rome*, a Third might, upon the ſame Principle, raiſe it even above the See of *Rome*, as it had been already raiſed above thoſe of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. To prevent this, and lay a new Foundation, that could not be removed, as being independent of Councils, and at the ſame time might ſupport the Primacy, whatever became of the City, he enacted the preſent Decree, boldly declaring, as if all Records had been deſtroyed, and Men knew nothing of what had happened but a few Years before, *That it was not to any Councils, or the Decrees of any, that the Holy* Roman *Catholic and Apoſtolic Church owed her Primacy, but to the Words of our Saviour, ſaying in the Goſpel,* Thou art *Peter*, &c. *and thereby building the Church upon him, as upon a Rock that nothing could ſhake; that the* Roman *Church, not having Spot or Wrinkle, was conſecrated, and exalted above all other Churches, by the Preſence, as well as by the Death, Martyrdom, and glorious Triumph, of the Two chief Apoſtles, St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *who ſuffered at* Rome *under* Nero, *not at different Times, as the Heretics ſay, but at the ſame Time, and on the ſame Day; and that the* Roman *Church is the Firſt Church, becauſe founded by the Firſt Apoſtle, the Church of* Alexandria *the Second, becauſe founded by his Diſciple St.* Mark *in his Name, and that of* Antioch *the Third, becauſe St.* Peter *dwelt there before he came to* Rome, *and in that City the Faithful were firſt diſtinguiſhed with the Name of Chriſtians* [q].

That the Sees were ranked according to the Dignity of the Cities, without any kind of Regard to their Founders, has been unanſwerably demonſtrated in ſeveral Places of this Work [r]; and no Truth (if in Hiſtory there is any Truth) can be beter atteſted. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, with reſpect to the preſent remarkable Decree, I. That the Fathers are greatly divided among themſelves about the true Meaning of the Paſſage, *Thou art* Peter, *&c.* on which *Gelaſius* pretends to found the *Primacy*, and the Divines of the Church of *Rome* the *Supremacy*, of the *Roman* See. Some of the Fathers, by

The Paſſage Thou art *Peter*, &c. *has no kind of Connexion with the Primacy.*

[p] See above, p. 80. [q] Concil. t. 4. p. 1260. [r] See Vol. I. p. 104, & ſeq. & ſupra, p. 79, 80.

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the *Rock*, on which the Church was to be built, understand St. *Peter*'s Faith, and not his Person; others neither his Faith nor his Person, but Christ himself; and some the other Apostles, as well as St. *Peter*, who are therefore in Scripture all called Foundations. In the first Sense, that Passage is interpreted by St. *Hilarius*, St. *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Austin*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, nay, and by some of the Popes themselves, *viz. Gregory the Great*, *Felix* III. *Nicholas* I. and *John* VIII [s]. And truly this Interpretation seems the most natural. St. *Peter* had said before, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*; our Saviour answered, *Thou art* Peter, *and on this Rock*, on this Faith, of which thou hast now made Profession, *I will build my Church*, &c. However, St. *Jerom* understood that Passage in the second Sense; and *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Basil*, and *Theodoret*, in the third. But in none of these Senses has it, as is evident, any kind of Connexion either with the *Primacy* or the *Supremacy* of St. *Peter*, and his pretended See.

Not certain that St. Peter *and St.* Paul *suffered in the same Year.*

II. In that Decree *Gelasius* brands those with the Name of Heretics, who pretended St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* to have suffered at different Times. Was this a Matter of such mighty Moment as to be made an Article of Faith? But that they did suffer at different Times, tho' on the same Day; that St. *Peter* suffered a Year before St. *Paul*; was the Opinion not only of *Prudentius* [t], *Strator* [u], and St. *Nilus* [w], but of St. *Austin*, nay, and a common Tradition, in his Time [x].

Gelasius *takes no Notice of St.* Peter*'s having founded the See of* Antioch; *and why.*

III. It is remarkable that *Gelasius*, in ranking, as he does, the Three Patriarchal Sees, according to the Relation they had to St. *Peter*, takes no Notice of that Apostle's having founded the See of *Antioch*; though that it was founded by him; nay, that he sate at *Antioch* several Years, was an Opinion so universally received at this very Time, that it had been deemed a kind of Heresy to dispute it (D). But that the Pope craftily dissembled for the present, contenting

[s] See Barrow, Pope's Suprem. p. 86, 87. Du Pin, dissert. 4. p. 304—313. [t] Prud. de mart. 12. p. 144. [u] Strat. l. 2. p. 700. [w] Phot. c. 276. [x] Aug. serm. 296. c. 7.

(D) St. *Chrysostom* writes, that St. *Peter* continued at *Antioch* a *long time* (1). That *long time* Pope *Gregory the Great* fixed to Seven Years (2); and it is now the prevailing Opinion in the Church of *Rome*, that St. *Peter* governed the Church

(1) Chrys. t. 1. hom. 42. (2) Greg. l. 6. ep. 37.

of

tenting himſelf with only ſaying, that St. *Peter dwelt* at *Antioch* before he came to *Rome*, and alleging that as a Reaſon why the See of *Antioch* was the Third in Rank and Dignity. Had he owned it to have been founded by St. *Peter*, he could have given no Reaſon, without recurring to the Dignity of the Cities, why it was placed, though founded by that Apoſtle himſelf, after the See of *Alexandria*, founded only by a Diſciple of his. Of this he ſeems to have been well aware, and therefore to have induſtriouſly avoided all Mention of the Founder of that See, as if it had been *conſecrated*, and raiſed to the Third Rank, only by the Preſence of St. *Peter*. Beſides, had he here made St. *Peter* the Founder of the See of *Antioch*, his Method of Reaſoning had appeared as abſurd as it really was; for he had then reaſoned thus: The See of *Rome* is the Firſt, becauſe founded by St *Peter*, and conſecrated by the Preſence and the Death of that Apoſtle; the Sea of *Alexandria* is the Second, becauſe founded by a Diſciple of St. *Peter*, and in St. *Peter*'s Name, as he pretends, without any Warrant; and that of *Antioch*, the Third, becauſe founded, not by a Diſciple of St. *Peter*, but by St. *Peter* himſelf, and conſecrated by his ſitting ſeveral Years there. Year of Chriſt 496.

of *Antioch* Seven Years, and the *Roman* Twenty-five, or, as ſome will have it, only Twenty-four Years, Five Months, and Twelve Days (3). The Computation had been ſtill more minute and exact, had they added to the Number of the Days that of the Hours; and they might have done the one as well as the other. To confirm the prevailing Opinion, eſpecially as it owes its Riſe to a great Pope, *Euſebius* has been made to write, in his Chronicle, That *St.* Peter *ſate at* Antioch *Seven Years, and from thence travelled to* Rome, *where he reſided Five and Twenty.* I ſay, *made to write*; for that Paſſage has been long looked upon, by all unprejudiced Men, as an Interpolation; and was therefore left out by *Scaliger*, in his *Greek* Edition of *Euſebius* (4), as abſolutely inconſiſtent with Chronology, and contradicting what the ſame Author writes in his Hiſtory, at leaſt, with reſpect to the Time St. *Peter* is ſaid to have reſided at *Rome*. For he there tells us, that St. *Peter*, *having preached the Goſpeel in* Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c. *at laſt*, or *in the End, being at* Rome, *he was there put to Death* (5). Whether he would have thus expreſſed himſelf, had he believed St. *Peter* to have reſided Five and Twenty Years at *Rome*, I leave the Reader to judge. No Pope has yet attained to the ſuppoſed Years of Pope *Peter*; and if we credit the Prophecy of an unknown Prophet, *non videbis annos Petri*, none ever will. *Adrian*, choſen in 772. was, I think, the neareſt, in Years, to St. *Peter*. For he ſate Twenty-three Years, Ten Months, and Seventeen Days. In our Time *Clement* XI. held the Papal Dignity Twenty Years, Three Months, and Twenty-ſix Days; and, in the laſt Years of his Life, that he might not yet be under any Apprehenſion from the Prophecy, it began to be interpreted as including the Seven Years St. *Peter* had ſate at *Antioch*, as well as the Twenty-five he had ſate at *Rome*. The Church of *Rome* celebrates the Feſtival of St. *Peter*'s Chair, at *Antioch*, on the 22d of *February*. But I have ſhewn elſewhere (6), that St. *Peter* was never Biſhop of *Antioch*.

(3) Panvin. in chron. Rom. Pont. et alii. (4) Lug. Bat. 1606. (5) Euſeb. hiſt. l. 3. c. 1. (6) Vol. I. p. 382. in the Notes.

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Gelasius is said to have written some other Tracts, on different Subjects [y]; but none of his Works are now extant, besides those I have mentioned, and a *Sacramentarium*, which passes under his Name, and was printed at *Rome*, in 1680. from a Manuscript, thought then to be 900 Years old. His Style is elevated, but obscure, and in some Places absolutely unintelligible. In his Writings is a great deal of false Reasoning, as *Du Pin* has observed [z]; and he often supposes, for certain, what is absolutely groundless, or very ill-grounded.

ANASTASIUS.

ANASTASIUS II.

Fifty-first BISHOP *of* Rome.

Anastasius. *chosen.*

IN the room of *Gelasius* was unanimously chosen *Anastasius*, the Second of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a *Roman* Citizen, named *Peter* [a]; which is all we know of him before his Election. He was ordained on the 28th of *November*, as some pretend, or the 25th of *December*, as others will have it. At this Time reigned a profound Tranquillity in the Western or *Latin* Church, the Western Provinces being, for the most part, subject to *Arian* Princes, who did not concern themselves about the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the Doctrine of the Two Natures. But, in the East the Emperor *Anastasius* had openly declared against that Council ever since the Year 494. and spared no Pains to gain over to his Party such of the Bishops as still stood up in Defence of its famous, or, as he stiled it, unintelligible Decree. *Palladius* of *Antioch*, and *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, readily joined him, anathematizing the Doctrine of Two Natures, and, with the Doctrine, those who had defined it, and all who held it. But *Euphemius* of *Constantinople*, who was at the Head of the Catholic Party, as they styled themselves, could neither be allured by Promises, nor awed by Threats, into a Compliance with the Emperor's Will. Since all other Means therefore proved ineffectual, the Death of the obstinate and refractory Priest, as they called him at Court, was resolved on at last; and a

The Western Churches enjoy a profound Tranquillity.

In the East the Emperor declares against the Council of Chalcedon.

[y] Gennad. de Scrip. Eccl. c. 14. Bolland. t. 1. p. 35.

[z] Du Pin, ubi supra.

[a] Marcell. chron.

Person

Perſon was hired, with a large Sum, to murder him. The Aſſaſſin firſt met him at the Door of the Veſtry; and there, tho' he was attended by others, diſcharged a Blow at his Head with a Scymetar. But the Defender of the Church, who was taller than the Biſhop, received the Blow on his Head; and, in the mean time, an Eccleſiaſtic, with the Bolt of the Door, the firſt thing that offered, laid the Aſſaſſin dead at his Feet [b]. Another Attempt was made on the Biſhop's Life, on Occaſion of his going to officiate in a Church on the neighbouring Mountain. But the Aſſaſſins miſſing their Blow a ſecond Time, the Emperor reſolved to diſcharge them, and employ the Biſhops of the oppoſite Party, in their room, promiſing himſelf better Succeſs from them, in the Temper they were in at that Time, than from any Aſſaſſins he could hire. And they anſwered his Expectation; for he having aſſembled in Council all the Biſhops, who were then in *Conſtantinople*, and charged *Euphemius*, before them, with ſeveral Crimes, they declared him, without any farther Examination or Inquiry, unworthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and depoſed him accordingly. This Sentence occaſioned an Inſurrection; but the Populace, having no *Stylites* to head or encourage them, were ſoon quelled, and *Euphemius* was conveyed into Exile, where he died in 515. or, as ſome write, was murdered, by an Order from the Emperor [c]. No Man ever deſerved better of the Catholic Faith than *Euphemius*, if the Faith of *Chalcedon* was the Catholic Faith. Had he to his extraordinary Zeal for that Faith, which coſt him the Loſs of his See, if not of his Life, added the Merit of gratifying the revengeful Spirit of the Popes, by ſtriking the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs, we ſhould now ſee him honoured as a Saint of the firſt Claſs, how prejudicial ſoever his Complaiſance to them might have proved to the Catholic Cauſe. But as he could not be prevailed upon to ſacrifice the Catholic Intereſt in the Eaſt, and at the ſame Time proſtitute his own Conſcience to their Revenge and Ambition, he has not been thought worthy of a Place in the Calendar, either among the Confeſſors or the Martyrs. *Baronius* indeed owns, that his Sufferings intitled him to that Honour; but adds, that, as he did not deſerve, by depoſing *Acacius* after his Death, to be admitted to the Communion of the *Roman* Church, out of which there is no true Confeſſion of Faith, no true Martyrdom, the unhappy Wretch forfeited

Year of Chriſt 496. *And orders* Euphemius, *who ſtood up in Defence of that Council, to be murdered.*

Euphemius *eſcapes; but is condemned and depoſed by a Council.*

His blameleſs Life and Sufferings availed him nothing, in the Opinion of Baronius; *and why.*

[b] Theod. Lect. p. 559. Theoph. p. 119, 120. [c] Theod. Lect. p. 559. Marcell. chron. Concil. t. 4. p. 1413. Surius 11 Decemb. p. 230.

every

Year of Christ 496.

every other Merit, was himself deposed by a just Judgment of God; and though he died in Defence of the true Faith, departed inglorious [d]. Thus does that profane and venal Writer impiously place the chief, or rather the only, Merit and Duty of a good Bishop, in gratifying the Revenge, the Ambition, and the other ungodly Passions of his High Pontiffs. This was, by his own Confession, the only Merit *Euphemius* wanted. He had, but a little before, acknowleged him to have been not only orthodox in his Belief, but the Pillar of the Orthodox Faith, and a most zealous Defender of the Council of *Chalcedon*; nay, and to have been, on that Account, deservedly honoured and revered by all the Orthodox; insomuch that not to communicate with him, was declaring against the Council of *Chalcedon* [e]. But the Want of that Merit no other could supply; and therefore *the unhappy Wretch*, with all his other Merits, *departed inglorious*. But if there is no true Confession of Faith out of the Communion of the *Roman* Church, why did not *Baronius*, in virtue of the Commission or full Power granted him to reform the Calendar, that is, to saint or unsaint whom he pleased, drive from Heaven the Two great Saints *Meletius* and *Flavianus* [f], both Bishops of *Antioch*, and the other Saints I have mentioned above [g], who all died out of the Communion of the *Roman* Church? If *Euphemius* did not deserve a Place in Heaven, they of course ought to have forfeited theirs.

Macedonius is chosen in his room.

In the room of *Euphemius* was chosen, by the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*, *Macedonius*, a Presbyter of that Church, no less zealously attached to the Council of *Chalcedon* than *Euphemius* himself. He did not write to the Pope, as his Predecessor had done, to acquaint him with his Promotion, or to beg his Communion, concluding from the inflexible Obstinacy and haughty Behaviour of the Two last Popes, that it would be in vain for him to attempt a Reconciliation with *Rome*, upon any other Terms but those which they had so peremptorily required, and he was absolutely determined not to grant. But the new Pope was more peaceably inclined than either of his Two immediate Predecessors, and sincerely desirous of putting an End to the present unhappy Division. It grieved him to quarrel about a Matter of so very small Moment, and to live, as it were, in a State of Enmity with Men, who professed the same Faith with

The new Pope desirous of putting an End to the present Disturbances.

[d] Bar. ad ann. 495. n. 21—23. [e] Idem ad ann. 492. n. 7. 9. 26. 46. et ad ann. 489. n. 3. [f] See Vol. I. p. 196. et 221. [g] See p. 224.

him,

him, and ſuffered ſo much to ſupport and maintain it. But, on the other hand, he was unwilling to yield, and at the ſame time ſenſible that they could not, without diſobliging the Emperor, and thereby expoſing both themſelves and their Cauſe to the utmoſt Danger. He reſolved therefore to try, in the firſt Place, whether the Emperor might not be prevailed upon to ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs. With this View he determined, without Loſs of Time, to diſpatch a ſolemn Legation to the Court of *Conſtantinople*; though his Predeceſſor *Gelaſius* had rejected, with great Scorn and Haughtineſs, the Propoſal, made to him by *Euphemius*, of ſending Legates, as if he deſpaired of, or were indifferent about, the Succeſs of their Negotiations. The Perſons he employed on this Occaſion were *Creſconius* of *Todi*, and *Germanus* of *Capua*, both Men of uncommon Parts, and great Moderation. By them he writ a moſt humble, ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Letter to the Emperor, with this Addreſs, *To my moſt glorious and moſt clement Son* Anaſtaſius Auguſtus, *Biſhop* Anaſtaſius. However he takes care, from the very Beginning, to let him know, what it was now of more Importance than ever the Emperors ſhould be all well appriſed of; *viz.* That the *Roman* See held the Firſt Place in the Catholic Church, and held it by *Divine Appointment*, our Lord ſaying to St. *Peter*, *Thou art* Peter, *&c.* Words, which we ſhall hear echoed, after *Gelaſius*, by all the Popes, and on all Occaſions. Throughout the whole Letter he expreſſes a moſt earneſt Deſire of ſeeing Tranquillity reſtored to the Church, in his Days; and as the Name of *Acacius* was the only Subject of the Quarrel between the Two Churches, and the only Obſtruction to the wiſhed for Union, he does not imperiouſly require, as his Predeceſſors had done, but begs, in the moſt humble Terms, it may be omitted, that our Saviour's *Coat, without Seam, woven from the Top throughout*, meaning the Church, may not be rent, for a Matter of ſo very little Moment, for the ſake of a dead Man's Name. He adds, that the *Roman* Church ought not to be blamed for requiring his Name to be expunged, ſince ſhe had condemned him; but that neither the Sentence of the Apoſtolic See, nor any thing elſe, it was in the Power of Men to do, to the Prejudice of his Memory, were undoubted Proofs of his having been guilty before God; that the *Roman* Church, indeed, had condemned him for Crimes as certain as human Evidence could make them; but, after all, that

Year of Chriſt 497.

He ſends Legates into the Eaſt, and writes to the Emperor.

Men

Year of Christ 497.

Men acted as Men, and there was but *One Judgment infallible*, that of God, who searches the Hearts.

He allows the Orders conferred by Acacius *to be valid.*

The *Greeks* apprehended, and it was consonant to Reason they should, that if they acknowleged *Acacius* to have been lawfully deposed, they must of course own the Orders he had conferred, after his Deposition, to be null. For, by the Sentence of *Felix*, he was divested of all Episcopal Power; and not even the Name of Bishop was left him [f]. To remove this Apprehension, which engaged in the Cause of *Acacius* all whom he had ordained, the Pope declares, by the present Letter, the Orders conferred by him, as well as the Sacraments, which he had administred after his Condemnation, to be valid; which was, in effect, reversing the Sentence of his Predecessor, or rather declaring it to have been null, from the Beginning. He expresses all along the greatest Regard and Respect for the Imperial Dignity, never addressing the Emperor, but with the Titles of *Your Highness*, *Your Serenity*, *Your Piety*, *Clemency*, &c. and, opposing to them, when he speaks of himself, *My Lowness*, or *My Obscurity* [g] (A).

The distracted State of the Church of Alexandria.

The Pope does not forget, in his Letter, the distracted State of the Church of *Alexandria*, rent at this Time into Three different Parties or Factions, under the *Eutychian* Bishop *Athanasius*, who had succeeded *Mongus*, in 490. One Party was satisfied with the *Henoticon* alone; another to the *Henoticon* added the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and

[f] See p. 200.

[g] Concil. t. 4. p. 1278—1280.

(A) I cannot help being a little surprised at the mighty Commendations the Pope bestows, in this Letter, on the Emperor's *Divine Wisdom*, for so he styles it, on his exemplary Piety, and extraordinary Zeal for the true Faith; telling him, that, while he was yet a private Man, he had not yielded, as was known by certain Fame, to the best Bishops, in the Observance of the Rules, which the Fathers had prescribed to the Church; and that he did not doubt but the Growth of his Piety had kept pace with that of his Dignity. How can we account for his thus extolling the Wisdom, Piety, and Zeal of a Man, who, at this very Time, was persecuting all who professed the Faith, that was believed at *Rome* to be the only true Faith; who, before his Accession to the Empire, had frequented schismatical Assemblies, and had even raised some Disturbances in the Church, for which *Euphemius* had threatened to cause him to be shaved, that is, to be shut up in a Monastery; and would not consent to his Election till he had promised, upon Oath, to take the Decree of *Chalcedon* for the Rule of his Faith, and given him that Promise, in his own Hand-writing, to be lodged in the Archives of the Church (1)? Was the Pope unacquainted with Transactions, which the whole World knew? Or did he hope by such Commendations to flatter the Emperor into a Compliance with his Request?

(1) Theod. Lect. p. 58. Evagr. l. 3. c. 12. Vict. Tun. in chron.

the Doctrine of the *Two Natures*, while a Third anathematized the *Henoticon*, as well as the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and all, who held either. *Anaſtaſius* therefore earneſtly intreats the Emperor to employ his Wiſdom, his *Divine Admonitions*, and the Authority, with which it has pleaſed God to veſt him, *as his Vicar upon Earth*, in bringing back that Church to the Unity of the Faith [h]. Year of Chriſt 497.

With this Letter, written in a Style ſo very different from that which latter Popes have uſed to the Emperors, and ſo exactly like that they have aſſumed to themſelves, the Legates ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, in the Beginning of the preſent Year 497. and with them *Feſtus* the Patrician, diſpatched by King *Theodoric*, upon ſome Affairs of State, to that Court. On their Arrival at *Conſtantinople* they were all received with particular Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem by the Emperor, who expreſſed great Satisfaction at his finding the new Pope ſo well diſpoſed, and ſo ſincerely inclined to a Reconciliation. However, as he was determined not to ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs, leſt the Biſhops of *Rome* ſhould thence take Occaſion to triumph over thoſe of the Imperial City, he would not hear the Legates on that Subject; but had ſeveral private Conferences with *Feſtus*, whom he found better acquainted with the Pope's real Sentiments, than the Legates themſelves. To him he repreſented, that as it was, by the Pope's own Confeſſion, a Matter of very ſmall Moment, whether the Name of *Acacius* was mentioned or omitted at the Altar, it reflected no ſmall Diſgrace on the Chriſtian Name, to ſee one Half of the Chriſtians divided from, nay, at open Enmity, and declared War with, the other, for what was deemed by both a mere Trifle, while they all owned mutual Charity, and brotherly Love, to be the Foundation of every Virtue, and to have been more warmly recommended than any other Virtue by the divine Founder of the Religion they profeſſed; that it was not the Honour of the See of *Rome*, or of the See of *Conſtantinople*, but of the Chriſtian Religion, that was at Stake; that, not to perpetuate ſo fatal a Diviſion, the one ought to yield to the other, and the only Subject of Contention ſhould be, which ſhould yield the firſt to the other; that, in his Opinion indeed, the *Roman* See ought to yield, ſince by that See the War was begun, and the Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſo deſtructive a War could by no other Means be better

The Legates are well received by the Emperor.

Who chuſes rather to confer with the Patrician Feſtus, *than with them.*

He is for a Reconciliation, but thinks Rome *ought to yield.*

[h] Concil. ibid.

Year of Christ 497.

atoned for. *Festus* seems to have been intirely of the Emperor's Opinion; and therefore, as he was well appriſed of the good Diſpoſition of the Pope, and his ſincere Deſire of Peace, he privately promiſed to perſuade him, on his Return to *Rome*, not only to connive at the Name of *Acacius* being kept in the Diptychs, but even to receive and ſign the *Henoticon* [i]. And indeed, if what is ſaid of this Pope, by the *Bibliothecarian*, be true, *viz.* That, at this very Time, he admitted to his Communion a Deacon of *Theſſalonica*, named *Photinus*, moſt zealouſly attached to the Memory of *Acacius* [k], it is not to be doubted but *Feſtus* would have made his Promiſe good, at leaſt with reſpect to the Name of the Biſhop. I am ſenſible, that the Evidence of the Bibliothecarian ought not to be raſhly admitted. But from the whole Conduct of this good Pope it is manifeſt, that he had nothing ſo much at Heart as to put an End to the preſent Troubles, almoſt upon any Terms; and, on the other hand, it is certain, that the above-mentioned Deacon was diſpatched at this very Time to *Rome*, by *Andrew* of *Theſſalonica*, whom *Gelaſius* had excluded from his Communion, becauſe he would not condemn *Acacius*; and that he was well received by the Pope [l]. *Baronius* himſelf owns this *Aſperſion* to have been caſt on the Memory of the Pope, ſoon after his Deceaſe. He calls it an *Aſperſion*, becauſe it is, according to his Principles, aſperſing a Pope, to ſay, that to heal a Schiſm, and ſave the Church from impending Ruin, he abated, in the leaſt, of the Pretenſions of his See, or departed from the Meaſures, however dangerous or prejudicial, which his Predeceſſors had purſued. Upon the Whole, the *Bibliothecarian* was better informed of this, than he ſeems to have been of moſt other diſtant Tranſactions. And what he adds is highly probable, *viz.* That the Pope had reſolved with himſelf to ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be kept in the Diptychs, if he could by no other means bring back the *Greeks* to the Communion of *Rome* [m]. This Reſolution, however ſecret, he muſt have communicated to *Feſtus*; elſe that Patrician had never made the Promiſe he did to the Emperor. And truly the Pope ſeems to have placed greater Confidence in him than in his own Legates, not caring perhaps to diſcloſe his real Sentiments ſo freely to them as to him, or apprehending that, as they were Biſhops, and conſequently not a little

Feſtus takes upon him to perſuade the Pope to yield, and to receive the Henoticon.

The Pope diſpoſed to yield.

He places greater Confidence in Feſtus *than in his own Legates.*

[i] Theoph. p. 123. Theodor. Lect. p. 560. Niceph. l. 16. [k] Anaſt. Biblioth. in Anaſt. [l] Concil. t. 4. p. 1184. [m] Anaſt. Bib. in Anaſt.

prejudiced,

prejudiced, though the moſt moderate he could chuſe, againſt the See of *Conſtantinople*, and in Favour of the See of *Rome*, they would be more apt to ſtand upon Punctilio than an unprejudiced Layman, and might for the ſake of ſome Trifle, for ſome idle Claim or Pretenſion, obſtruct the great Work, for which they were ſent. It is not to be doubted, but *Feſtus* had a private Commiſſion, and private Inſtructions, from the Pope concerning the preſent important Affair, though Hiſtorians ſpeak of him as only employed by King *Theodoric* in Civil Affairs. For the Emperor, as we have ſeen, choſe to treat with him, and not with the Legates; and the Deputies from the Church of *Alexandria*, in the Memorial, which we ſhall ſoon ſee them preſent to the Legates, name *Feſtus* even before them. Year of Chriſt 497.

The Condeſcenſion of the Pope gives Offence to the Roman *Clergy.*

The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that ſo much Condeſcenſion in the Pope, and particularly his communicating with the *Acacian* Deacon, gave great Offence to the *Roman* Clergy [n]. No one can doubt but it did, moſt of the Eccleſiaſtics of *Rome* being for maintaining, at all Events, the Dignity and Grandeur of a See, in which every low Clerk among them flattered himſelf then, as they all do now, that he ſhould ſit one Day himſelf. But that they ſhould have carried their Reſentment againſt the good Pope to ſuch a Height, as to ſeparate themſelves from his Communion [o], is too remarkable an Event to have eſcaped the Notice of the contemporary Hiſtorians, or to be credited upon the bare Teſtimony of a Writer of the 9th Century, often guilty of great Miſtakes with reſpect to Facts much leſs remote from his own Time.

Deputies ſent from the Church of Alexandria, *to negotiate a Reconciliation with* Rome.

The Arrival of the Legates at *Conſtantinople*, and the peaceable Diſpoſition of the Pope, were no ſooner known at *Alexandria*, than it was determined there, that Deputies ſhould be ſent, in the Name of that Church, to negotiate a Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Perſons employed on this Occaſion were *Dioſcorus* and *Cheremon*, the former a Presbyter, and afterwards Biſhop of that City, and the latter only a Reader. On their Arrival at *Conſtantinople* they preſented a Memorial to *Feſtus*, and the Two Legates, thus addreſſed: *To the moſt Glorious and moſt Excellent Patrician* Feſtus, *and to the Venerable Biſhops* Creſconius *and* Germanus, *ſent, together with him, on a Legation from the City of* Rome *to the moſt Clement and Ami-* Year of Chriſt 498.

[n] Anaſt. ibid. [o] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 498.

The Contents of the Memorial, which they presented to the Legates.

able Emperor, in Christ, Anastasius, Dioscorus *Presbyter, and* Cheremon *Reader,* RESPONSALES, *or Nuncioes, of the venerable Church of* Alexandria. They begin their Memorial with a long Apology, to justify the Conduct of the Church of *Alexandria,* in separating herself from the Communion of *Rome.* This Separation was intirely owing, according to their Account, to a false Translation of Pope *Leo*'s Letter, concerning the Two Natures, done by *Theodoret*, and plainly containing the blasphemous Tenet of the wicked *Nestorius.* From the *Greek* Translation they had judged of the *Latin* Original; and thence concluding the Errors, which the *Nestorian* Translator had inserted, to be the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, they had thereupon separated themselves, as it was their Duty to do, from her Communion. But having been lately informed by the Deacon *Photinus*, that the original Letter, which he had seen at *Rome*, contained nothing but what was intirely agreeable to the Definitions of *Nice*, and that the present Bishop of that City had condemned, in his Presence, the Errors which had given Offence to the Church of *Alexandria*, the said Church, desirous of renewing her Communion with the Catholic Church of the City of *Rome*, had chosen them to negotiate the so long wished for Reconciliation. From this Part of the Memorial it is manifest, as we may observe here, by the way, that the *Egyptians* were utter Strangers to the Infallibility of the Pope, or the *Roman* Church; nay, that the Pope himself was as great a Stranger to that Prerogative as they. For, if he had pretended to be infallible, no Man can imagine, that the *Alexandrians* would have supposed him fallible, as they plainly do, at the very Time they were striving to gain his good Will, and in a Memorial artfully calculated for that Purpose. We know what kind of Reception such a Memorial would meet with now, though nothing was then objected against it by either of the Legates.

Their Confession of Faith.

To the Memorial the Deputies added a Confession of the Faith professed at that Time by the Church of *Alexandria.* In that Confession they received the Definitions of *Nice*, confirmed by the Councils of *Constantinople*, and the first of *Ephesus*; acknowleged the Son of God to be true Man; and ended with anathematizing, according to the Charity that prevailed in those Days, *Eutyches*, and with him all, who held now, or ever had held, in what Place or Council soever, Opinions or Doctrines differing from theirs [p]. The

[p] Concil. t. 4. p. 1283—1285.

Year of Chriſt 498.

Legates were not at all pleaſed with this Confeſſion, no Mention being there made of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and Chriſt being only acknowleged to be true God, and true Man, without any Declaration whether they believed him to be only *of Two Natures*, or both *of and in Two Natures*. However, they received it, ſuch as it was; and promiſed to deliver it to the Pope on their Return to *Rome*. But his Holineſs, they added, will inſiſt on your eraſing the Names of *Dioſcorus*, *Ælurus*, and *Mongus*, out of the Roll of your Biſhops, as a Preliminary to the Peace, for which you are ſuing. The Deputies replied, That, if their Confeſſion of Faith was approved at *Rome*, they would make it appear, that thoſe Three holy Archbiſhops had held that, and no other Faith; and conſequently, that the mentioning or ſuppreſſing their Names depended on the Reception, which that Confeſſion ſhould meet with [q]. It is remarkably ridiculous, that, in the End of their Memorial, they tell the Legates, that they have kept a Copy of it by them, to be produced in Judgment on the laſt Day, ſhould *Rome* neglect to concur with them in reeſtabliſhing the Peace of the Catholic Church.

The Legates not ſatisfied with it, but receive it.

The Legates continued at *Conſtantinople* till the Month of *September* of the preſent Year 498. when they ſet out from that City, together with *Feſtus*, on their Return to *Italy*. But the Pope died before they reached *Rome*; which was a great Diſappointment and Mortification to *Feſtus*, who, depending on his Inclination to Peace, and the Confidence the Pope repoſed in him, had entertained Hopes of ſeeing the antient Harmony ſoon reſtored between the Eaſt and the Weſt, and of being himſelf inſtrumental in ſo great a Work. As *Anaſtaſius* was a Lover of Peace, an Enemy to all Strife and Contention, free from Ambition, now the chief Merit of a Pope, and ready to ſacrifice even the Pretenſions of his See to the Welfare of the Church, I need not tell the Reader, that he has not been thought worthy of a Place in the Calendar. And it muſt be owned, the Church could not, without the greateſt Inconſiſtency, have conferred the Honour of Saintſhip upon him, after ſhe had beſtowed it on his Two immediate Predeceſſors *Gelaſius* and *Felix*. For, if it was deemed meritorious in them to have kindled the Flame of Diſcord by a haughty Behaviour, his ſtriving, by a quite contrary Conduct, to extinguiſh that Flame, could not be thought meritorious in him.

The Pope dies before the Return of his Legates.

Why he has not been ſainted.

[q] Ibid.

Some,

Year of Christ 498.

Aspersions cast on his Memory.

Some, and the *Bibliothecarian*, with his Transcriber *Platina*, among the rest, have even endeavoured to blacken his Character, and asperse his Memory, as if he had been cut off by a sudden Death (E), which they style a just Judgment, that he might not have Time to put in Execution the wicked Design he had formed, to the irreparable Prejudice of the Catholic Faith. To read those Authors, one would think, that this good Pope was the most wicked of Men; that he designed nothing less than utterly to extirpate the Christian Religion; and, by turning *Manichee*, or embracing some other detestable Sect, introduce all their Abominations into the Church. But the wicked Design he had formed is reduced, in the End, to this; That he had determined to suffer the Name of *Acacius* to stand among the Names of other Bishops, if he could by no other means heal the Divisions, which had prevailed so long among the Christian Bishops. One would hardly think Men indued with the least Share of common Sense, or in the least acquainted with the Doctrine of the Gospel, capable of entertaining such absurd and antichristian Notions. However, *Baronius* seems to fall in with them, and to think, that *Anastasius* was cut off in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, lest he should, by an unseasonable Condescension, and a mistaken Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, have defeated the Measures, which his Predecessors had so steadily pursued [s]; that is, lest it should ever be said, that a Pope had yielded, and, by a Christian Condescension, repaired the Mischief which his Predecessors had done. *Anastasius* enjoyed the Pontificate, as *Baronius* observes, a very short time. But had he only cast his Eye on the Catalogue of the Popes, he would have found many there, Threescore at least, who did not enjoy it so long as he, and some of them intirely answering the Character, which the Annalist seems to have drawn to himself, of a good Pope. And might not we with better Reason construe their Death into a Judgment for their Pride and Presumption, than he does that of *Anastasius* for his Christian Condescension and Moderation? But, after all, I will not take upon me to justify the Conduct of *Anasta-*

His Death, not a Judgment.

He is not free from all Blame.

[s] Bar. ad ann. 497. n. 28.

(E) *Ferunt divino nutu hominem subito morbo correptum interiisse. Sunt qui dicant eum in latrinam effudisse intestina, dum necessitati naturæ obtemperat*; says *Platina*, speaking of the Death of this Pope (1).

(1) Plat. in Anast.

sius

ſius in every reſpect, and clear him from all kind of Blame. In his Letter to the Emperor, he owned it to be a Matter of very ſmall Moment, a mere Trifle, whether the Name of *Acacius* was omitted, or mentioned. Why then did he require it at all to be omitted? Why did he delay concluding an Affair of the utmoſt Importance for the ſake of a Trifle? Year of Chriſt 498.

As to the Writings of *Anaſtaſius*, beſides the Letter he writ to the Emperor, which I have mentioned above, there is one from him to *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*, congratulating that Prince on his Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion. For *Clovis*, the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Franks*, was baptized on Chriſtmas-day 496. the very Day, according to ſome, on which the Pope was ordained [t]. But neither the Pope nor the Church had great Reaſon to be proud of the new Convert. He changed his Religion, not his Manners; or, if he changed his Manners, it was for the worſe, having been guilty of far more enormous Crimes, of more cruel, treacherous, and unnatural Murders, after his Converſion, than he had ever committed while he was ſtill a Pagan. But he was a zealous Catholic, built ſome Churches, preſented St. *Peter* with a Crown of Gold enriched with precious Stones; and therefore has been highly commended, even as a religious Prince, by almoſt all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers of thoſe Times; as if his Zeal for the Faith, and Liberality to the Church, could, in their Opinion, have fully atoned for the moſt barbarous Aſſaſſinations that are recorded in Hiſtory (A). A *French* Hiſtorian, Clovis, *the firſt Chriſtian King of the* Franks, *converted in his Time.*

[t] Flottemanville annal. Politic. Eccleſ. ad ann. 496. n. 18.

(A) The Royal Proſelyte ſeems to have been but very indifferently inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. For, we are told, that St. *Remigius*, Biſhop of *Rheims*, by whom he was baptized, having preached a Sermon to him, after his Baptiſm, on the Paſſion and Sufferings of our Saviour, the King, in hearing him, cried out aloud, *If I had been there with my* Franks, *that ſhould never have happened* (1).

It was to anoint this King at his Baptiſm, that the famous Oil is ſaid to have been ſent from Heaven, with which the *French* Kings are now anointed at their Coronation. But of that Oil no Mention is made by *Gregory* of *Tours*, a great Believer and Relater of Miracles, in the Account he gives us of the Baptiſm of *Clovis*: a plain Proof, that, in his Time, the latter End of the 6th Century, that Fable was not yet invented. It was firſt related by *Hincmar*, Biſhop of *Rheims*, who lived Two hundred Years after *Gregory*, and Three hundred after the Time, in which the Miracle is ſuppoſed to have happened; but nevertheleſs he deſcribes it, with all its Circumſtances, even the minuteſt, as if it had happened in his own Time, and he had been preſent when it happened (2).

(1) Hiſt. Fran. epit. c. 22.

(2) Hinc. in vit. Remig.

of

Year of Christ 498.

His Conversion owing rather to Motives of Policy, than Religion.

of no mean Character, ſeems to aſcribe the Converſion of that Prince to Motives of Policy, not of Religion; as if he had embraced the Catholic Faith chiefly with a View to engage the Affections of the *Gauls*, whom he had already ſubdued, and, at the ſame time, recommend himſelf to the reſt of that Nation, who lived in Subjection to the *Burgundians* and *Goths*, but were not at all pleaſed with their new Maſters, becauſe they profeſſed, and countenanced the *Arian* Doctrine [u] (A).

Some Fragments of another Letter, from *Anaſtaſius* to one *Urſicinus*, concerning the Incarnation, have been publiſhed by *Baluzius*, in his new Collection of Councils. The Letters of this *Pope* are chiefly made up of Paſſages out of the Old and New Teſtament, which are not always properly applied.

ANASTASIUS.

SYMMACHUS,

Fifty-ſecond BISHOP *of* Rome.

Schiſm in the Roman *Church.*

THE Death of *Anaſtaſius* was attended with a great Schiſm in the *Roman* Church. *Symmachus*, a Native of *Sardinia*, the Son of one *Fortunatus*, and Deacon of the *Roman* Church, was choſen in the Baſilic of *Conſtantine*; and, on the ſame Day, was choſen in the Baſilic of St. *Mary Laurentius*, a *Roman*, and Arch-presbyter of that Church. The Senate, as well as the People and Clergy, was divided on this Occaſion, ſome of the Senators heading the one Party, and ſome the other. *Laurentius* was powerfully ſupported by the

[u] Mezeray, Abregé Chronol. ad ann. 496.

(A) It is obſervable, that *Clovis* was, at this Time, the only Catholic Prince in the known World, as the Word *Catholic* was then underſtood. *Anaſtaſius*, Emperor of the Eaſt, was a profeſſed *Eutychian*. *Theodoric*, King of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*; *Alaric*, King of the *Viſigoths*, Maſter of all *Spain*, and of the Third Part of *Gaul*; the Kings of the *Burgundians*, *Suevians*, and *Vandals*, in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Africa*; were all zealous Followers of *Arius*. As for the other Kings of the *Franks* ſettled in *Gaul*, they were ſtill Pagans. *Clovis* was not only the ſole Catholic Prince at this Time in the World; but the firſt King that ever embraced the Catholic Religion; which has procured to the *French* King the Title of the *Moſt Chriſtian*, and that of *the Eldeſt Son of the Church*. But were we to compare the Conduct and Actions of *Clovis*, the *Catholic*, with thoſe of the *Arian* King *Theodoric*, ſuch a Compariſon would no ways redound to the Honour of the Catholic Faith.

Patrician

Patrician *Feſtus*, who is even ſaid to have bribed, with large Sums, thoſe who choſe him, not doubting but he ſhould be able to perſuade the new Pope, if his Party prevailed, to receive the *Henoticon*, agreeably to the Promiſe, which he had made to the Emperor. A civil War being thus kindled within the Walls of the City, Skirmiſhes happened daily in the Streets; and, as *Paulus Diaconus* expreſſes it, Murders, Robberies, and other infinite Evils, were, during this Confuſion, perpetrated at *Rome* [w]. To put an End to theſe Evils, it was agreed, among the leading Men of both Parties, that the Two Competitors ſhould repair to *Ravenna*, ſhould plead their Cauſe there before King *Theodoric*, and ſtand to his Judgment. Unhappy Times! exclaims here *Baronius*, when the High Pontiff was forced to plead his Cauſe at the Tribunal of an *Arian* Prince [x]. But *Theodoric*, tho' an *Arian*, was one of the beſt, as well as the wiſeſt Princes that ever ſwayed a Sceptre, was the High Pontiff's Lord and Sovereign, and as ſuch had the ſame Right to decide the Diſpute between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus*, as the Emperor *Honorius* had to compoſe the Difference, that aroſe in his Time, between *Eulalius* and *Boniface* [y]. The King received the Two Competitors with the ſame Marks of Reſpect and Friendſhip, heard both with the ſame Attention and Patience, and, when they had done pleading, ordered him to be put in Poſſeſſion of the diſputed See, who ſhould be found, upon an impartial Inquiry, to have had the greater Number of Votes, or to have been ordained the firſt. Both theſe Circumſtances concurred in Favour of *Symmachus*, who was thereupon declared lawful Pope, and placed by the King's Order on the Papal Chair [z].

Year of Chriſt 498. Symmachus *and* Laurentius *choſen on the ſame Day; which occaſions a Civil War in the City.*

Both recur to King Theodoric.

Who adjudged the See to Symmachus.

The good King was not ſatisfied with having put an End, as he believed, to the preſent Schiſm, and the Evils attending it: but, deſirous to guard againſt the like Evils for the Time to come, he ordered a Council to meet at *Rome*, with a ſtrict Charge to the Biſhops, who compoſed it, to make ſuch Regulations as might ſeem to them, in their Wiſdom, capable of preventing all Competitions and Cabals, and effectually reſtraining the Ambition of aſpiring and worldly-minded Men. *Theodoric* knew, without all Doubt, that the external Government of the Church belonged of Right to him; that he had ſucceeded the *Roman* Emperors in this, as well as in all their other Rights;

The King ſummons a Council.

[w] Paul. Diac. l. 17. Greg. Dial. l. 4. c. 40. [x] Bar. ad ann. 498. [y] See Vol. I. p. 360. [z] Theod. Lect. l. 2. Niceph. l. 17. c. 36.

Year of Chriſt 498. and conſequently, that he could, after their Example, enact ſuch Laws relating to the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, as he thought the moſt conducive to the public Good. But ſuch was the Moderation of that Prince, ſuch the Regard he had for the Clergy, the Catholic Clergy, that he choſe rather to lend, in a manner, his Power to them, than exerciſe it himſelf. The Council met, purſuant to the King's Order, on the Firſt of *March* 499. when the following Regulations were propoſed by *Symmachus*, and unanimouſly agreed to by the 72 Biſhops, who compoſed that Aſſembly. 1. That, if any Presbyter, Deacon, or Clerk, ſhould, in the Pope's Life-time, and without his Knowlege, preſume to engage his Vote, againſt a new Election, by Word of Mouth, by Oath, or in Writing, he ſhould be excommunicated and depoſed. 2. That if the Pope ſhould die ſuddenly, and not have Time to give any Directions concerning the Election of his Succeſſor (A), he ſhould be deemed lawfully choſen, who had either the whole Body, or the major Part of the Clergy on his Side. This was confining the Election of the Pope to the Clergy, and excluding the Laity from having any Share in the Choice of their Biſhop; at leaſt rendering their Concurrence unneceſſary, and quite inſignificant. 3. By the preſent Council, Rewards were promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſcover the Intrigues, Cabals, or Deſigns, that might thenceforth be privately carried on by ambitious Men, in Defiance of the Regulations now agreed to. This Decree was ſigned by 72 Biſhops, 67 Preſbyters, and Five Deacons. Among the Presbyters *Cælius Laurentius*, the Competitor of *Symmachus*, ſigned the firſt [a].

Regulations made by this Council concerning the Election of the Biſhop of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 499.

The Quarrel between the Biſhops of Arles *and* Vienne *revived.*

The old Quarrel between the Biſhops of *Arles* and *Vienne*, about Juriſdiction, was, it ſeems, revived in the Time of *Anaſtaſius*; and that Pope had favoured the latter. The Biſhop of *Arles*, therefore, no ſooner heard of the Election of *Symmachus*, than he applied to

[a] Concil. t. 4. p. 1312. Theod. Lect. l. 2.

(A) It was cuſtomary for the Pope to name, on his Death-bed, the Perſon, whom he thought the beſt qualified to ſucceed him, and recommend him to the People and Clergy. This Cuſtom obtained not only at *Rome*, but in many other Places; and great Regard was every-where paid to the Recommendation of the dying Biſhop. *Baronius* obſerves, that the Popes uſed to recommend; but that none, beſides St. *Peter*, ever preſumed to appoint his Succeſſor (1). I ſee no Reaſon why they ſhould not: if they inherited all St. *Peter*'s Power, they could not think it a Crime to do what he had done.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 499. n. 2.

him,

him, repreſenting the Regulations made by his Predeceſſor, as Innovations utterly inconſiſtent with the Deciſions of *Leo*. *Symmachus* anſwered him by a Letter, dated the 29th of *September* 499. and, in that Letter, declared all *Anaſtaſius* had done to the Prejudice of the See of *Arles*, to be null, becauſe no Biſhop, ſays he, has a Power to make Regulations repugnant to thoſe which his Predeceſſors have made. A Doctrine, to which *Anaſtaſius* was a Stranger; and therefore did, ſays *Symmachus*, what he *ought not to have done, let the Neceſſity be ever ſo urgent (quod non oportebat ſub qualibet neceſſitate)*. But to that Doctrine *Boniface*, and *Leo* himſelf, were as great Strangers as *Anaſtaſius*, even with reſpect to the Regulations concerning the Pretenſions of the Two rival Sees of *Arles* and *Vienne*. For both thoſe Popes revoked, and the latter *by a more equitable Sentence*, as he declared, the extravagant Privileges, which, to the Prejudice of the See of *Vienne*, had been granted by their Predeceſſor *Zoſimus* to that of *Arles* [b]. It is now, notwithſtanding the Declaration of *Symmachus*, the current Doctrine maintained by all true Papiſts, and followed, in Practice, by the Popes themſelves, that the ſitting Pope may abrogate every Decree made by thoſe who ſate before him; nay, if he pleaſes, all their Regulations, Statutes, and Laws. This Doctrine they ground on what they lay down as a firſt Principle, That *the Pope is above all Laws*; that *no Law can be binding with reſpect to him, to whom an unlimited Power was granted of looſening and binding whatever he thought fit to looſen or bind*. The only Perſon to whom, in their Opinion, the Pope can be ſaid to be ſubject, is his Confeſſor [c]. For the Pope, though infallible, has not yet been thought impeccable; and conſequently has as much Occaſion for a Confeſſor, as any other Sinner. But the Confeſſor, ſays *Bellarmine*, acts only as an Inſtrument in the Hand of God; and therefore the Obedience, which the Pope is bound to yield to him, is in Truth, yielded to God alone [d]. Thus does he, at once, abſolutely overſet, by his Method of Reaſoning, what he had, with infinite Labour and Pains, been ſtriving to eſtabliſh, the *Papal Independency on every human Creature*. For if the Pope is obliged to yield Obedience to his Confeſſor, becauſe his Confeſſor acts as an Inſtrument in the Hand of God; he was, for the ſame Reaſon, obliged to yield Obedience to the Temporal Princes, before he was himſelf a Tem-

Year of Chriſt 499.

Symmachus *annuls what his Predeceſſor had done in favour of the latter.*

The Reaſon he alleges for ſo doing, falſe in the Opinion of the Popes themſelves.

The Pope ſubject to temporal Princes, before he was himſelf a temporal Prince.

[b] See Vol. I. p. 364. [c] Vide Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 19. [d] Bellar. ibid.

Year of Christ 499.

poral Prince, since they acted not only as Instruments in the Hand of God, but, by the Pope's own Confession, as *God's Vicars upon Earth.*

Symmachus will have all Popes to adhere to the Laws and Measures of their Predecessors.

The Pope, in his Letter to the Bishop of *Arles*, gives another Reason why the Privileges, granted by his Predecessor to the See of *Vienne*, should be revoked; *viz.* because it is a Matter of the utmost Importance to the Christian Religion, that the Bishops, especially the Bishops of *Rome*, who are the Vicars of the most blessed *Peter*, should agree in their Opinion and Judgment of things; that the one should not abrogate, upon any Consideration, what the other has established; but that all, who come after, should steadily adhere to the Laws, that have been made by those who preceded. That it was a Maxim with most of the Popes, to maintain, right or wrong, what their Predecessors had done, without being under any Concern about the Consequences, is what I have had frequent Occasion to observe in the Course of this History. But nevertheless we are obliged to *Symmachus* for having so ingenuously owned it. There is in this Letter another Notion worthy of Notice. The Pope there compares the Priesthood to the Trinity. For as there is a Trinity of Persons, says he, and only One Godhead, One undivided Power; so there are many Bishops, but only one Priesthood. From thence he concludes, that Bishops should all act with One Mind, One Heart, and One Will. But that Bishops all have, or originally had, the same Power, had been, perhaps, a more natural Inference from the Comparison, if it would hold in any respect.

The Pope is charged with several Crimes.

Year of Christ 500.

Symmachus was soon diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Churches abroad, by the Disturbances, that, in the Beginning of the present Year 500. were revived with more Violence than ever at Home. The Pope was charged with several heinous Crimes by the Patrician *Festus*, and a Senator, named *Probinus*, both zealous Partisans of *Laurentius*; and Witnesses were sent to make the Charge good, before the King, at *Ravenna.* This gave Occasion to the re-kindling of the War between the Two Parties in *Rome*; and several Priests, many Clerks, and a great Number of Citizens, fell daily in the Battles, that were fought in the different Parts of the City [e]. No Regard was shewn, by either Party, to Rank or Dignity; and not even the sacred Virgins were spared by the enraged Multi-

The War re-kindled in Rome, *and dreadful Disorders committed.*

[e] Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 40. Niceph. l. 6. c. 35.

tude,

tude, in their Fury. *Ennodius*, a notorious Flatterer of the Popes, who lived at this Time, ſuppoſes all thoſe, who died in the Cauſe of *Symmachus*, to have been inrolled in the Regiſter of the Court of Heaven [f], though guilty of the ſame Exceſſes as thoſe are ſaid to have been, who died in the Cauſe of *Laurentius*. *Baronius*, we may be ſure, falls in with him. The moſt inveterate Enemy *Symmachus* had, was one *Paſchaſius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and a great Saint. Indeed the Saints of the *Romiſh* Calendar, generally ſpeaking, were the worſt of Enemies, the moſt implacable, and, as they commonly had the Mob at their Beck, the moſt to be dreaded. *Paſchaſius* could never be prevailed upon to abandon *Laurentius*; and great Part of the Populace, believing him to be true Pope, whom a Man of *Paſchaſius*'s Character acknowleged for ſuch, could never be perſuaded to own any other, ſo long as *Paſchaſius* lived [g]. But the Saint, if we may believe Pope *Gregory the Great*, paid dear for his Obſtinacy, after his Death (A).

Year of Chriſt 500.

Paſchaſius, *a great Saint, ſides with* Laurentius.

It

[f] Ennod. in Apol. [g] Greg. dialog. l. 40. c. 4.

(A) *Paſchaſius* was, according to the Character Pope *Gregory* has drawn of him, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, intirely given to Works of Charity, a Cheriſher of the Poor, and Deſpiſer of himſelf. But, in the Diſpute between *Symmachus* and *Laurentius*, he ſtood by the latter, ſays the Pope; and, not yielding when the others had all yielded, continued in the ſame Mind to the Day of his Death. He died, adds *Gregory*, in the Time of *Symmachus*; and a Demoniac was delivered by only touching the Dalmatic, that covered his Coffin. Long after his Death *Germanus* of *Capua* being come to *Angulum*, to uſe, as had been preſcribed to him by the Phyſicians, the hot Baths of that Place; at his firſt entering them, who ſhould he ſee ſtanding there, in the midſt of the hot Steam, but the Deacon *Paſchaſius*? The Biſhop, ſurpriſed and terrified at ſuch a ſtrange Sight, asked the Deacon what Buſineſs he had there? Alas! anſwered he, I am confined to this painful Place for no other Fault, but that of ſiding with *Laurentius* againſt *Symmachus*. But pray for me, I intreat you; and if you do not find me here on your Return, you may conclude, that your Prayer has been heard. The holy Man prayed, and returned a few Days after; but the Deacon was gone; and he ſaw him no more. It was not out of Malice, continues the Pope, but Ignorance, that he ſinned; and therefore he could be cleanſed from his Sin, even after his Death. His plentiful Alms procured him his Pardon, when there was no more room for meritorious Works (1). *Baronius* betrays here a ſtrong Inclination to contradict the Pope, that he may have the Satisfaction of damning the poor Deacon, with all his good Works, becauſe he did not own *Symmachus* to have been lawfully choſen. The obſtinate Deacon, ſays he, lived ſeparated from the Church (that is, from the Pope, who to him is the whole Church); and in this all agree, that none, who live ſeparated from the Church upon Earth, can be admitted into Heaven. This is pleading hard for his Damnation. But, on the other hand, not daring to disbelieve or queſtion even an old Woman's Story, when gravely related by a Pope, he owns *Paſchaſius* to have been ſaved, becauſe he repented, and died in the Communion of *Symmachus*; without which all his good

(1) Greg. Dialog. l. 4. c. 40.

Works

Year of Christ 500.

The Partisans of Laurentius *recur to the King, and demand a Visitor.*

It was now no longer common Enmity, but Rage and Madness, that armed the Two Parties against each other; and *Rome*, perhaps, had never seen, in the Election of her Pagan Magistrates, such Scenes of Horror as she now beheld, in the Election of her Christian Bishop. The Senators therefore, *Probinus* and *Festus*, dispatched, in the End, an Express to the King at *Ravenna*, acquainting him with the Murders, and other Excesses, that were daily committed, with Impunity, not only in the Streets, but in the Churches themselves; and, at the same time, intreating him to send them a Visitor, with an unlimited Power, to try *Symmachus* on the Indictment, that was lodged against him, and to govern the *Roman* Churches, as if the See were vacant, till his Innocence was made to appear. This they proposed to the King as the most effectual Means, that occurred to them, of saving the Lives of Thousands of Citizens, and the City itself from utter Ruin. These Senators, at least, as we may observe by the way, owned the King to be the Head of the Church, and to be vested as such, though a Heretic, with a Power not only to try, but to condemn, and depose the Pope himself, were he found unworthy of the Papal Dignity.

The King complies with their Request.

The King approved the Expedient, which the Senators suggested; named *Peter*, Bishop of *Altino*, Visitor of the *Roman* Church; and sent him to *Rome*, with that Character, and the Powers attending it. But that Prelate proved, very unluckily, a violent Partyman, intirely addicted to the Cause of *Laurentius*, and an avowed Enemy to his Rival *Symmachus*. Instead therefore of waiting on the latter, at his Arrival in the City, pursuant to the Instructions the King had given him, he deprived him of the Administration before he had either heard or seen him, and took Possession of all the Effects belonging to the Church. Thus, says *Ennodius* the Pope's Panegyrist, was he, who supported the Poor, reduced himself to the most abject and mean State of Poverty. Thus was *Slavery* seen in *Dominion*, and *Dominion* in *Slavery* [h].

The Visitor heightens the Animosities with his rash Conduct.

[h] Ennod. in Apolog.

Works would have stood him in no stead. But when did he repent? On the Day of his Death, says the Annalist, Pope *Gregory* telling us, in express Terms, that *Paschasius* stood by *Laurentius*, and continued in that Mind *till* the Day of his Death, which plainly implies, that he changed his Mind on that Day. An Interpretation worthy, indeed, of *Baronius*, but unworthy of an Answer (2).

(2) Bar. ad ann. 498. p. 538, D.

The Viſitor, inſtead of allaying, heightened the Animoſities, with his raſh and precipitate Conduct. The Partiſans of *Symmachus*, with the Senator *Fauſtus* at their Head, grew quite outrageous; and the Friends of *Laurentius* were not at all backward in retaliating upon them the Outrages they committed. The good King therefore, greatly affected with the melancholy Accounts that were daily tranſmitted to him by his Officers in the City, and quite at a loſs what Remedy he ſhould next apply to the raging Evil, reſolved, in the End (ſo much had he the Welfare of his Subjects at Heart), to repair to *Rome* in Perſon, not doubing but his Preſence would keep both Parties in Awe, and put an End, ſince nothing elſe could, to ſo deſtructive a War. This Reſolution he is ſaid to have taken the more readily, as he had never yet ſeen that once ſo famous Metropolis of the World, now the Metropolis of his new Kingdom. His Intention was no ſooner known at *Rome*, than the Rage of the Parties began to ſubſide; Hoſtilities ceaſed, and the only Emulation that now prevailed was, who ſhould, by the moſt diſtinguiſhing Marks of Affection and Duty, teſtify their Gratitude to ſo benevolent a Prince. As he approached the City, he was met by the Senate, by the Pope, who had not yet ſet up for the Sovereign of Princes, by the Clergy, and by numberleſs Crouds of the People. He made his Entry, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Multitude, with ſuch Pomp and Magnificence as *Rome* had not ſeen for many Ages. He was welcomed in the Senate, by the famous *Boetius*, who, on that Occaſion, made an eloquent Speech, ſetting forth the eminent Virtues of the Prince, and the Happineſs of the People, who had the good Fortune to live under his mild Adminiſtration. From the Senate he proceeded to the *Circus*, and there, in a Speech to the People, expreſſed his ſincere Deſire of their Welfare, exhorted them to Peace and Concord, confirmed all the Privileges that had ever been granted them by the Emperors, and aſſured them of his Protection and Favour. He continued Six Months at *Rome*, and during that Time diverted the People with magnificent Sports, gave frequent Entertainments to the Senate, heard the Complaints of all who applied to him, and redreſſed their Grievances, when he found their Complaints to be juſt. At his Departure he ordered a Hundred thouſand Buſhels of Corn to be diſtributed yearly among the Poor of the City; and appointed a large Sum to be paid, likewiſe yearly, out of the Exchequer, to keep the Walls in Repair, and other decayed Buildings. Before he ſet

Year of Chriſt 500.

The King reſolves to repair to Rome *in Perſon.*

How received there by the People and Clergy.

His obliging Behaviour and Generoſity to all.

Year of Christ 500.

set out, on his Return to *Ravenna*, he took his Leave of the Senate, and on that Occasion expressed a great Desire to fix his Residence at *Rome*: But your Safety, he added, and that of the State, oblige me to reside, as my Predecessors have done, at *Ravenna*, being there near at hand, and ready to stop the Barbarians, who on that Side only can break into my Kingdom, and disturb that Peace, which I have spared no Pains to procure you, and sincerely wish you, and the rest of my Subjects, may long enjoy [z].

The Happiness of Italy *under* Theodoric.

The high Commendations, which the contemporary Writers, tho' zealous Catholics, and some of them now honoured as Saints, have bestowed on *Theodoric*, though a Follower of *Arius*, are a convincing Proof, that he made good what he promised to the Natives of *Italy*, when he first took upon him the Title of King of that Country; *viz.* That his Conduct should be such as to make them all wish they had come sooner under the Government of the *Goths*. He retained the same Laws, the same Magistrates, the same Polity, and the same Distribution of Provinces, that had been established by his Predecessors the Emperors; nay, and obliged the *Goths* themselves, who dwelt in *Italy*, to conform to the same Laws and Polity; which was obliging the Conquerors to submit to the Laws of the Conquered. He left to the *Goths* some of their own Laws; but by those Laws were only decided Suits and Disputes between *Goth* and *Goth*; all other Suits, whether between *Romans* and *Romans*, or *Romans* and *Goths*, being determined by the *Roman* Laws only. The good King did not impose a single new Tax or Tribute on the People, during the whole Time of his long Reign; but contented himself with those that had been levied by the Emperors; with this Difference, that he was more ready than the best of them had ever been, to remit them on Occasion of any public Calamity; saying, it was better that one should suffer than many; that public Calamities were sent to punish the Sins of the Prince, as well as those of the People; and that where the Guilt was common, the Punishment too ought to be common [a]. He left every Man in the full Enjoyment of his antient Property; and, not satisfied with appointing Men of great Learning, and unblemished Characters, to administer Justice, he often heard Causes himself; and, in giving Sentence, was never known to have swerved from the strictest Laws and Rules of

[z] Anony. Val. Ennod. de Theod. et in Apolog. Goth. Cassiodor. var. l. 4. ep. 50. et l. 2. ep. 37.

[a] Grot. in Proleg. ad hist.

Equity.

Equity [b]. As to Religion, *Theodoric* held, as the *Goths* all did, the Tenets of *Arius*, that Nation having been first instructed in the Christian Religion by *Arian* Teachers, sent them by the Emperor *Valens*. Year of Christ 500.

But he allowed his Subjects to profess, without Molestation, the Faith of *Nice*; nay, and gave full Liberty to the *Goths* themselves to renounce, if they thought it more pleasing to God, the Doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace, in its room, the Catholic Faith. For granting this Liberty, as he was himself an *Arian*, he is as much commended by the Catholic Writers, as he would have been censured by them, had he been a Catholic, and allowed his Subjects to abjure, if they thought that more pleasing to God, the Catholic Faith, and embrace in its stead, the Doctrine of *Arius*. To this generous Toleration in *Theodoric* was intirely owing the profound Tranquillity, which the Church enjoyed at this Time in *Italy*, while a general Confusion reigned in the East, because the Emperor would oblige his Subjects to profess the Doctrine which he professed, and, when he thought fit to change his Opinion, to change theirs together with him. *Theodoric* did not, it seems, think the Difference, in point of Doctrine, between the *Arians* and Catholics would justify his disturbing the Peace of his Subjects about it. No Catholic Prince ever shewed greater Concern for the Welfare of the Church, than this *Goth*, this *Stranger*, *Barbarian*, *Heretic*, *Arian*, as *Baronius* is pleased to style him. None ever took more Care to provide her with good Governors, no one having been preferred, in his Time, to the Episcopal Dignity, as *Cassiodorus* assures us [c], but Men of known Probity, and worthy of the Rank to which they were raised. As *Theodoric* was, according to *Ennodius*, on account of his Moderation, Temperance, Chastity, which that Writer calls sacerdotal Modesty, and his other eminent Virtues, the Pattern of a perfect King; so were the *Goths*, in his Reign, true Patterns of every Christian Virtue, more especially of Chastity. *What the* Romans, that is, the Natives of *Italy*, who were still called *Romans*, *have polluted with Fornication*, says *Salvianus* [d], *the Barbarians have purified with their Chastity*. *We*, who are good Catholics, *love Uncleanness*; *they*, who are Heretics, *abhor and detest it*; *we hate Purity, and avoid it*; *they admire and embrace it*. A mortifying

He grants full Liberty to the Goths, *of professing the Catholic Faith.*

His Concern for the Welfare of the Church.

The Arian Goths *Paterns of every Christian Virtue.*

[b] Cassiodor. l. 8. ep. 14. et l. 9. ep. 15. Salvian. de gubern. Dei, l. 5. [c] Cassiod. l. 8. ep. 14. [d] Salvian. l. 5. de gubern. Dei.

Year of Christ 500.

fying Compariſon to the Catholics of thoſe Days; the rather, as it was made by a Catholic Biſhop (A).

It

(A) The only thing the Enemies of *Theodoric* have been able to lay to his Charge, is the Death of the famous *Boetius*, and his Father in-law *Symmachus*, whom he is ſaid to have ſentenced to Death, and cauſed to be executed, as guilty of high Treaſon, upon the Depoſition of Perſons known by all, and by himſelf, to be Men of infamous Characters. He behaved, it muſt be owned, on that Occaſion, very differently from what he had done on all others. But, if we attend to the Circumſtances and State of Affairs at that Time, we ſhall not perhaps find him to have been quite ſo guilty as ſome have endeavoured to make him appear. For, in the firſt place, he did not condemn the Two Senators upon the Depoſition of thoſe infamous Men, as is generally ſuppoſed; but only confined them to the City of *Pavia*, to prevent them, by that means, from putting their treaſonable Deſigns in Execution, if they had formed any. It was during his Confinement that *Boetius* wrote his excellent Book *De Conſolatione*. In the mean time the Enemies they both had at Court, eſpecially *Boetius*, who till that Time had been the chief Favourite there, ſpared no Pains to prejudice the King againſt them, as Men of great Intereſt and Power in the Senate, extremely popular, and, at the ſame time, diſaffected to his Perſon and Government. The King was advanced in Years, being then in the 72d of his Age, and, as old Kings often are, grown jealous of his Power. His Grandſon *Athalaric*, whom he had appointed to ſucceed him, was yet a Child; and his Daughter, *Amalaſuntha*, the Mother of that Child, the only Perſon who could be ſafely truſted with the Adminiſtration, during a Minority. In theſe Circumſtances they perſuaded the King, that he could by no other means ſecure the Crown to young *Athalaric*, and prevent the Diſturbances which might be raiſed during his Minority, but by removing thoſe out of the way, who were alone capable of raiſing them. Thus was the fatal Sentence extorted at laſt; but it was no ſooner put in Execution, than the King, reflecting coolly on his raſh Conduct, for ſuch it certainly was, and thereupon apprehending that the Death of the ſuppoſed Criminals might be rather owing to the Jealouſy of their Enemies and Rivals at Court, than to any Guilt or Demerit of their own, was affected with ſuch Sorrow, that it may be ſaid to have equalled the Injuſtice of the Sentence; nay, his Grief was ſo great, according to *Procopius*, a Writer not at all favourable to the *Goths*, that it in a manner diſtracted him, and he did not long outlive thoſe whom he had ſo unjuſtly put to Death; that being, as the Hiſtorian adds, the firſt and laſt Wrong any of his Subjects had ever received at his Hands (1). Some have attempted to make *Boetius* a Martyr, as if the Treaſon, of which he was arraigned, had ſerved only as a Pretence with the *Arian* King, who wanted to condemn him for the Book he wrote on the Trinity, and inſcribed to *Symmachus*. But nothing is more certain, than that *Theodoric* favoured the Orthodox no leſs than thoſe of his own Perſuaſion, and allowed to all full Liberty of profeſſing which of the Two Opinions they thought beſt. Beſides, the Religion of *Boetius* was rather *Platonic* than Chriſtian, as *Grotius* well obſerves; and the Treatiſe he wrote ſavours more of the Doctrine of that Philoſopher, than it does of the Religion of Chriſt (2). Had *Theodoric* been a Catholic, the Death of *Boetius* would, probably, have been overlook'd, or excuſed, if not juſtified, by thoſe very Writers, who have taken moſt Pains to exaggerate the Injuſtice of that Sentence. *Clovis* was guilty, after his Converſion, of the moſt enormous Exceſſes of Injuſtice and Cruelty, as I have obſerved above; and yet, as he was a Catholic, thoſe very Exceſſes have not only been excuſed by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, who flouriſhed at that Time, but impiouſly repreſented, by St. *Gregory* of *Tours*, as

(1) Procop. hiſt. Goth. p. 232.

(2) Grot. in Proleg. ad hiſt. Goth.

Actions

It was either during his Stay in the City, or ſoon after his Return to *Ravenna*, that *Theodoric* ſummoned all the Biſhops in his Dominions to meet at *Rome*, in order to examine the Charge brought againſt *Symmachus*. The Pope indeed had been accuſed at his Tribunal; but the King choſe rather to have him tried by an Aſſembly of Biſhops, than to try him himſelf, not being ſo well acquainted as they with the Canons and Laws of the Church. In Compliance with the King's Order, the Biſhops repaired to *Rome*, from all Parts of *Italy*, and met, for the Firſt time, in the Month of *July* of the Year 501. when the Pope, preſenting himſelf before them, deſired that, before any thing elſe was tranſacted, the Viſitor, who had been appointed contrary to the Canons, might be removed, and the Effects reſtored to him, which belonged to the Church, and had been ſeized by the Viſitor. The Biſhops were inclined to favour the Pope, and comply with his Demand; but the King, whom they firſt conſulted by Deputies, ſent for that Purpoſe to *Ravenna*, would not allow any thing to be done in his favour, till he had cleared himſelf from the Crimes laid to his Charge. Upon the Return therefore of the Deputies, the Biſhops met again, on the 1ſt of *September*, with a Deſign to examine the Charge, and hear both the Pope, and thoſe who accuſed him. To their Judgment *Symmachus* pretended to ſubmit; and accordingly ſet out from the Church of St. *Peter*, for the Palace of *Seſſorius*, where the Biſhops were aſſembled; but attended and guarded by ſuch Crouds, as were capable of awing the Judges, as well as the Witneſſes. Of this the Enemies of *Symmachus* were aware; and therefore endeavoured to diſperſe them; but, meeting with Reſiſtance, a Battle enſued, in which ſome were killed on both Sides, and many wounded. Among the latter was the Pope himſelf; and he would hardly have eſcaped with his Life, had not Three of the King's Officers haſtened to his Reſcue, and guarded him back, amidſt Showers of Stones, to the Church of St. *Peter* [k]. The Danger to which he found himſelf expoſed on this Occaſion, he pleaded as an Excuſe for not appearing before the

Year of Chriſt 500. Theodoric *aſſembles a Council, to try the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 501.

A Battle between the Friends of Laurentius *and* Symmachus.

Symmachus *wounded.*

[k] Concil. t. 4. p. 1326.

Actions pleaſing to God (3); and in the ſame Light, perhaps, would the Death of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* have been ſet forth by the Catholic Writers, had *Theodoric* been a Catholic, and as generous as *Clovis* to the Church, and the Clergy.

(3) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 39, 40.

Year of Chriſt 501.

Council, though Three times ſummoned; and the Biſhops, moſt of them being favourable to him, were not only ſatisfied with that Excuſe, but ſent Deputies to inform the King of what had paſt, and at the ſame time to repreſent to him, that the Pope could not venture abroad, without endangering his Life; that his Enemies were more than ever incenſed againſt him, and only wanted an Opportunity of treating him as they had already treated many of his Friends; that in theſe Circumſtances the King indeed might, by his Authority, but they could not by the Canons and Laws of the Church, oblige him to appear before them. The King anſwered, that the Council knew beſt what they could, and what they could not do; that as for himſelf, he would not meddle with Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but left them to be ſettled by the holy Biſhops, to whoſe Judgment and Deciſions he ſhould always pay the greateſt Regard; that, with reſpect to the Cauſe of *Symmachus*, he had aſſembled them to judge it; but yet left them at full Liberty to judge it, or not, provided they could by any other means put a Stop to the preſent Calamities, and reſtore the wiſhed for Tranquillity to the City of *Rome* [l]. With this Anſwer the Deputies returned; and, upon their Return, the Biſhops aſſembled the third and laſt Time, on the 21ſt, or as we read in ſome Manuſcripts, on the 13th of *October*. In that Seſſion, after a long and warm Debate between the Friends of *Symmachus*, and thoſe of *Laurentius*, a very remarkable Decree was iſſued, and ſigned by the former, 72 in Number. For, by that Decree, they not only acquitted *Symmachus* from all the Crimes laid to his Charge, without ſo much as hearing thoſe who accuſed him, but commanded all, on Pain of Excommunication, to acquieſce in their Judgment, to ſubmit to the Authority of *Symmachus*, and acknowlege him, now that he was abſolved in the Sight of Men, whether guilty or innocent in the Sight of God, for lawful Biſhop of the holy City of *Rome* [m]. But thoſe of the oppoſite Party were ſo far from acquieſcing in ſuch a Sentence, that, on the contrary, they publiſhed a Proteſt, or Manifeſto, againſt *the Synod*, as they ſtyled it, *of the incongruous Abſolution*, ſetting forth the Reaſons that had induced them to diſagree with their Brethren, and made them ſtill look upon *Symmachus* as guilty, notwithſtanding the Judgment given by the major Part in his favour. Theſe were, 1. Becauſe moſt of the Biſhops, who aſſiſted at

He pleads the Danger he was in, and refuſes to appear.

The Biſhops and the King receive the Excuſe.

He is acquitted by the Council.

The Friends of Laurentius *proteſt againſt the Decree of the Council.*

[l] Concil. ibid. [m] Concil. ibid. p. 1340.

the

the Council, were evidently byaſſed in his favour, and came, as was well known, with a Deſign to abſolve him, whether guilty or innocent. 2. Becauſe his Accuſers had not been heard; and as no Judge could condemn a Man without hearing him, ſo none could abſolve him without hearing thoſe who accuſed him. 3. Becauſe the Pope had, under various Pretences, refuſed to appear before his Judges, though Four times ſummoned; and a Perſon arraigned, who refuſes to appear, when lawfully ſummoned, ought rather to be condemned than abſolved. Year of Chriſt 501.

It was on this Occaſion that the wild Notions were firſt broached, which now prevail, concerning the Independency of the Pope upon Councils. For the Friends of *Symmachus*, apprehending he might be found guilty, if fairly tried, and therefore unwilling to try him, pretended, in the Council, that *no Aſſembly of Biſhops had a Power to judge the Pope*; and that *he was accountable for his Actions to God alone*. Theſe Notions, though now received and maintained, in a manner, as Articles of Faith, by all true Papiſts, appeared then, that is, in the Beginning of the Sixth Century, ſo very abſurd, that their having been advanced in the preſent Council was alleged, by the Biſhops of the oppoſite Party as an Argument to convince the World, that ſuch a Council could be of no Authority, nor could it deſerve any kind of Regard. Was not the preſent Council, ſay they in their Manifeſto, aſſembled to judge the Pope? Did not thoſe very Men, who will not allow any Aſſembly of Biſhops to have the Power of judging the Pope, ſummon him to appear before them, in order to be judged? Should the Pope be guilty of the moſt enormous Exceſſes, is no Man, no Aſſembly of Men, to reprove, cenſure, or controul him? Has he, among the other Privileges derived to him from St. *Peter*, that of committing all Crimes with Impunity[n]? *Ennodius*, afterwards Biſhop of *Pavia*, undertook to anſwer theſe troubleſome Queries, but with what Succeſs I ſhall leave the Reader to judge. He allows a Council to have the Power of judging the Pope, when the Pope, of his own Accord, ſubmits to be judged by it; which, he ſays, was the preſent Caſe. But, in that Particular, he diſagrees with the Popiſh Divines of the later Ages. For, according to them, the judging of the Pope is reſerved, by Divine Right, to God alone; and hence it follows, that as the Pope cannot renounce

The Notions of the Pope's Independency on Councils firſt broach'd.

Unanſwerably confuted as ſoon as broached.

Diſagreement between the antient and modern Flatterers of the Popes.

[n] Ennod. Apol. p. 342.

Year of Christ 501.

nounce what he holds by Divine Right, he cannot consent to be judged by any but God [o]. As *Ennodius* was a Stranger to that Right, he might have let us know by what other the Pope was exempted from being judged, without his Consent, by a Council. As to the other Question, the Apologist, exceeding all Bounds of Modesty, will not allow, that, with respect to the Pope, there ever can be room for Reproof, Censure, or Controul; for *the Papal Dignity*, says he, *either finds or makes Saints, all who are raised to it.* It seems he thought it less absurd to make the Pope impeccable, than to own, that he might be guilty of as great Excesses as other Men; and nevertheless that no Power upon Earth could restrain or controul him. But that he is not impeccable, long Experience has taught us; and therefore the modern Flatterers of the Popes have found themselves obliged to abandon *Ennodius*, and maintain what, to that Writer, appeared more absurd even than the Papal Impeccability, *viz.* that the Pope, as the Successor of St. *Peter*, and God's Vicar upon Earth, may abandon himself to all manner of Wickedness with Impunity, and without Controul. Should he attempt to destroy the Church, we are indeed, in that Case, allowed, by *Bellarmine*, to remonstrate, *with due Reverence and Respect*, against such an Attempt, *modestly* to reprove him; nay, and to repel Force by Force, could the Church by no other means be saved from Ruin; but in no other Case must we presume to find fault with his Holiness, or resist him [p]. To suppose such an unlimited and uncontroulable Power of doing Evil to be of God's Appointment, is absolute Blasphemy.

The Notion of the Pope's Independency broached at this Time, and not before.

Some Writers, unwilling to own the Opinion, that the Pope could be judged by none but God, to be of so early a Date as the Sixth Century, have taken a great deal of Pains to interpret the Words of *Ennodius* in a very different Sense [q]. But they are too plain and explicit to admit of any other: *God was willing*, says he, *that the Causes of other Men should be determined by Men; but, as for the Bishop of the* Roman *See, he has, without Question, reserved him to his own Judgment* [r] (A).

[o] Vide Bellar. de sum. Pont. l. 2. c. 18. [p] Bellar. ubi supra. [q] See De Lannoy. t. 1. ep. 9. [r] Ennod. in apol.

(A) *Aliorum hominum causas Deus voluit per homines terminari; sed Romanæ sedis præsulem suo, sine quæstione, reservavit arbitrio.*

The

The Beginning of the Sixth Century is no early Date; many falſe and heretical Doctrines, many unwarrantable and idolatrous Practices, had begun to prevail in the Church long before that Time; and the Popiſh Writers, ſenſible that the Doctrine of the Papal Independency upon Councils might be juſtly deemed a Novelty, had it never been heard of till then, pretend it to have been defined by a Grand Council in the Second, conſiſting of no fewer than 300 Biſhops, brought down by them from the Clouds, for that Purpoſe [r]. However, that Opinion was not firſt broached by *Ennodius*, as is generally ſuppoſed. It was firſt ſtarted by the Friends of *Symmachus*, in this Council, to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe, to juſtify their abſolving him without a Tryal. The Friends of *Laurentius* proteſted againſt it; and it was in Anſwer to their Proteſt, and to maintain what the Council had advanced, that *Ennodius* wrote his Apology (A). Year of Chriſt 501.

Symmachus, being abſolved in the manner I have related, and *reſtored to his Authority both within and without the City* (B), began anew to exerciſe the Functions of his Office, and the following Year 502. held a great Council at *Rome*, conſiſting of 80 Biſhops, 37 Presbyters, and Four Deacons. In this Council was read, examined, and declared null, the Law, which had been made a few Years before by the *Præfectus Prætorio, Baſilius*, in the Name of *Odoacer*, then Maſter of *Italy* [t]. By that Law the Election of a new Biſhop of *Rome* was not to be made without the Knowlege, Conſent, and Approbation of the Sovereign; and the Biſhop, as well as the other Miniſters, were reſtrained from alienating the Eſtates that

The Law made by Odoacer, *concerning the Election of the Pope, and againſt Alienations, revoked.* Year of Chriſt 502.

[r] See Vol. I. p. 81, et ſeq.

[t] See above, p. 193.

(A) It is obſervable, that, little more than a Century before the Time of *Symmachus*, the Biſhops of *Italy*, however partial to, and depending upon, the Pope, were ſo far from exempting him from the Juriſdiction of a Council, or pretending he could be judged by none but God, that, on the contrary, being aſſembled in Council at *Rome* in the Year 378. they preſented a Petition to the Emperor *Gratian*, as I have related elſewhere (1), begging it as a Favour, that the Biſhop of *Rome* might not be judged by the Civil Magiſtrate, but either by a Council, or by the Emperor himſelf. They did not therefore know then, that the Pope was to be judged by God alone. And if they did not know it then, that is, in the End of the 4th Century, by what new Revelation was it diſcovered to them in the Beginning of the 6th?

(B) The Words of the Sentence were; *According to the Command of the Prince, who gives us this Power, we reſtore him* (the Pope) *to all Authority, both within and without the City* (2). This was owning the Power of abſolving the Pope to be derived to them from the King; and, conſequently, the King to be above the Pope; and to be, though an *Arian*, the ſupreme Head of the Church, in his own Dominions.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 213.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1340.

Year of Christ 502.

belonged to the Church. The first of these Regulations was made at the earnest Request of Pope *Simplicius*, on his Death-bed; and the Second was thought necessary to prevent the Ecclesiastics from enriching themselves at the Expence of the Poor. What induced the Bishops of the present Council to declare both these Regulations null, was, with respect to the first, because, if no Bishops were to be chosen without the Consent and Approbation of the Sovereign, the Sovereign would thereby become the absolute Master of all Elections; which is there declared derogatory from the undoubted Right of the Bishops, and the Clergy. Not a Word of the People, though, not many Years before, their Concurrence was thought so necessary, that Pope *Leo* pretended the Ordination of a Bishop to be null, who had neither been proposed nor approved by them [w]. In the earliest Ages of Christianity, when the Princes were yet Pagans, and more inclined to destroy than promote the true Faith, the People and Clergy chose, and indeed were obliged to chuse, their own Ministers. At this Practice the Emperors connived, after they had embraced the Christian Religion, so long as Elections were quietly carried on; but when they began to be attended with Seditions, and popular Tumults, which endangered the Tranquillity of the State, and often ended in Violence and Bloodshed, the Princes, who till then had little concerned themselves with the Choice of the Ministry, thought it high Time to interpose their Authority. In *Italy* the *Gothic* Princes left the Elections to the People and Clergy; but, adhering to the Law of *Odoacer*, would suffer none to be ordained without their Approbation. The approving or confirming of those, who were chosen for the Sees of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Milan*, they reserved to themselves; but the confirming of others they left to their Ministers, who were to be present at all Elections, in order to prevent Disturbances, and awe, with their Presence, the riotous Mob. In the East the Emperors not only made several Laws for the better regulating of Elections; but when great Disputes and Disturbances were apprehended, they even nominated the Person themselves, without consulting either the People or Clergy. Thus was *Nectarius* appointed Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Theodosius* the Elder; *Nestorius* and *Proclus* by *Theodosius* the Younger; and many other Instances of the like Nature occur in History [x]. And it is to be observed, that none of the

Why revoked, with respect to the Election of the Pope.

In the Times of the Goths *no Bishops chosen in* Italy, *without the Approbation of the Sovereign.*

In the East Bishops often nominated by the Emperors.

[w] Leo, ep. 12. ad Anast. Thessalon. Marca de Concord. l. 8. c. 9.

[x] Soz. l. 7. c. 8. Socrat. l. 7. c. 29. et c. 40.

Fathers,

Fathers, who lived in thoſe Days, ever queſtioned the Emperor's Right even of nominating whom he pleaſed; which they certainly would have done, as they were of all Men the moſt tenacious of their Rights, had they apprehended ſuch a Right to be lodged in them, and not in the Sovereign. They objected indeed againſt *Nectarius*, as a Perſon not duly qualified for ſo eminent a Station, he being yet a Catechumen. But the Emperor perſiſting in his Choice, they yielded; and the Perſon, whom he had named, was, at the ſame time, baptized and ordained [y]. The Law of *Odoacer*, tho' declared null in the Council held by *Symmachus* this Year at *Rome*, was not only adopted by the *Gothic* Kings, his Succeſſors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, but by thoſe too of *Gaul* and *Spain*; nay, and by the Catholic Emperors of the Eaſt, at leaſt, with reſpect to the Pope, after they had driven out the *Goths*, and united that Kingdom to their Empire. For ſo late as the very Latter-end of the 6th Century, the Pope, by what Majority ſoever choſen, was not thought to be true and lawful Pope, till his Election was approved and confirmed by the Emperor. Hence *Gregory* the Great, choſen in 590. but deſirous to decline that Dignity, wrote to the Emperor *Mauritius*, intreating him to refuſe his Conſent, that the Electors might thereby be obliged to lay aſide all Thoughts of him, and chuſe another [z]. Nay, till the Emperor's Confirmation was obtained, the Perſon choſen was not even ſtyled *Biſhop*, but *Elect*, and ſtill yielded the firſt Place in the Church to the Arch-prieſt.

Year of Chriſt 502.

The Pope not lawful Pope till his Election was confirmed by the Emperor.

As to the other Article of the above-mentioned Law, forbidding the Eſtates of the Church to be alienated, it was judged by the Council good in itſelf, but, at the ſame time, declared null, becauſe made by a Layman; and the Laity were not to meddle, nor any-ways concern themſelves, with the Eſtates or Goods of the Church. Here the Council, in order to exclude the Laity from having any Share in the Adminiſtration or Diſpoſal of the Eſtates and Goods of the Church, confines the Church to the Clergy alone. But by the Church was meant, in the primitive Times, the whole Congregation of the Faithful; and to the whole Congregation of the Faithful was thought to belong whatever was given or bequeathed to the Church. Why then were not the Laity as well as the Clergy to concern themſelves with the Goods, that belonged to them, as well as

Why the Law of Odoacer, *with reſpect to the Alienations, declared null.*

What was given to the Church, was given to the whole Congregation of the Faithful.

[y] Soz. ibid. [z] Jo. Diac. in vit. Greg. l. 3. c. 29.

Year of Christ 502.

to the Clergy? Beſides, the Eſtates of the Church were deſtined to maintain the Poor, the helpleſs Orphans, and indigent Widows, as well as the Clergy. Hence it follows, that the Laity, at leaſt the Civil Magiſtrate, or the Sovereign, had a Power to make ſuch Laws as they thought expedient or neceſſary, to prevent the Waſte of ſuch Eſtates, and reſtrain the Clergy from alienating them, and enriching themſelves with the Patrimony of the Poor, who would thereby either be left quite deſtitute, or be turned over again to the Laity.

Alienations, when firſt forbidden, and why.

The Biſhops, after the Adminiſtration of the Goods that belonged to the Church, was committed to them, were at full Liberty not only to diſpoſe of the Revenues, but to ſell or alienate the Eſtates themſelves, for the Maintenance of the Miniſters of the Altar, and the Relief of the Poor; and that Liberty they enjoyed till the Year 470. when the Abuſes, which began to prevail in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, obliged the Emperor *Leo* to forbid all Sorts of Alienations in that Church [z]. Thirteen Years after, *Odoacer*, moved, no doubt, by the ſame Reaſons as *Leo* was, made the like Prohibition with reſpect to the *Roman* Church. The Law of *Leo* was extended by the preſent Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, and about this very Time, to all the Churches ſubject to the See of *Conſtantinople* [a]; and the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in 535. made a general Edict, comprehending all the Churches within the Limits of the Empire, by which Alienations were forbidden, upon any Conſiderations whatever, unleſs it were to ſupport the Poor in Times of Famine, or to redeem from Slavery the Chriſtian Captives; and in either of theſe Caſes St. *Ambroſe* thought it incumbent on the Clergy not only to part with their Eſtates, but even with the ſacred Utenſils, and conſecrated Veſſels [b].

No Alienations allowed now, but upon an evident Advantage.

But neither was excepted in the many Canons, that in Proceſs of Time were made by the Councils againſt Alienations; which are therefore now underſtood to be forbidden, let the Neceſſity be ever ſo urgent, *unleſs upon an evident Advantage*; that is, an evident Injuſtice, which ſome conſcientious Canoniſts have defined to be a Third Part, and others a Fourth of the Value. It is deemed in the Church of *Rome* the higheſt Chriſtian Perfection for a Man to *ſell his Poſſeſſions and Goods, and give to the Poor*. But, in the mean time, ſhe will not herſelf part with a ſingle Poſſeſſion, unleſs ſhe gains by the Bargain, to give to the Poor, however diſtreſſed. Thus the

[z] Cod. 14. de ſacraſanct. Eccleſ. [a] Cod. de ſacraſanct. Eccleſ. leg. 17. [b] Vide S. Thom. 2a. 2ae. quæſt. 185.

Laws againſt Alienations, which were begun in favour of the Laity, againſt the Clergy, are now turned, in favour of the Clergy, againſt the Laity. Year of Chriſt 502.

The preſent Council, having abrogated the Law of *Odoacer*, becauſe made without due Authority, iſſued another to the ſame Effect, forbidding the Biſhop, and other Miniſters of the *Roman* Church, to alienate the Goods of the ſaid Church, declaring ſuch Contracts void and null, and excommunicating all, who ſhould conſent or agree to them [c]. They did not, it ſeems, know, that the Pope was above all Controul; that he was to be governed by no other Law but his own Will; and conſequently that no Council, though conſiſting of all the Biſhops of the Earth, could make Canons, that were binding with reſpect to him, much leſs a national Council: nay, the Pope himſelf ſeems to have been yet unacquainted with his paramount Authority, ſince he did not object againſt that Decree, but ſigned it with the reſt. *The Pope reſtrained by the preſent Council from alienating the Goods of the* Roman *Church.*

In the mean time the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, who had employed all his Intereſt at *Rome* in behalf of *Laurentius*, being informed that the oppoſite Party had prevailed in the End, and that *Symmachus* was in quiet Poſſeſſion of the diſputed See, was ſo piqued at his Diſappointment, that, forgetful of his Dignity, he wrote an Invective againſt the new Pope, which we may juſtly ſtyle a Libel. His Libel the Pope anſwered by another, under the Title of *An Apology*, addreſſed to him in a very different Style from that which his Predeceſſors had uſed in addreſſing the Emperors. *Anaſtaſius* had reproached him with his unlawful and uncanonical Election; had charged him with *Manicheiſm*; and upbraided him with Arrogance in preſuming even to excommunicate an Emperor. The Pope replied, That the Validity of his Election had never been queſtioned, had he been more favourable to the Memory of *Acacius*, or leſs zealous for the Catholic Faith. The Charge of *Manicheiſm* he retorts againſt the Emperor; and, beſides, taxes him with countenancing Hereticks of all Denominations, and wreaking his Vengeance on thoſe alone, whom alone he ought to protect. As to his having excommunicated the Emperor, he declares, that he has no otherwiſe excommunicated him, than by excommunicating *Acacius*, as his Predeceſſors had done, and all who communicated with his Memory. *We do* *The Emperor and the Pope libel one another.*

[c] Concil. t. 4. p. 1266.

Year of Christ 502.

not excommunicate you, says he, *but* Acacius. *Withdraw from him, and you withdraw from his Excommunication. If you continue to communicate with his Memory, we do not excommunicate you; you excommunicate yourself* [d] (A). He treats the Emperor, throughout the whole Apology, or rather Libel, with the utmost Contempt; he has even the Assurance to tell him, that the Successor of St. *Peter* is, at least, as great as an Emperor; and his saying no more was, according to *Baronius* [e], owing *to his Modesty*. He compares the Episcopal with the Imperial Dignity; and concludes a Bishop to be as much above an Emperor, as the heavenly Things, which the Bishop administers and dispenses, are above all the Trash of the Earth, which alone the greatest among the Emperors have a Power to dispose of. He pretends, by the *higher Powers*, to be meant the spiritual Powers; and that to them chiefly every Soul ought to be subject. He reminds the Emperor, that, after all, he is but a Man; that his Laws are to be obeyed no farther than they are agreeable to the Laws of God; exhorts him to honour God in his Ministers, that they, in their Turn, might honour God in him; and concludes with advising him to separate himself from the Enemies of the Church, and the true Faith, and steadily adhere to the See of St. *Peter* [f].

The Pope did not excommunicate the Emperor.

He prefers the Episcopal to the Imperial Dignity.

The Apology of Ennodius *approved by the Pope, and a Council.*

The following Year 503. the Pope held another Council at *Rome*, to confirm the Acts of the Council that had absolved him, and restored him to his Dignity. To the Bishops of that Assembly, who were all *Italians*, was read the Apology of *Ennodius*, which I have mentioned

Year of Christ 503.

[d] Concil. t. 4. p. 1296, et seq. [e] Bar. ad ann. 503. n. 24. [f] Concil. ibid. p. 1297—1299.

(A) *We do not excommunicate you*, says the Pope; but *Baronius* maintains, that the Pope did excommunicate him. *It is certain*, says the Annalist, *that the Cause of the heretical Emperor being examined in the Council*, meaning the Council held in 502. *the Pope excommunicated the impious* Anastasius, *with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops, who composed that Assembly* (1). To prove this he alleges the very Passage that evidently proves the contrary; the very Words of the Pope declaring, that he had not excommunicated the Emperor; but by the leaving out of one Letter only, so altered as to make him declare, that he had. The Words are; *Dicis quod, mecum conspirante Senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem* NEGO, *sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor* (2). *You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint Consent of the Senate. That indeed I* DENY; *but I certainly follow what was, with good Reason, done by my Predecessors.* *Baronius*, instead of *ista quidem* NEGO, *that indeed I deny*; reads *ista quidem ego*, that indeed I did; So that, according to him, the Passage must be thus understood; *You say, that I excommunicated*

(1) Bar. ad ann. 502. n. 30.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1298.

you,

mentioned above; a Piece filled perhaps with more fulſome Flattery, with more falſe and abſurd Maxims, than any that has been publiſhed ſince that Time. However, the Biſhops, loſt to all Senſe of Shame, not only extolled it with the higheſt Commendations, as it were, in Emulation of one another, but ordered it to be inſerted among the Acts of the Council, and to be deemed of as much Authority as the Council itſelf, or any Decree made by the Council. The Pope, not ſatisfied with that Mark of Honour, the greateſt that had been yet beſtowed on any Work, commanded it, with the unanimous Conſent of the Biſhops, to be placed among the Decrees of the Apoſtolic See, and to be held by all as one of them [g]. Year of Chriſt 503.

The following Year 504. another Council was held at *Rome*, and a Decree made, at the Motion of the Pope, anathematizing, and excluding from the Communion of the Faithful, all who had ſeized, or for the future ſhould ſeize, hold, or appropriate to themſelves, the Goods or Eſtates of the Church: and this Decree was declared to extend even to thoſe who held ſuch Eſtates by Grants from the Crown [h]. *Another Council held at* Rome, *and all excommunicated by it, who ſhould ſeize the Eſtates of the Church.*

As to the Affairs of the Eaſt, all was there in the utmoſt Confuſion; and the Diſturbances in the Church were attended with no leſs Diſturbances in the State. The Emperor, not ſatisfied with obliging the Biſhops to receive the *Henoticon*, which they all did to a Man, required them beſides to anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Doctrine of the Two Natures. With this Order *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople* refuſed to comply; and the Emperor, having attempted in vain to gain him over to the *Eutychian* Party, reſolved, at laſt, to proceed to Violence, and drive him from his See. But the Biſhop had the Mob on his Side; and the Mob, ever zealous for the Church, or for what they call the Church, no ſooner heard of the Emperor's Reſolution, than, riſing, *in Defence of the true Faith*, with the Superiors of the orthodox Monks at their Head, they ſurrounded the Imperial Palace, and, threatening to ſet Fire to it, cried aloud for another Emperor; for a Catholic, in the room of a Heretic; for a Chriſtian, inſtead of a *Manichee*. The Emperor endeavoured Year of Chriſt 504. *Great Diſturbances in the Eaſt.* *The Mob riſe in* Conſtantinople, *in Defence of the Two Natures.*

[g] Concil. t. 4. p. 1364.

[h] Concil. t. 4. p. 1390.

you, &c. *That I did, indeed*; *but I follow what was done by my Predeceſſors*, that is, I do what my Predeceſſors have done before me: and yet the Annaliſt does not even pretend the Emperor to have been excommunicated by any of the Predeceſſors of *Symmachus*.

Year of Christ 504.

deavoured to appeaſe them; but the Tumult increaſing, and the Multitude growing more and more outrageous, he was in the End obliged to ſend for *Macedonius*, to be publicly reconciled with him, and ſolemnly promiſe, that he never would hurt him [h]. But he did not think himſelf bound to ſtand to a Promiſe which had been thus extorted; and not long after *Macedonius* was ſeized, in the Night, by his Order, and conveyed to *Chalcedon*. The next Morning the Mob and the Monks, miſſing their Biſhop, attempted to riſe; but were prevented from aſſembling, by the numerous Bodies of Troops which the Emperor had cauſed to be placed in the different Streets of the City [i]. In the room of *Macedonius* was named by the Emperor, and inſtalled, the very next Day, one *Timotheus*, Presbyter of that Church, who, to teſtify his Gratitude to *Anaſtaſius*, began his Epiſcopacy with anathematizing, in an Aſſembly of Biſhops, convened for that Purpoſe, the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ſeparating himſelf from all who did not anathematize with him the Doctrine of that Council.

Macedonius, *the orthodox Biſhop, driven out by the Emperor; and* Timotheus, *an* Eutychian, *placed in his room.*

The Emperor attempts an Alteration in the public Service.

The Emperor, having now the Patriarch on his Side, undertook, at whoſe Inſtigation is not well known, to make an Alteration in the public Service of the Church. The Alteration was of no Conſequence in itſelf; but it ſupplied the leading Men of the Catholic Party with a plauſible Pretence to ſtir up the Populace, and revenge, by their means, the Depoſition and Exile of their late Biſhop, now confined to *Euchaita*, an inhoſpitable Place in the Province of *Pontus*. The Alteration was made in the *Triſagion* (A), *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us*; which was uſed by the Church to declare her Faith in the Trinity (B). With theſe

[h] Theod. Lect. p. 562. Theophan. p. 132. p. 133. Evagr. l. 3. c. 32.

[i] Theod. Lect. p. 563. Theoph.

(A) This Hymn was called the *Triſagion*, becauſe the Word *Holy* is thrice repeated. Its original Form was, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, who art bleſſed for ever* Amen. Thus it is in the Conſtitutions (1); and thus it was ſung, according to *Chryſoſtom* (2), by the Seraphims in *Iſaiah*. However, the Church thought fit to change that Form into this, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us*: And in this Form it was uſed by the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, in the Condemnation of *Dioſcorus* (3). This Change is ſuppoſed to have been made by *Proclus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in 446. and to have been approved, if not ſuggeſted, by the Emperor *Theodoſius* the younger.

(B) The Words *Holy God* were applied to the Father, *Holy Mighty* to the Son,

(1) Conſt. l. 8. c. 12. (2) Chryſ. Hom. 6. in Seraph. (3) Concil. Chal. Act. 1. Damaſcen. de Orthod. fide, l. 3. c. 10.

and

theſe Words only it was ſung in all the Churches of the Eaſt, till the Year 477. when the famous *Petrus Fullo*, while he was Biſhop of *Antioch*, cauſed the following Words to be added to it, *Who was crucified for us*; with a Deſign, as was pretended, of introducing the Hereſy of the *Theopaſchites*, who held, or rather were ſaid by their Adverſaries to hold, that the Divine Nature, and conſequently the whole Trinity, had ſuffered on the Croſs. With the ſame Deſign was the Emperor now charged; and there wanted no more to alarm the Populace, and kindle a War between the Two Parties, within the Walls of the City, both affecting in all public Places to ſing the *Triſagion*, the *Eutychians* with, and the Orthodox without, the Addition. From ſinging they came generally to Blows; and many Battles were fought, not only in the Streets, and the Squares, but in the Churches themſelves, where the Service ſeldom ended without Bloodſhed and Murders. The Parties were pretty well matched, the *Eutychians* having the Soldiery on their Side, with the great Men at Court, and all their Dependents; and the Orthodox the far greater Part of the Populace. The Monks, who were very numerous in *Conſtantinople*, had kept for ſome time quiet in their Cells. But the Two Parties being furiouſly engaged, on a Day of public Thankſgiving, while the one ſung the *Eutychian Triſagion* (for ſo it was called, with the Addition), and the other the Orthodox, an Army of Monks unexpectedly appeared, armed with Clubs and Stones, and ſinging, as they advanced, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us.* The Orthodox were almoſt overpowered, and ready to give Ground; but, reſuming their Courage, at the Appearance of ſuch an Army come to their Relief, they fell upon their Adverſaries with freſh Fury, and, in Conjunction with the Monks, put them to Flight, and purſued them all over the City, maſſacring, without Mercy, every *Eutychian*, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. By this Victory the Orthodox Party became abſolute Maſters of the City, and there was no kind of Cruelty

Year of Chriſt 504.

Which occaſions great Diſturbances at Conſtantinople.

The Orthodox prevail, with the Aſſiſtance of the Monks.

and *Holy Immortal* to the *Holy Ghoſt* (4). As *Fullo* was ſuſpected of having added the above-mentioned Words, in order to introduce the Opinion of the *Theopaſchites*, that no room might be left for that Hereſy, *Calendion*, the Succeſſor of *Fullo* in the See of *Antioch*, placed the Words, *Chriſt our King*, before thoſe which his Predeceſſor had added (5). It had been well for the Chriſtian Religion, that they had all contented themſelves with the Words of the Scripture, without preſuming to add to them any of their own.

(4) Damaſcen. ubi ſupra. (5) Theodor. Lect. l. 2. p. 566.

which

Year of Christ 504.

which they did not commit. They chose the great Square of *Constantine* for their Place of Arms, and, having caused the Keys of the City to be brought thither, with the Standards and Colours of the Troops, they detached Parties into the different Quarters of the Town, with Orders to murder, without Distinction of Rank or Sex, all who had joined the Emperor *in making War on the Trinity*, to pillage, and pull down, or burn their Houses, and spare none who did not anathematize the impious Addition, and all who approved it. This Order produced a general Massacre; for it was executed with a Cruelty hardly to be conceived; and in the Space of Three Days Ten thousand *Eutychians* were inhumanly murdered; their Houses were plundered and burnt, and with them great Part of the City. They wreaked chiefly their Vengeance on the Friends and Favourites of the Emperor, and, among the rest, on a harmless Hermit, and a sacred Virgin, whom *Anastasius* had in great Veneration, and frequently consulted. Them therefore they not only murdered, in a most barbarous manner, but, tying their Bodies together, they dragged them through the chief Streets of the City, singing, in the mean time, as they did in all the Disorders they committed, the Orthodox *Trisagion*, and crying aloud, *Thus may all perish, who favour the Enemy of the Trinity*, meaning the Emperor, *or are favoured by him!*

The Eutychians *massacred without Mercy.*

The Emperor withdraws from the City.

Anastasius, alarmed at their Death, and the unheard-of Cruelties that were daily practised on his other Friends by the enraged Multitude, thought it advisable to quit the City, and withdraw from their Fury, lest the Fate of his Friends should prove, in the End, to be his own. He withdrew accordingly, and lay concealed in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, till News was brought him, that, in his Absence, they had torn all his Pictures, pulled down his Statues, and, construing his Flight into a Resignation, were ready to proclaim another Emperor in his room. In that Extremity, the only means that occurred to him of saving both his Life, and the Empire, was to return to the City, to shew himself to the Populace in the Quality of a Suppliant, and, by pretending to yield and submit, try to appease their Anger, and raise their Compassion. With this View he left the Place of his Retirement, and, repairing to the City, appeared unexpectedly in the *Circus*, like a private Person, without the Crown, or any other Ensigns of Empire. The Populace no sooner heard that the Emperor was in the Circus, than, quitting their

Returns, and appeases the People.

Camp

Camp, in the Square of *Conſtantine*, they marched thither, in a kind of Proceſſion, ſinging, as uſual, the Orthodox *Triſagion*, with a Croſs, and the Book of the Goſpels, carried before them, as if Sedition, Rebellion, and the moſt enormous Diſorders and Cruelties, were authorized by that Book, by the Goſpel of Peace. Upon their Arrival, the Emperor cauſed it to be proclaimed by the Heralds, that, ſince his good People did not approve of his Conduct, he was ready to quit the Empire, and deſired they would name the Perſon to whom he ſhould reſign it. The Multitude demanded, with loud Cries, that, in the Firſt place, *Marinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Plato*, Governor of the City, might be thrown to the wild Beaſts, as the chief Authors of the preſent Diſturbances. The Emperor promiſed, upon Oath, to puniſh them according to their Deſerts, to redreſs the Grievances, which his loving Subjects had but too much Reaſon to complain of, and to take care, that in time to come, if they thought fit to continue him in Power, no room ſhould be left for the like, or any other Complaints. The Populace, tho' incenſed againſt the Emperor beyond Expreſſion, had begun to relent, at only ſeeing him without the Badges of his Dignity; and now his Speech, though he had ſo often deceived them, ſoftened them to ſuch a Degree, that, Compaſſion taking place of Revenge, they broke out, all at once, into loud Acclamations, deſired him, with one Voice, to reſume the Diadem, wiſhed him a long and proſperous Reign, and promiſing to put an End to the preſent Troubles, and to raiſe none for the future, they returned, all quiet, and ſatisfied, to their different Habitations and Callings [k].

Year of Chriſt 504.

Conſtantinople was not the only City that felt the dreadful Effects of the Zeal of the Populace for what they called the Church, and the Orthodox Faith. At *Antioch* the old Quarrel was revived concerning the Nature of Chriſt, and the whole City divided into Two oppoſite Parties or Factions. The one maintained Chriſt to be *of and in Two Natures*, while the other allowed him to be *of*, but would not admit him to be *in Two Natures*. The Populace on either Side were wrought up, by their Leaders, to a Pitch of Madneſs and Fury againſt each other, not ſparing either Friends or Relations, whom they only ſuſpected to differ in Opinion from themſelves. But the Orthodox, that is, the Sticklers for the *of* and the *in*,

The Eutychians *fare no better at* Antioch.

[k] Evagr. l. 3. c. 44. Theoph. an. p. 136. Cedren. p. 360. Zonar. p. 44. Marc. chron. Chron. Alex.

Year of Chriſt 504.

prevailed in the End; and how cruelly they uſed their Victory, the *Orontes* bears Witneſs, ſays the Hiſtorian, the *Orontes* quite choked up with the Bodies of the *Eutychians* they ſlew, without Diſtinction or Mercy [l]. What would the Pagans have thought of the Chriſtian Religion, had ſuch mortal Feuds prevailed in their time, among thoſe who profeſſed it! So deſtructive a War between Chriſtians and Chriſtians would have ſupplied them with more copious Matter for reproachful Reflections, for Sarcaſm and Satire, than that, which one of their Poets [m] has ſo well deſcribed between the Inhabitants of *Ombos* and *Tentyris*, in order to expoſe to Ridicule and Contempt both their Religion and them. The Two rival Cities adored different Deities, and the Deities, whom the one adored, the other abhorred, and ſought to deſtroy; which, in ſome degree, might excuſe, allowing for the Superſtition and Ignorance that prevailed in thoſe Days, the irreconcileable Hatred they bore to each other. But the Chriſtians adored the ſame God; frequented the ſame Places of Worſhip; and only diſagreed about Words and Sounds, the Meaning of which, if they had any Meaning, neither Party well underſtood, nor even pretended to underſtand. The Union of the Two Natures they called an *ineffable Myſtery*, that is, a Myſtery which could not be expreſſed; and yet maſſacred all who did not agree with their Way of expreſſing it. The adding of thoſe Words to the *Triſagion*, *Who waſt crucified for us*, occaſioned the dreadful Diſorders we have ſeen at *Conſtantinople*. And yet that Addition, when it came afterwards to be coolly examined, was found to be orthodox, and was received as ſuch, with one Conſent, by all the Churches in the Eaſt, except that of *Conſtantinople*, which continued to reject it, for no other Reaſon but becauſe it was there rejected at firſt. As for Hereſy, it was ſo far from implying any, that *Avitus*, Metropolitan of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, who flouriſhed at this time, and was one of the moſt learned Men of the Age, in his Account of the Maſſacre at *Conſtantinople*, miſtakes the *Eutychians* for the Orthodox, and the Orthodox for the *Eutychians*. For he ſuppoſes the diſputed Words to be the original Words of the *Triſagion*, and the Two Parties to have quarrelled becauſe the *Eutychians* would, and the Orthodox would not ſuppreſs them [n]. The good Biſhop, being at a great Diſtance, was miſinformed; and, from the Subject of the Diſpute, could not well know

They quarrel only about Words, and in the End all agree.

[l] Evagr. l. 3. c. 32. See P. Doucin. Hiſt. du Neſtorianiſ. l. 3. c. 320. [m] Juvenal. Satir. 15. [n] Avit. ep. 3. p. 20.

which

which was the *Eutychian*, and which the Orthodox Party. But when he and his Brethren in the Weſt underſtood, that the above-mentioned Words had been added, not by the Orthodox, but the *Eutychians*, they all agreed in condemning what they had approved before, and approving what they had condemned; a plain Indication, that they were ſwayed merely by Party-Zeal, and determined to diſapprove, right or wrong, whatever the oppoſite Party ſhould recommend or approve. Year of Chriſt 504.

In the Eaſt the Orthodox Biſhops, ſhocked at the Diſorders that were daily committed by the contending Parties, not only at *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*, but in moſt other Cities of the Empire, and not able to reſtrain the Fury of the Populace, reſolved in the End to recur to the Pope, and implore his Aſſiſtance; the rather, as the Emperor, forgetful of his Promiſe, had begun anew to perſecute, and under various Pretences, drive from their Sees, all who did not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*. They wrote therefore a long Letter to *Symmachus*, laying before him the unhappy State of the Catholic Faith in the Eaſt, acquainting him with the Evils which many of them had ſuffered, and they had all Reaſon to apprehend from the Emperor, for their inviolable Attachment to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, and earneſtly intreating him to allow them, in their Diſtreſs, the Comfort of being admitted to the Communion of the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and being owned by him, and their other Brethren in the Weſt, for true Members of that Church, which they had hitherto defended, and continued to defend, at the Peril of their Lives. As for their keeping the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, they conjured the Pope not to inſiſt on their craſing it, at leaſt for the preſent, ſince that would inevitably occaſion a Diviſion among the Orthodox themſelves; and the leaſt Diviſion or Miſunderſtanding among them would prove fatal, at ſo critical a Juncture, to the Catholic Intereſt all over the Eaſt. They ended their Letter with a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring, that they anathematized both *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches*; that they received the Decree of *Chalcedon*, with the Letter of *Leo*, concerning the Two Natures; and intirely agreed in their Belief with the *Roman*, and all other Churches in the Weſt [o]. But their agreeing in Belief ſtood them in no ſtead, ſo long as they continued to mention at the Altar the Name of a Man whom the

The Orthodox Biſhops recur to the Pope. Year of Chriſt 512.

[o] Concil. t. 4. p. 1305—1308.

Year of Chriſt 512.

Apoſtolic See had condemned and depoſed. *Symmachus* allowed their Faith to be intirely Orthodox; but, at the ſame Time, was ſo provoked at their refuſing to *obey the Decrees of St.* Peter, nay, and pretending *to juſtify their Diſobedience*, that he would not even return an Anſwer to their Letter. He acted therein agreeably to the Declaration he had made the Year before, in a Letter which he wrote to the Biſhops of *Illyricum*; viz. That, treading in the Footſteps of his holy Predeceſſors, he was unalterably determined to receive none to his Communion, who did not previouſly anathematize *Acacius*, and all who communicated with his Memory; and conſequently that it was in vain for thoſe who refuſed to comply with that Condition, to recur to him, or expect any kind of Relief from his See, ſince they had rendered themſelves, by their Obſtinacy, altogether unworthy of his Care and Protection p. This *Baronius* calls an inflexible Zeal, in the Holy Pontiff, for the Catholic Faith; though he could not but know, that the Holy Pontiff was inſiſting on Terms which the Biſhops could not agree to, without expoſing the Catholic Faith to the utmoſt Danger; and, conſequently, that, in them, it was *inflexible Zeal* not to comply, and, in him, an inflexible and criminal Obſtinacy to require their Compliance.

Who does not even condeſcend to anſwer their Letter.

They recur to their Brethren in Gaul.

It was not to the Pope alone that the Eaſtern Biſhops had recourſe in their Diſtreſs; they applied, at the ſame Time, to the Catholic Biſhops in *Gaul*, and probably to thoſe of the other Provinces in the Weſt. What Reception their Letters met with from their Brethren, I find no-where recorded. But *Gundebald*, the *Arian* King of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, hearing, on that Occaſion, of the Perſecution they ſuffered, for the ſake of their Faith, and pitying their Condition, thought himſelf bound, in common Humanity, to employ his good Offices in their Behalf. As there reigned therefore, at that Time, an intire Harmony between the Kings of the *Burgundians* and the Emperors of the Eaſt, *Gundebald* not only wrote to *Anaſtaſius*, recommending the perſecuted Biſhops to his Favour, but ordered *Avitus* of *Vienne*, whom he held in great Eſteem for his Piety and Learning, to collect, from Scripture, ſuch Paſſages as he thought the moſt proper to prove the Catholic, and confute the *Eutychian* Doctrine, in order to be ſent to the Emperor, and diſperſed all over the Eaſt q. It was in Compliance with this Order

The Arian *King of the* Burgundians *writes to the Emperor in their Behalf.*

p Concil. ibid. p. 1303. q Avit. ep. 2. p. 7.

that

that *Avitus* wrote his Treatiſe on the Incarnation; a Work greatly commended by all the Antients, eſpecially by *Gregory* of *Tours* [r]. Thus was the Defence of the Catholic Cauſe, when abandoned by the Pope, on a mere Punctilio, zealouſly undertaken by an *Arian* Prince. It is true the Endeavours of the good King were not attended with the Succeſs he expected, the Emperor being highly provoked againſt the Orthodox for the Diſorders they had lately committed, and the oppoſite Parties too exaſperated againſt each other, to hearken either to Scripture or Reaſon. However it was no ſmall Encouragement and Satisfaction to the Orthodox Prelates, under Perſecution, to find, that they were thought worthy of Relief and Compaſſion, even by a Heretic, while they were judged by the Pope, unaffected with their Sufferings, unworthy of both, and, as ſuch, left by him, without Reſource, to the Mercy of their Enemies.

Year of Chriſt 512.

Symmachus concerned himſelf no more with the Affairs of the Eaſt; but, leaving the Orthodox there to ſhift for themſelves, in the beſt manner they could, applied himſelf to the reſtoring of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline in the Weſt, which, during the long Wars between the Barbarians and *Romans*, had been utterly neglected, and was almoſt intirely forgotten in the Provinces moſt diſtant from *Rome*. With this View he made ſeveral Regulations concerning Ordinations, and the Qualifications of thoſe who were to be ordained, againſt Alienations, Simony, and the marrying of Virgins, or Widows, who profeſſed Celibacy, and had lived for a conſiderable Time in that State. He excommunicates thoſe who marry them, though they, weary of that State, and through human Frailty, repenting they had ever embraced it, ſhould conſent to be married [s]. Such Marriages were not yet deemed null, as they are now, but only unlawful.

Some Regulations made by Symmachus.

Year of Chriſt 513.

The following Year 514. the old Animoſities being revived between the Biſhops of the Two rival Cities, *Arles* and *Vienne*, about Juriſdiction and Power, the Pope confirmed to the former all the Privileges his See had enjoyed, ever ſince the Time of *Leo*. His Letter to the Biſhop of *Arles* is dated the 11th of *July* of the preſent Year; and he died a few Days after, having governed the *Roman* Church, according to the moſt probable Opinion, 15 Years, and Eight Months, wanting Four Days. He is ſaid to have been buried in the Church of St. *Peter*; and there his Aſhes are believed to remain

He confirms the Privileges of the See of Arles.

Year of Chriſt 514.

Symmachus *dies, and is ſainted.*

[r] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. 2. c. 4. [s] Concil. t. 4. p. 1309.

Year of Chriſt 514.

main to this Day, and are yearly expoſed, on the 19th of *July*, to public Adoration. But what extraordinary Merit intitled him to ſo great an Honour, is no eaſy Matter to determine. He was arraigned, as we have ſeen, at the Tribunal of King *Theodoric*, as guilty of an enormous Crime, and unworthy of the Dignity to which he was raiſed. The Writers of thoſe Times have all avoided, and induſtriouſly, it ſeems, ſpecifying the Crime. But it is generally ſuppoſed to have been Adultery, or ſome other Crime of that Nature. For,

The Cellulani *or* Syncelli *firſt introduced in the Weſt.*

at this Time, and on this Occaſion, a Decree was iſſued by the Metropolitan of *Milan*, which moſt of the Metropolitans in the Weſt approved and received, commanding all Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, within the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdictions, to keep conſtantly with them, Night and Day, at home and abroad, a Clerk of Reputation and Character, as a Witneſs of their Actions, and ordering thoſe who were not able to maintain ſuch a Clerk, or Spy on their Conduct, to ſerve others in that Capacity. Theſe Clerks were called, by the *Latins*, *Camerarii* and *Cellulani*, becauſe they kept Night and Day in the ſame Cell, or Chamber, with the Perſons whoſe Conduct they watched; and by the *Greeks*, *Syncelli*; for that Cuſtom obtained in the Eaſt long before it took place in the Weſt.

Symmachus *probably guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge.*

But whatever was the Crime laid to the Charge of *Symmachus*, his Innocence does not appear ſo *plainly* and *undeniably* to me, as it does to *Baronius*. Nor did it appear ſo to King *Theodoric*; elſe he had cleared him himſelf, and not ordered, as he did, all the Biſhops in his Dominions to aſſemble in Council, to try a Perſon, of whoſe Innocence he was fully ſatisfied. It is to be obſerved, that the Council was convened by the King, after he had heard the Evidences, as well as the Pleaders, on both Sides; and conſequently, that he did not think the Charge altogether groundleſs, as *Baronius* is pleaſed to ſtyle it. It is true, he was abſolved by a great Majority in the Council, as the Annaliſt takes care to obſerve. But that Majority was evidently byaſſed in his Favour, and acted contrary to the known Laws of Juſtice. For though they had been aſſembled on purpoſe to try him, they abſolved him without a Tryal, without ſo much as hearing thoſe who accuſed him; and their having thus abſolved him may be better alleged as a Proof of his Guilt, than his Innocence. It ſhews at leaſt, that even his Friends were not quite ſatisfied of his Innocence: For, if they had, they would have been glad to make it appear to the World by a fair Tryal, that no room might be left

for Slander and Calumny. *Symmachus* himſelf declined, under various Pretences, appearing before his Judges, though Three times ſummoned. And what, but his being conſcious to himſelf of his Guilt, could render him ſo averſe to the only Means of clearing himſelf, and confounding his Enemies? Year of Chriſt 514.

The *Roman* Church was, it ſeems, at this time, in a flouriſhing Condition as to Wealth. For from *Rome* were yearly ſent over very conſiderable Sums into *Africa*, for the Relief of the Catholics there, moſt cruelly perſecuted by *Traſamund*, the *Arian* King of the *Vandals*; nay, *Symmachus* is ſaid not only to have ſupplied with the Neceſſaries of Life, but to have maintained, ſuitably to their Rank, no fewer than 220 Biſhops, whom that King had ſtript of all their Effects, and ſent into Exile. He was as charitable to them, as he was uncharitable to the Catholic Biſhops in the Eaſt; though they all ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe, and ſome of the latter as much under an *Eutychian*, as the former did under an *Arian* Prince. *The Wealth of the* Roman *Church, at this time.*

ANASTASIUS, JUSTIN, **HORMISDAS,** THEODORIC King of *Italy*.

Fifty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Symmachus* was unanimouſly choſen, after the See had been vacant Seven Days only, *Cælius Hormiſdas* or *Hormiſda*, a Native of *Fruſino* in *Campania*, the Son of *Juſtus*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and, in the late Schiſm, one of the moſt zealous Partizans of *Symmachus* [u]. He was a married Man, and had a Son, whom we ſhall ſee, a few Years hence, raiſed to the Papal Dignity. Hormiſdas *choſen.*

He had not been long in Poſſeſſion of the See, when, to his great Joy and Surprize, he received a Letter from the Emperor; though, looking upon him as one out of the Pale of the Church, he had not yet even thought of acquainting him, as was uſual, with his Promotion. This extraordinary and unexpected Condeſcenſion in the Emperor was not owing to any Regard he had for the new Pope, as he pretended, but merely to Force and Compulſion. For

[u] Caſſiodor. chron. lib. Pontif.

Vita-

Year of Christ 514. Vitalianus *revolts.*

Vitalianus, by Birth a *Scythian*, and Commander in Chief of the Imperial Cavalry, being animated with the Zeal, which prevailed at this Time among the Orthodox, and touched with Compaſſion for the exiled Biſhops, took up Arms in their Defence; and, having ſurpriſed and killed the Imperial General *Cyril*, whom he found aſleep between Two Courteſans, and thereby made himſelf Maſter, without Oppoſition, of *Thrace*, *Scythia*, and *Myſia*, advanced, at the Head of a numerous Army of *Bulgarians* and *Hunns*, to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*. At his Approach the Orthodox in the City began to riſe, and ſeemed ſtrongly inclined to renew the enormous Diſorders they had lately committed. The Emperor therefore, mindful of the late Maſſacre, and conſcious to himſelf of his having acted in direct Oppoſition to the Promiſe he made to the People on that Occaſion, reſolved to prevent, by an Agreement with the Rebels, the greater Evils, which he had Reaſon to apprehend from the enraged Multitude. With this View he ſent out, in great Haſte, ſome of the chief Men in the Senate, with an unlimited Power to conclude a Peace with the Rebels on the beſt Terms they could procure. A Peace was accordingly procured, on the following Terms: I. That the Emperor ſhould immediately iſſue the proper Orders for putting an effectual Stop to the Perſecution of the *Orthodox*, and allow his Subjects to profeſs the Faith of *Chalcedon* without Moleſtation. II. That he ſhould reſtore the exiled Biſhops to their Sees, eſpecially *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Flavianus* of *Antioch*. III. That he ſhould call an Oecumenical Council, invite the Pope to it, and ſuffer, without interpoſing his Authority, the Decrees made againſt thoſe who maintained the Two Natures, to be impartially examined by the Biſhops. Theſe Articles being ſigned, and ſworn to, by the Emperor, by the whole Senate, and by all the Magiſtrates of the City, *Vitalianus* ſet at Liberty the Priſoners he had taken, and *Hypatius*, the Emperor's Nephew, among the reſt, disbanded his Troops, and withdrew to his Government [x]. It was in Compliance with the Articles of this Treaty, that the Emperor wrote to the Pope, begging his *Apoſtleſhip* to concur with him in reſtoring to the Church the wiſhed for Unity, and compoſing the Diſturbances which, under Pretence of Religion, had been raiſed in the Eaſt. He aſcribes his long Silence to the Sourneſs and Obſtinacy of the preceding Popes, and

The Emperor obliged to ſubmit, and upon what Terms.

The Emperor writes to the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 515.

[x] Marcell. chron. Cedren. in compend. hiſt. Anaſt.

his

his breaking it now to the Opinion he entertained, grounded on public Fame, of the Moderation and Goodneſs of *Hormiſdas*. This Letter was addreſſed *to the Moſt Holy and Moſt Religious Archbiſhop and Patriarch* Hormiſdas [y]. It was carried by *Patricius*, a Man of Rank, who left *Conſtantinople* on the 12th of *January* 515. and, arriving at *Rome* on the 1ſt of *April*, delivered it, with Two others, to the Pope, the one from *Vitalian*, probably acquainting him with the above-mentioned Treaty; for this Letter has not reached our Times; and another from *Dorotheus* of *Theſſalonica*, conjuring him not to neglect ſo favourable an Opportunity of healing the Diviſions that had reigned ſo long in the Church, and aſſuring him, that he had nothing ſo much at Heart as to ſee the Heretics condemned, and that Honour and Regard paid to the Apoſtolic See, that was due to the Throne of St. *Peter*. Year of Chriſt 515.

The Emperor's Letter *Hormiſdas* anſwered Three Days after he received it, but, ſuſpecting his Sincerity, in a very few Words, and thoſe well guarded. He returned Thanks to God for inſpiring the Emperor with the Reſolution of breaking, at laſt, his long Silence; expreſſed great Joy at the Hopes he gave him of ſeeing again the Church in Peace and Unity: and becauſe the Emperor had taxed the Popes, his Predeceſſors, with Sourneſs and Obſtinacy, he commends them for their Zeal and Steadineſs in maintaining, as Guardians of the true Faith, the antient Doctrine of the Catholic Church. He cloſes his Letter with promiſing to write more at Length, when he ſhall be better informed of the preſent State of Affairs in the Eaſt. In his Anſwer to *Dorotheus* of *Theſſalonica*, he praiſes his Zeal, and exhorts him to contribute, ſo far as in him lay, towards the re-uniting of the Two Churches [z]. *The Pope's Anſwer.*

The Emperor wrote, ſoon after, a Second Letter to the Pope, to acquaint him, that he had appointed a Council to meet at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, on the 15th of *July*, of the preſent Year, and to beg he would aſſiſt at it in Perſon, with ſome Biſhops at leaſt of the Churches committed to his Care. This the Pope declined, but promiſed to ſend proper Perſons into the Eaſt, to act in his Name; and diſpatched accordingly, not to *Heraclea*, where the Council was appointed to meet, but to *Conſtantinople*, Four Perſons of known Abilities, with the Character of Legates from the Apoſtolic *The Emperor writes a Second Letter to the Pope, inviting him to a Council, which he had appointed to meet.* *The Pope ſends Four Legates into the Eaſt.*

[y] Concil. t. 4. p. 1420. [z] Concil. ibid. p. 1424.

Year of Christ 515. See. These were *Ennodius*, of whom I have spoken above, lately raised to the Bishoprick of *Pavia*, *Fortunatus* likewise Bishop, but of what City is not well known, *Venantius* Presbyter, and *Vitalis* Deacon of the *Roman* Church, with a Notary named *Hilarus*. The private Instructions, which the Pope gave them in Writing, at their Departure, deserve particular Notice. They are very minute; and were delivered in the following Words: "When you arrive in "*Greece*, if the Bishops come out to meet you, receive them with "the Respect that is due to their Rank. If they offer to lodge you, "accept their Offer, that the Laity may not think you averse to an "Union; but if they invite you to their Tables, you must desire "them to excuse your not communicating with them at their com-"mon Tables, till they have communicated with you at the mystic "Table; neither Provisions, nor any thing else, must you accept at "their Hands, besides the necessary Carriages to pursue your Journey, "saying, You want nothing, you covet nothing, but their Good-"will. On your Arrival at *Constantinople*, repair strait to the "Lodging which the Emperor shall appoint; and, till you have "been admitted to him, admit none but those who come from "him. After you have waited on the Emperor, you may see the "Orthodox of our Communion, and those who are zealous for the "Union; but be on your Guard, use here the utmost Precaution, "and try, but with great Address, to discover the true Designs and "Views of the Court. When you deliver our Letter to the Em-"peror, you shall address him thus: Your Father greets you, prays "God daily for you, and daily recommends you to the Intercession "of the holy Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; that he who has "inspired you to advise with his Holiness about the Unity of the "Church, may soon complete what he has begun. Say no more, "till he has read the Letter; and then add: The Pope has likewise "written to your Servant *Vitalian*, in Answer to a Letter, which, "with your Permission, *Vitalian* wrote to your holy Father the "Pope; bnt we are commanded not to deliver it without your "Leave. Should the Emperor ask for it, your Answer must be; "Your holy Father the Pope has not commanded us to deliver it "to you, and we dare do nothing without his Command; but "send with us what Person soever you shall think fit to chuse, and "the Letter shall be read in his Presence. If the Emperor betrays "any Suspicion of your being charged with a private Commission,

Their private Instructions.

"or

" or private Orders for *Vitalian*, anſwer; Far be it from us!' that is Year of Chriſt 515.
" not our Cuſtom; that would be ſinning againſt God, whoſe Cauſe
" we are ſent to defend and maintain. The Legation of the holy
" Pope contains nothing of that Nature; his Requeſt is well known
" to all; he requires no more, than that the Conſtitutions of
" the Fathers be inviolably obſerved, and the Heretics driven out of
" the Church. Should the Emperor reply, For theſe Purpoſes I have
" ordered a Council to meet, and invited the Pope to it; thank
" God, the Author of ſo good a Diſpoſition; and, at the ſame Time,
" let him know, that he can by no other means re-eſtabliſh the
" Unity of the Church, but by treading in the Foot-ſteps of his
" Predeceſſors *Marcian* and *Leo*, that is, by receiving the Defi-
" nitions of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of Pope *Leo*. Should he
" anſwer, We receive both; return anew Thanks to God, and,
" kiſſing his Breaſt, ſay, We now find, that you are favoured by
" God: that is the Catholic Faith; and without that Faith none
" are Orthodox. If he pretends the *Greek* Biſhops to be Orthodox,
" and to obſerve the Maxims of the Fathers, ask him, Why then
" do ſuch Diviſions reign among them? Here you muſt put him in
" mind of the laſt Day, of the Account he is to give to the Judge
" of all Men; you muſt beg, pray, intreat, and, mixing Tears with
" your Prayers and Intreaties, ſay, The Faith of *Chalcedon* is the
" Faith of St. *Peter*, and on the Faith of St. *Peter* the Church was
" built. Should the Emperor ſay, I receive the Council of *Chal-*
" *cedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*; and deſire you to communicate
" with him; you muſt inſiſt, but with great Reſpect and Humility,
" on his firſt making it known by a public Act, that he receives
" the Doctrine which is held and taught by the Apoſtolic See. If
" Memorials are preſented to you againſt any Biſhops, receive the
" Memorials, but refer the judging of the Biſhops to the Apo-
" ſtolic See. If the Emperor declares in Writing, that he receives
" the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, his Declaration
" muſt be publiſhed in all the Provinces of the Empire, and one
" of you muſt attend thoſe who are charged to publiſh it. It is
" the Cuſtom at *Conſtantinople*, that all Biſhops be introduced to
" the Emperor by the Biſhop of that City. With this Cuſtom you
" muſt not comply, nor even ſuffer *Timotheus* to be preſent at your
" Audience. Should the Emperor deſire it, ſay, We are commanded
" by your holy Father, to ſuffer no Biſhop to be preſent. If he per-

Year of Christ 515.

" ſiſts, and ſtill requires *Timotheus* to be preſent, tell him, That, " among your other Orders, you have ſome relating to *Timotheus* " himſelf, which you muſt not diſcloſe in his Preſence. This you " muſt unalterably ſtand to, and avoid entering at all on the Sub- " ject of your Legation, till the Emperor command *Timotheus* to " withdraw [a]."

Terms required by the Pope to aſſiſt in Perſon at the Council.

To theſe Inſtructions the Pope added the Terms on which, and no other, he would aſſiſt in Perſon at the intended Council. Theſe were: I. That, before he left *Rome*, the Emperor ſhould receive, and, by a Declaration under his own Hand, notify to all the Biſhops in his Dominions, that he received, the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*. II. That the like Declaration ſhould be made and ſigned by all the Biſhops in the Eaſt, in the Preſence of the People; and that they ſhould, at the ſame Time, anathematize *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioſcorus*, *Ælurus*, *Petrus Mongus*, *Petrus Fullo*, *Acacius*, and all their Confederates; that is, all who had any-ways diſobliged the Apoſtolic See. III. That the Biſhops, who communicated with the *Roman* Church, and had been depoſed or baniſhed on that Account, ſhould be reſtored to their Sees. IV. That ſuch Biſhops as had perſecuted the Orthodox, or had been accuſed of Hereſy, ſhould be ſent to *Rome* to be judged there [b]. Moſt exorbitant Demands! To require that ſuch Biſhops as had been arraigned of Hereſy in the Eaſt, or had perſecuted thoſe, who, in the preſent Schiſm, had ſided with the *Roman* See, ſhould be ſent to *Rome* to be tried by that See, is what it had not yet come into the Thoughts of the moſt aſſuming Popes to ſuggeſt or propoſe. But *Hormiſdas* knew to what Streights *Anaſtaſius* was reduced by his rebellious Subjects of the Orthodox Party; and, taking Advantage of his Diſtreſs, raiſed his Demands accordingly. He did not doubt but the Emperor, to extricate himſelf out of the preſent Difficulties, and fix on his Head the tottering Crown, would agree to any Terms.

His Letter to the Emperor.

Beſides theſe Articles, and the private Inſtructions, the Pope delivered to the Legates a Letter for the Emperor, to acquaint him, that though it was an unprecedented thing to ſummon the Pope to a Council held out of *Rome* (which it certainly was not, and we have ſeen ſeveral Inſtances of it in the preceding Centuries); yet he was willing to comply with the Summons, provided the Council

[a] Vide Bar. ad ann. 515. [b] Bar. ibid.

of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, were previouſly received by all, and the Hetetics, meaning *Acacius*, and the others I have mentioned, were by all anathematized and condemned; that is, he was ready to aſſiſt at the Council, provided all Points were ſettled to his Satisfaction before the Council met, for the Settling of which the Council was to meet. The Pope's Letter is dated the 11th of *Auguſt* 515. The Legates left *Rome* the next Day, and, meeting with no Obſtructions in their Journey, arrived, in a very ſhort time, at *Conſtantinople*. The Emperor received them with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction: For he was now ſincerely deſirous of putting an End to the Diſturbances of the Church, which he found by Experience to be unavoidably attended with greater Diſturbances in the State, and of ſpending the ſmall Remains of his Life, for he was in the 85th Year of his Age, in Peace and Repoſe. However, he was ſtartled at the extravagant Demands of the Pope, and remonſtrated againſt them in the ſtrongeſt Terms, eſpecially againſt the Anathematizing of *Acacius*, telling the Legates, he did not doubt but that Point would be ſettled in the Council to the Satisfaction of both Parties, and begging they would not inſiſt on its being ſettled without the Concurrence of the Biſhops. The Legates pleaded the peremptory Orders of the Apoſtolic See, which they durſt not diſobey; and the Emperor, finding it was in vain for him to apply to them, wrote himſelf a moſt obliging Letter to the Pope, declaring, that he received both the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*; and aſſuring his *Apoſtleſhip*, that, as the Memory of *Acacius* was greatly revered by the People of *Conſtantinople*, the ſuppreſſing it in the Diptychs would occaſion greater Diſturbances, than any that had yet happened in that City. He added, that he did not think it right to drive the Living out of the Church on account of the Dead; but ſubmitted his Judgment to the Deciſion of the Council, which he had appointed to meet [c].

Year of Chriſt 515.

The Legates well received at Conſtantinople.

The Emperor remonſtrates againſt the extravagant Demands of the Pope.

The Emperor was not ſatisfied with only writing to the Pope. That no room might be left to queſtion his Sincerity, he ſent, the following Year, a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Apoſtolic See, employing, on that Occaſion, two Perſons of great Rank and Diſtinction; *viz.* *Theopompus*, *Comes Domeſticorum*, or Captain of his Guards, and *Severianus*, Count of the Imperial Conſiſtory, both diſtinguiſhed

He ſends a ſolemn Embaſſy to Rome.

Year of Chriſt 516.

[c] Concil. t. 4. p. 1432.

with

Year of Christ 516.

with the Title of *Clariſſimus*. He choſe two Laymen, not becauſe he thought the Buſineſs, on which they were ſent, to be of little or no Importance, as a late Writer pretends[d], angry at the Emperor's repoſing greater Confidence in the Laity than in the Clergy; but, probably, becauſe he knew the Eccleſiaſtics to be all ſtrongly byaſſed to the one Side or the other, and conſequently leſs capable of managing an Affair of that Nature with due Moderation and Temper. The Embaſſadors were charged to aſſure the Pope, that their Maſter was ſincerely inclined to a Reconciliation; and to diſſuade his Holineſs, if by any means they could, from requiring the Name of *Acacius* to be ſuppreſſed in the Diptychs, at leaſt till the Council met, ſince it was chiefly to ſettle that Point it had been appointed to meet. To the ſame Purpoſe the Emperor wrote Two Letters, the one to the Pope, and the other to the *Roman* Senate. In his Letter to the Senate, he intreats them, with great Earneſtneſs, to interpoſe their good Offices not only with the venerable Pope, but with their moſt glorious King *Theodoric*, that the Members of both Republics may, after ſo long a Separation, be again happily united[e] (A).

Employs Laymen, and why.

Writes by them to the Pope, and the Roman *Senate.*

The Embaſſadors ill received at Rome.

The Embaſſadors arrived ſafe at *Rome*, but met there with a very different Reception from that which the Pope's Legates had met with at *Conſtantinople*. For *Hormiſdas*, highly offended at the Emperor's employing Laymen, and not Eccleſiaſtics, in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and ſtill more at the Embaſſadors endeavouring to divert him, purſuant to their Inſtructions, from inſiſting on the Name of *Acacius* being ſtruck out of the Diptychs, at leaſt as a preliminary Article to his aſſiſting at the Council, diſmiſſed them after a ſhort Audience, and would ſee them no more; pretending that they had not been ſent to negotiate a Reconciliation, but to defend, even in *Rome*, the *Eutychian* Hereſy; nay, and to gain over, if poſſible, the Pope himſelf to that Party. He condeſcended, however, to return by them an Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter; but it was only to tell him, in a

[d] Fleuri Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 31. n. 23.

[e] Inter Epiſt. Hormiſd. l. 1. Epiſt. Rom. Pont.

(A) His Letter to the Pope was thus directed; *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus Hormiſdæ Papæ, per Theopompum & Severianum* V V. CC.; and thus that to the Senate; *Imperator Cæſar Flavius Anaſtaſius, Pius, Felix, Victor, ſemper Auguſtus, Germanicus inclytus, Alemannicus inclytus, Francicus inclytus, Sarmaticus inclytus, Pater Patriæ, Proconſulibus, Conſulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis, Senatuique ſuo ſalutem dicit.* It begins, *Si vos liberique veſtri valetis, bene eſt: Ego exercituſque meus valemus.*

few

few Words, that he might have ſaved himſelf the Trouble of writing to the Senate, ſince he could not doubt but the Apoſtolic See was ready to receive, without the Interpoſition either of the King, or the Senate, and embrace with great Joy, ſuch as returned to the Unity of the Church, provided they firſt anathematized all Heretics, and all the Abetters of Hereſy. He forbore mentioning *Acacius* in particular; but the Senate let the Emperor know, in their Anſwer to his Letter, that the Name of that Prelate was the only Obſtruction to the wiſhed-for Reconciliation; that the Pope peremptorily inſiſted on its being omitted at the Altar; and that, notwithſtanding the ſincere and moſt ardent Deſire his Holineſs had of completing ſo great and glorious a Work, he would hearken to no other Terms till that was complied with. With theſe Letters the Embaſſadors returned to *Conſtantinople*; and the Emperor, deſpairing of ever being able to prevail upon the Pope to moderate his Demands, or even to ſuffer them to be examined by an Oecumenical Council, thought it was to no Purpoſe to aſſemble one. He therefore diſmiſſed the Biſhops, about 200 in Number, who were already come to *Heraclea*, countermanded the reſt, who were on their Journey to that Place; and, loudly complaining, as he well might, of the unparalleled Obſtinacy of the Pope, laid aſide all Thoughts of a Reconciliation. However, his thus ſtanding up in Defence of *Acacius*, whoſe Memory was held in great Veneration at *Conſtantinople*, reinſtated him in the Favour of the People, the Orthodox People, no leſs offended than he at the Inflexibility of the Pope; inſomuch that, preſuming on the Affection, and the Gratitude, they ſhewed him, he diveſted *Vitalian*, this very Year, of all his Power, and, without the leaſt Diſturbance, appointed *Ruſinus*, a zealous *Acacian*, to command in his room.

Year of Chriſt 516.

His diſobliging Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter.

He inſiſts on the Name of Acacius *being eraſed.*

The Emperor obliged by the Obſtinacy of the Pope to lay aſide all Thoughts of a Reconciliation.

The Conduct of *Hormiſdas* on this Occaſion was diſpleaſing even to thoſe who were the moſt zealous for the Union. They thought that the Unity of the Church, for which he pretended ſo much Zeal, being at Stake, he might have gratified the Emperor ſo far as to have connived at their keeping the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs till the Council met, and not obſtinately inſiſted on its being ſtruck out, as a preliminary Article to the Meeting of the Council, or to his aſſiſting at it with the Weſtern Biſhops. The Pope, therefore, to juſtify his Conduct, and at the ſame time to try anew whether he could not convince the Emperor, and the Biſhops in thoſe Parts, of the Reaſonableneſs of his Demand with reſpect to the Name of *Acacius*, and

The Pope ſends a Second Legation into the Eaſt.

Year of Chriſt 517.

Year of Christ 517.

and prevail upon them to comply with it, for he was unalterably determined not to yield, resolved to send a second Legation into the East; and on this Occasion too he employed *Ennodius*, who had already given so many Proofs of his inviolable Attachment to the *Roman* See, and with him *Peregrinus* of *Misenum*, a Prelate of great Learning and Address. By them the Pope wrote anew to the Emperor, to the Orthodox Bishops, to the Clergy, Monks, and People of *Constantinople*; nay, and even condescended to write to *Timotheus*, the *Eutychian* Bishop of that City, and to the other Bishops who did not communicate with *Rome*. These Letters were chiefly filled with Invectives against *Acacius*, as a Heretic, as an Abetter of Heresy, as the sole Author of all the Evils that had happened to the Church, as one altogether unworthy of being ranked among the Catholic Bishops; and the Burden of all was, that his Name must not be suffered to remain in the Diptychs[f]. With these Letters, the Pope delivered to the Legates a Confession of Faith, to be made, in their Presence, by all who should return to the Communion of *Rome*; and they were strictly injoined to receive none who did not sign it, without the least Alteration, either in the Sense or the Words. By that Confession they were, 1. To anathematize all Heretics in general, and those in particular, who have been mentioned above, together with *Acacius*. 2. To receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Letter of *Leo* on the Incarnation, and all the Letters which that Pope had written on the Christian Religion; tho' most of the Orientals, probably all, were utter Strangers to those Letters, and the Doctrine they contained. 3. They were to declare, that they conformed, and would conform in all Things, to the Apostolic See; that they received all the Constitutions of the *Roman* Church, and would suppress, at the Altar, the Names of those who had died out of the Communion of the Catholic Church, that is (for so it was explained in the Confession), of those, who, at their Death, had disagreed in Opinion with the Apostolic See[g]. This was obliging all, who would communicate with *Rome*, to promise an intire Submission and Obedience to the Ordinances of that See, and to own all, who died out of the Communion of *Rome*, to die out of the Communion of the Catholic Church; which, he could not but know, none even of the Orthodox Party would agree to, as Matters then stood.

He writes to the Emperor, and to many others.

The Confession of Faith, which he required all to sign.

[f] Hormisd. Ep. 11. 17, 18, 19, 20.

[g] Apud Bar. ad ann. 517. p. 689, 690.

The

The Emperor heard with great Joy, that the Pope was ſending a Second Legation into the Eaſt, concluding from thence, that, in the End, he had thought it adviſeable to moderate his Demands, at leaſt, ſo far as to refer the Deciſion of the Diſpute about the Name of *Acacius* to be determined by an Oecumenical Council. Diſſembling, therefore, the Reception his Embaſſadors had met with at *Rome*, he received the Legates in the moſt obliging Manner, reſpecting in them the Dignity and Holineſs of him who ſent them. But when he found, to his great Diſappointment, that *Hormiſdas* was ſtill inflexible, and unalterably bent on carrying his Point; nay, that inſtead of abating, he had raiſed his Demands, he was provoked to ſuch a Degree, that he ordered the Legates forthwith to depart the Palace, charging Two Officers, *Heliodorus* and *Demetrius*, with the Soldiers under their Command, to attend them to a Veſſel, and ſee them conveyed out of his Dominions, without ſuffering them anywhere to ſet Foot on Shore. By them, however, he returned an Anſwer to the Pope's Letter; but it was only to reproach him with Pride, Obſtinacy, and Preſumption; and to compare his haughty and imperious Behaviour with that of the meek and humble *Jeſus*. He cloſes his Letter with theſe Words; *We ſhall give you no further Trouble, it being in vain for us to pray or intreat you, ſince you are obſtinately determined not to hearken to our Prayers and Intreaties: we can bear to be deſpiſed and affronted; but we will not be commanded* [h]. This Letter is dated the 11th of *July* 517. The Pope, apprehending, as he well might, that the Emperor would never ſubmit to his Terms, had delivered to the Legates, at their Departure, ſeveral Copies of a Proteſt, which, in that Caſe, they were to make, and diſperſe all over the Eaſt. The Proteſt was calculated chiefly to inflame the Mob againſt the Emperor, and oblige him, by that means, to comply. But the Biſhops, to whom the Copies were conveyed by the Monks, the Emiſſaries of *Rome*, offended at the unchriſtian Conduct of the Pope, inſtead of publiſhing them, ſent them all to *Conſtantinople*.

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The Emperor provoked at the Terms they propoſed.

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

The Pope attempts in vain to ſtir up the Mob againſt him.

The Monks, in ſeveral Places, paid dear for their Attachment to *Rome*, eſpecially in the Province of the *Second Syria*. For, having taken upon them there to preach the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, *Severus* of *Antioch*, a zealous *Eutychian*, to whoſe Patriarchal See that Pro-

Several Monks maſſacred for their Attachment to Rome *and the Council of* Chalcedon.

[h] Inter Hormiſd. Epiſt. poſt Ep. 20. Vid. Bar. ad ann. 517. p. 693, 694.

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vince was subject, caused their Monasteries to be set on Fire, and 350 of them to be inhumanly massacred by a Band of Ruffians, hired for that Purpose. Thus he retaliated on them the Cruelties, which, at their Instigation, had been practised by the Orthodox a few Years before on those of his Party. Of this barbarous Treatment the Monks sent Two of their Body to complain to the Emperor, and implore his Protection. But *Anastasius* looked now upon the Monks, and other Friends of *Rome*, as his avowed Enemies; and therefore, instead of revenging the Death of their slain Brethren, or granting them his Protection, he drove the Deputies, with reproachful Language, from his Presence, and ordered them forthwith to quit the City.

They recur to the Pope.

In this Extremity, the Monks resolved to recur to *Hormisdas*; and

Their flattering Letter to him.

dispatched accordingly the same Deputies to *Rome*, with a flattering Letter, in the Form of a Memorial, for the Pope, styling him, in the Address, *the most holy and blessed Patriarch of the whole World*; and intreating him, in the Letter, as *the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles*, as *the Head of all*, to rise up, and manfully exert the Power of loosening and binding, with which he was vested, in Defence of the oppressed Faith, of the blasphemed Fathers, of the every-where anathematized Council of *Chalcedon*. They concluded with recommending themselves to the Protection of his Holiness; and with cursing, in order to earn it, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Petrus Fullo*, *Petrus Mongus*, *Acacius*, and all who presumed to defend them [i]. This Memorial the Pope answered by a long Letter, addressed not to the Monks only, but to all the Orthodox in the East, exhorting them to adhere steadily to the true Faith, the Faith of *Chalcedon*, and bear with Resignation and Patience the Evils they suffered, till it should please God to relieve them [k].

Anastasius *dies*; *and* Justin *is raised to the Empire in his room.*

They were relieved soon after; for the Pope's Letter was dated the 10th of *February*, and on the 9th of the following *July* died *Anastasius* (A); and *Justin*, then *Præfectus Prætorio*, was proclaimed Emperor

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[i] Inter Ep. Hormisd. ante Ep. 22. [k] Hormisd. Ep. 21.

(A) Some write, that a violent Storm arising, the Dread and Terror with which he was seized, put an End to his Life (1). Others suppose him to have been killed by a Flash of Lightning (2). He died, according to some (3), in the 88th Year of his Age; according to others, in the 91st (4); having reigned 27 Years, 2 Months, and 29 Days. *Baronius* construes his Death into a Judgment, chiefly for his

(1) Theod. p. 505. Marc. chron. Tun. (2) Zonar. p. 47. (3) Theod. Lect. Vict. (4) Chron. Alex.

Arrogance,

peror in his room (B). This Change in the State was attended with a far greater Change in the Church. The new Emperor, though quite illiterate, was a moſt zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of the Two Natures, and prejudiced, even to Bigotry, in Favour of the Council of *Chalcedon*. The News of his Promotion was therefore received by the Orthodox, throughout the Empire, with Demonſtrations of Joy not to be expreſſed. On this Occaſion the People of *Conſtantinople* diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by their Zeal for the Catholic Faith, above the reſt. For, impatient to ſee their Adverſaries humbled at laſt, and the impious Hereſy of the *Manichees* (for they were made to believe, that the *Eutychians* and the *Manichees* held the ſame

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Arrogance, in preſuming to tell the High-Pontiff, in plain Terms, that he would not be commanded (5). We are told by a Writer of thoſe Times (6), that the Death of *Anaſtaſius* was revealed, the Minute it happened, to St. *Elias*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was then in Exile, at a great Diſtance from *Conſtantinople*; and that the Saint immediately imparted the News to Three Monks, who were come to viſit him, adding, that he himſelf ſhould outlive the Emperor only Ten Days, having been ſummoned to appear, the Tenth Day from the Time of his Death, as an Evidence at the dreadful Tribunal againſt him. The Hiſtorian adds, That St. *Elias* died at the preciſe Time he had foretold; and *Baronius*, concluding from thence, that the Emperor was damned (for he does not queſtion the Truth of that Tale), cloſes his Sixth Volume with the following Words: "As the Children of "*Iſrael*, exulting with Joy, ſung the "Praiſes of God, when they had ſafely "paſſed the *Red-Sea*, in which *Pharaoh* "and his whole Army were drowned, let "us in like manner exult, and ſing, with "the Church, a Song of Victory, having "happily ended this Volume, in which "we have ſeen, at laſt, the wicked Em-"peror judged, damned, and thruſt down "to Hell." A proper Subject indeed for a Song! Pope *Nicolas* I. ranks *Anaſtaſius* with *Nero*, *Dioclesian*, and *Conſtantius*, among the Perſecutors of the Church (7).

(B) *Juſtin* was a Native of *Bederiana*, a City on the Borders of *Thrace* and *Illyricum* (1). He was deſcended of an obſcure and mean Family, and employed in his Youth in keeping Cattle, and tilling the Ground. He afterwards liſted himſelf among the Guards of the Emperor *Leo*; and having, on ſeveral Occaſions, given ſignal Proofs of an extraordinary Valour, he was raiſed, by *Leo*, from the low Station of a common Soldier, to the Poſt of Tribune, and by *Anaſtaſius* to the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio* (2). *Evagrius* writes, that the Eunuch *Amantius*, the deceaſed Emperor's Great Chamberlain, having intruſted *Juſtin* with large Sums, to purchaſe the Votes of the Soldiery for *Theocritus*, the Eunuch's intimate Friend, *Juſtin* diſtributed the Money in his own Name; and having, by that means, ſecured the Army to his Intereſt, he was by them, upon the Death of *Anaſtaſius*, proclaimed Emperor (3). He was quite illiterate; could neither read nor write; nor was he capable, if *Procopius* is to be credited (4), of diſpatching Buſineſs of any Kind, without the Aſſiſtance of others. The Perſon, whom he chiefly employed, and in whom he repoſed the greateſt Truſt, was *Proclus* his Quæſtor, whom we may ſuppoſe to have been a zealous Catholic, ſince the new Emperor, who was, in great meaſure, ſwayed by him, ſhewed ſo much Zeal for the Catholic Faith.

(5) Bar. ad ann. 518. p. 704. (6) Cyrill. apud Cotel. t. 3. Monument. Eccl. Græc. c. 60. (7) Nic. ep. ad Michael. Imper. (1) Procop. Hiſt. Arcan. c. 6. (2) Idem ibid. (3) Evagr. l. 4. c. 2. (4) Procop. ubi ſupra.

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Doctrine) utterly extirpated, while the Emperor was assisting, after his Election, at Divine Service, which was performed with great Solemnity by the Patriarch attended by several Bishops, and his numerous Clergy, they unexpectedly broke out into loud and repeated Acclamations, *Long live the Emperor, the new* Constantine! *Long live the Empress* (C), *the new* Helena! *Long live the Patriarch, worthy of the Trinity* (D)! In the Midst of these Acclamations, they shut the Doors of the Church; and then declared with one Voice, that, since it had pleased Heaven to give them, in the room of a *Manichee*, a Christian Emperor, they would suffer none to depart till the Patriarch had publicly received the Council of *Chalcedon*, had publicly anathematized all who rejected that holy Synod, namely, the new *Judas Severus* of *Antioch*, and had replaced in the Diptychs the Names of his Two Predecessors *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, with that of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, which had been erased by the wicked *Timotheus*. The Patriarch was obliged to grant them all they required. But the Populace, not yet satisfied, returned the next Day, and, repeating the same Acclamations, demanded *Amantius*, the late Emperor's Great Chamberlain, and the chief Author of the Persecution against the Orthodox, to be forthwith driven out of the Palace, and the exiled Bishops restored to their Sees. The Patriarch promised to acquaint the Emperor, who was not present that Day, with their Request, and, besides, to cause whatever had been done by him alone the Day before to be confirmed by a Council. A Council was accordingly assembled, and in great Haste, in Four Days time, to gratify the impatient and riotous Multitude. It was composed of the Bishops who happened to be then in *Constantinople*, or

The Populace oblige the Patriarch to receive the Council of Chalcedon.

And to assemble a Council, which receives that of Chalcedon, *and depose* Severus *of* Antioch.

(C) The Name of the present Empress was *Euphemia*. She was by Birth a Barbarian, and once a Slave. *Justin* bought her while he was yet a private Man, and kept her many Years as his Concubine (5). He afterwards married her; and, when raised to the Empire, honoured her with the Title of *Augusta*; but would have her first to quit her original and barbarous Name, that of *Lupicina*, and take a *Roman* in its room. He chose the Name of *Euphemia*, to shew, as is supposed, the great Regard he had for the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held in the Church of that Martyr.

(D) *John*, surnamed *Cappadox*, probably because a Native of *Cappadocia*, was at this time Bishop of *Constanninople*, having been chosen this very Year in the room of *Timotheus* the *Eutychian*. He had all along professed the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*; but yet did not scruple, notwithstanding the Praise now bestowed on him by the Populace, to anathematize that Council, when he found that *Anastasius* (for he was chosen some Months before his Death) would not suffer him to be ordained till he had anathematized it (6).

(5) Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 6.

(6) Vict. Tun.

in

in that Neighbourhood, in all 40 or 43, many of them declared *Eutychians*. However, the Council of *Chalcedon* was by all unanimouſly received; the Names of *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Leo*, were replaced in the Diptychs; *Severus* of *Antioch*, the moſt inveterate Enemy the Orthodox had, was anathematized, depoſed, and diveſted of all Epiſcopal Power and Authority; and the Biſhops, who had been baniſhed for defending the CatholicFaith, were ordered to be reſtored to their Sees, when it ſhould pleaſe the Emperor to recal them from Exile [l]. Year of Chriſt 518.

The Acts of the Council were immediately communicated to the Emperor, who not only approved and confirmed them, but iſſued an Edict, commanding all Biſhops, within his Dominions, to receive publicly, in the Preſence of the Clergy and People, the Council of *Chalcedon*, on pain of forfeiting their Sees. By the ſame Edict he reſtored to their Rank, Honours, and Dignities, ſuch as had been depoſed, or ſent into Exile, for ſtanding up in Defence of the Doctrine defined by that holy Synod. A few Days after, another Edict appeared, excluding Heretics of all Denominations, namely the *Eutychians*, from all Employments, both Civil and Military. The late Emperor, however addicted to the *Eutychian* Party, made no Diſtinction, in the Diſpoſal of Employments, between the Orthodox and the *Eutychians*. *Juſtin* himſelf was known to be a zealous Catholic; but that did not diſqualify him, with an *Eutychian* Emperor, from being raiſed to the firſt Employments. The Publication of theſe Edicts was followed by the Execution of *Amantius*, and ſuch of the *Eutychians* as were the moſt obnoxious to the Orthodox Party. The General *Vitalian*, whom *Anaſtaſius* had diſcharged, was recalled to Court, and reſtored to his Poſt. As for *Severus* of *Antioch*, who had ſignalized himſelf above all of his Party, by his Hatred to the Orthodox, and his Abhorrence of the Doctrine of the Two Natures, anathematizing daily thoſe who had introduced ſuch a Tenet into the Church, the Emperor ordered him to be apprehended, and his Tongue to be cut out. But, before the Sentence could be put in Execution, he made his Eſcape, and got ſafe into *Egypt*, where he was kindly received, and carefully concealed, by *Timotheus*, the *Eutychian* Biſhop of *Alexandria* [m].

The Emperor confirms the Acts of the Council, and commands all Biſhops to receive that of Chalcedon, *on pain of Depoſition.*

Amantius, *the late Emperor's Great Chamberlain, executed.*

Sentence pronounced againſt Severus, *who makes his Eſcape.*

[l] Concil. t. 4. p. 178. Cyril. in vit. Sab. c. 60.

[m] Procop. Hiſt. Arcan. c. 6. Evagr. l. 4. c. 4.

The

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The above-mentioned Edicts were no ſooner publiſhed in the Provinces, than Councils were every-where aſſembled, and Synodical Letters ſent up from all Quarters to *Conſtantinople*, fraught with Invectives, Curſes, and Anathemas, againſt all who preſumed to diſpute the Authority of the holy Council of *Chalcedon*. They were now all convinced, that the Doctrine of the Two Natures was the only true Doctrine, and, as ſuch, they received it, declaring the oppoſite Dogma, which, in the late Emperor's Time, moſt of them had held, and zealouſly defended, to be a Blaſphemy againſt Heaven, and pronouncing all, who countenanced it, Enemies to God and his Church [n]. I do not know of a ſingle Biſhop, who choſe rather to forfeit his See, than renounce his Opinion: the Imperial Edicts carried with them ſuch a Conviction, as none could withſtand.

The Council of Chalcedon *received by all.*

Juſtin, having thus united the Eaſtern Biſhops among themſelves (for none durſt now utter a ſingle Word againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the Two Natures), undertook, in the next Place, to unite them with their Brethren in the Weſt, coveting nothing ſo much as the Glory of putting an End to the unhappy Diviſions, that, to the Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name and Religion, had ſo long prevailed in the Catholic Church. He therefore wrote a moſt kind and obliging Letter to *Hormiſdas*, acquainting him with his Promotion, with the ſincere and ardent Deſire he had of ſeeing all, who profeſſed the ſame Faith, united in the ſame Communion; and, at the ſame Time, intreating him in his own Name, as well as in the Name of the Biſhop of the Imperial City, and other well-diſpoſed Prelates, to ſend Legates into the Eaſt, capable of forwarding and accompliſhing ſo deſireable a Work. With the Emperor's Letter, and others, to the ſame Purpoſe, from *John* of *Conſtantinople*, from the Synod, which was then ſitting in that City, from other Biſhops, and from Count *Juſtinian*, the Emperor's Nephew and Succeſſor in the Empire, was diſpatched to *Rome Gratus*, a Perſon of Diſtinction, and honoured with the Title of *Clariſſimus*. On his Arrival in that City, he was immediately introduced to the Pope, who received him, as we may well imagine, and read the Letters he brought, with inexpreſſible Joy. He concluded, from the earneſt Deſire they all expreſſed of ſeeing the Unity of the Church reſtored, and all Schiſms and Diviſions baniſhed for ever from the Kingdom of Chriſt, that they were diſpoſed to purchaſe ſuch valuable Bleſſ-

The Emperor, deſirous of putting an End to the Schiſm, writes to the Pope.

And deſires him to diſpatch Legates into the Eaſt.

[n] Synod. in Anth. Act. 1.

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ings upon any Terms. Reſolved therefore to improve ſuch a Diſpoſition to the Advantage of his See, he anſwered immediately the Emperor's Letter, and that of the Patriarch, commending their Zeal, and aſſuring them, that if they, on their Side, were ready, as he hoped they were, to remove the Cauſe of Diſcord, he was ready on his to concur with them in eſtabliſhing Concord; that is, he was ready to eſtabliſh Concord on his own Terms, and no other [o]. He does not mention *Acacius* in his Letter to the Emperor; but in that to the Patriarch he tells him, that all he has done, and all he can do, to procure the Peace of the Church, will prove in the End but loſt Labour, unleſs he is reſolved to anathematize the impious *Acacius*, to eraſe his Name out of the ſacred Regiſter, and ſubſcribe the Articles annexed to the Letter he ſends him. The Articles were theſe I have mentioned above, which ſeemed ſo very unreaſonable to the late Emperor, that he drove the Legates from his Preſence, and ordered them to quit his Dominions, for daring to propoſe them.

The Pope inſiſts on the ſame Terms.

The Pope ſends Legates anew into the Eaſt.

Their Inſtructions.

Year of Chriſt 519.

The following Year *Hormiſdas*, in Compliance with the Emperor's Requeſt, ſent a Third Legation into the Eaſt, conſiſting of Two Biſhops, *Germanus* and *John*, One Presbyter named *Blandus*, and Two Deacons *Felix* and *Dioſcorus*. Their Inſtructions were; I. To receive none to their Communion, who had not firſt ſigned the above-mentioned Articles. II. Not to ſee the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, even ſhould the Emperor deſire them to ſee him, till he had declared, that he received the Articles, and was ready to ſign them, without any kind of Reſtriction or Explication. III. To cauſe not only the Name of *Acacius* to be put out of the Diptychs, but thoſe likewiſe of his Succeſſors, *Euphemius* and *Macedonius* not excepted; ſince they too died out of the Communion of *Rome*, though they died in Exile, and in Defence of the Orthodox Faith. IV. If the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould comply with every thing that is required of him, to inſiſt on his acquainting therewith, by a circular Letter, ſigned by him, all the Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, and exhort them to follow his Example [p]. With theſe Inſtructions the Pope delivered to the Legates a great Number of Letters; for by them he wrote to the Emperor, to the Empreſs, to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, to *Theodoſius* his Archdeacon, and the reſt of the Clergy, to *Juſtinian*, to *Celer* and *Patricius*, both Men of great

Writes by them a great Number of Letters.

[o] Hormiſd. ep. 23, 24.

[p] Extat inter epiſt. Hormiſd.

Power

Year of Chriſt 519.

Power and Intereſt at Court, to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, reſiding at *Theſſalonica*, through which City the Legates were to paſs; and, laſtly, to *Anaſtaſia* and *Palmatia*, Two Women of Diſtinction, and both zealous Advocates, even in the late Emperor's Time, for the Doctrine of the Two Natures. The Purport of all theſe Letters was to exhort thoſe, to whom they were addreſſed, to be aſſiſting to the Legates in bringing to a happy Iſſue the great Buſineſs on which they were ſent; to convince them, that the *Roman* Church, founded on the Faith of St. *Peter*, could not, without contaminating herſelf, communicate with thoſe who had contaminated themſelves by communicating with Heretics, till ſhe was well ſatisfied, that they ſincerely renounced ſuch a Communion; and that they could by no other means ſatisfy her as to that important Point, but by profeſſing the Faith which ſhe profeſſed, and condemning thoſe whom ſhe condemned [9].

The Legates received every-where with great Demonſtrations of Joy.

With theſe Letters the Legates ſet out for *Conſtantinople*; and, being met, at their Landing in *Greece*, and attended on their Journey, by the Two Counts *Stephanus* and *Laurentius*, ſent by the Emperor for that Purpoſe, they were every-where received with loud Acclamations, and, as they expreſſed it in their Letter to the Pope, in a kind of Triumph. The Biſhops and Clergy of the Cities, through which they paſſed, readily ſigned the Articles of Union preſcribed by *Rome*, however derogatory to their own Rights; anathematized *Acacius*; ſtruck his Name, as well as the Names of his Succeſſors, out of the Diptychs; and were thereupon admitted by the Legates to their Communion, and by them declared united again in Communion and Faith to the See of St. *Peter*. As they approached *Conſtantinople*, they were met by *Juſtinian*, by the General *Vitalian*, by *Pompeius*, a Man of great Intereſt at Court, and by ſeveral other Perſons of the firſt Rank, and attended by them into the City. The next Day they waited on the Emperor, who received them in the moſt obliging manner; and, after expreſſing the earneſt Deſire he had of putting an End to ſo long a Schiſm, and ſeeing all good Chriſtians, eſpecially the Prelates of the Church, united among themſelves in the Bonds of Charity, deſired them to conſult the Patriarch, and ſettle with him the Terms of Union, that no room might be left, on either Side, for new Diſputes. The Legates replied, agreeably to their Inſtructions, that the bleſſed Pope *Hor-*

Great Reſpect paid them at Conſtantinople.

[9] Hormiſd. ep. 30—41.

miſdas

miſdas had ſettled the Terms, which therefore muſt not be altered, nor even diſputed, ſince they were ſtrictly injoined by his Holineſs to admit none to the Communion of the Apoſtolic See, who did not receive them without the leaſt Alteration. The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had already received the Council of *Chalcedon*; and now agreed to ſtrike the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs, which was all the Predeceſſors of *Hormiſdas* had required. But to inſiſt on his eraſing likewiſe the Names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, who had ſuffered a moſt cruel Perſecution, the Loſs of their Sees, and Exile, in Defence of the Catholic Faith; to oblige him to receive not only the Letter of *Leo* on the Incarnation, but all the Letters written by that Pope on the Chriſtian Religion; and, beſides, to promiſe, that he would conform in all things to the Apoſtolic See, and look upon thoſe who died out of the Communion of the *Roman*, as dying out of the Communion of the Catholic Church; ſeemed to him the Height of Preſumption in the Biſhop of *Rome*. Againſt theſe Articles therefore he warmly remonſtrated, as artfully calculated to ſubject, rather than to unite, the See of *Conſtantinople* to that of *Rome*. But the Legates were inflexible; and, on the other hand, the Emperor was determined, out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Church, to agree to any Terms rather than to ſuffer ſo ſcandalous a Diviſion to continue among the Chriſtian Biſhops. Finding therefore that the Legates would not yield, he declared, that the Patriarch ſhould; and accordingly, having firſt cauſed the Articles to be approved by the Senate, he commanded him to receive them. The Patriarch ſtill objected againſt them, as derogatory to the Rights and Liberties of his See, and highly injurious to the Memory of his Two holy Predeceſſors *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, whoſe Names were written in the Book of Life. But the Emperor, who was utterly unacquainted with the Laws, Diſcipline, and Practice of the Church, being deaf to all Remonſtrances, the Patriarch was in the End obliged to yield, and promiſed accordingly to comply with the Terms preſcribed by the Pope; but, at the ſame time, begged, that inſtead of ſigning the Articles as they had been drawn up and worded at *Rome*, he might be allowed to write a Letter to the ſame Purpoſe, addreſſed to his Holineſs. His View therein was to avoid certain Expreſſions in the Articles, which ſeemed to import ſome kind of Authority in the See of *Rome* over that of *Conſtantinople*. This occaſioned great Diſputes; but it was agreed at laſt,

Year of Chriſt 519.

The Patriarch remonſtrates againſt the extravagant Demands of the Pope.

But the Emperor obliges him to comply with them.

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laſt, that the Patriarch ſhould ſign the Articles, without the leaſt Alteration, Addition, Exception, or Limitation; but that he ſhould be allowed to premiſe a Preamble, addreſſed to *Hormiſdas*, in the Form of a Letter. Purſuant to this Agreement, he ſigned the Articles; but took care, in the Preamble, which he firſt prefixed to them, that no room ſhould be left for the preſent Pope, or his Succeſſors, to claim, from his having ſigned them, any kind of Authority or Juriſdiction over him, or his Succeſſors. For he addreſſed him with no other Title but that of *Brother*, and *Fellow-miniſter*, which evidently excludes all kind of Subjection; and whereas the Pope magnified the See of *Rome*, and ſeemed to exalt it above all other Sees, as the Throne of the firſt Apoſtle, the Patriarch declared in his Letter, that *he held the Two holy Churches of Old and New* Rome *to be one and the ſame Church*; which was equalling the Two Churches, and diſowning all Superiority in the one to the other. He was a Match for the Pope.

Remarkable Inſtance of his Policy and Addreſs.

The Names of Acacius, *and his Succeſſors, with thoſe of the Emperors* Zeno *and* Anaſtaſius, *ſtruck out of the Diptychs.*

The Articles being thus ſigned by the Patriarch, the Name of *Acacius*, and with his the Names of the other Biſhops, who had ſucceeded him in the See of *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the Beginning of the Schiſm to the preſent Time, *viz.* of *Fravitas*, *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Timotheus*, were all, without Diſtinction between *Eutychian* and Orthodox, ſtruck out of the Diptychs; nay, to complete the Vengeance of the Apoſtolic See, and extend it to all indiſcriminately, who had any-ways diſobliged their Holineſſes, the Names of the Two Emperors *Anaſtaſius* and *Zeno* were, at the Requeſt of the Legates, cancelled, together with thoſe of the Biſhops. And now the Legates, having obtained all they were injoined to require, declared, in the Name of the bleſſed Pope *Hormiſdas*, the Two Sees united again in Charity and Faith. They then attended the Patriarch to the great Church; aſſiſted at Divine Service performed by him with great Solemnity, the Emperor, the Empreſs, the whole Court, and the Senate, being preſent; and, to ſeal the Union, received with him, and probably at his Hands, the Holy Euchariſt [r]. Thus ended the firſt great Schiſm between the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Rome*, after it had laſted 35 Years.

The Schiſm ended, and the Two Churches intirely reconciled.

The *Roman*-Catholic Writers have taken unwearied Pains, in the Account they give us of that fatal Diviſion, to lay the whole Blame

[r] Relat. Legat. inter Epiſt. Hormiſd. t. 1. Epiſt. ſumm. Pont.

on

on the *Greeks*, and not only to excuſe, but ſet forth the Conduct of the Popes, from the Beginning of the Schiſm, to the Reconciliation of the Two Churches, as highly commendable, as altogether worthy of the *Succeſſors of St.* Peter, of the *Vicars of Chriſt upon Earth.* But none of them have yet been able to ſhew, and we may well defy them, with all their Art and Eloquence, ever to ſhew, what Evil would have accrued to the Faith, the Church, or the Chriſtian Religion, from the Name of *Acacius*, the Subject of the Diſpute, being kept in the Diptychs, or what Good would have accrued from its being eraſed. For, to ſay with the Popes, that to keep his Name in the Roll of the Catholic Biſhops was contaminating the Catholic Faith, becauſe he had contaminated himſelf by communicating with contaminated Perſons, and contaminated all who communicated with him, as thoſe, who communicated with him, contaminated all who communicated with them, and ſo *in infinitum*, is confounding the Reader with Words jumbled together without any Meaning. But if the retaining that Name could be attended with no Evil affecting the Faith, or the Church; if the cancelling it would be attended with no Good thence ariſing to either; it would have been quite inexcuſable in the Popes to have excommunicated the *Greeks* for retaining it, even though they had not been able to allege any Reaſon why they retained it. But they had very ſubſtantial Reaſons; and their acting otherwiſe than they did, could have been attended, as they often remonſtrated, with infinite Evils, and in all Likelihood with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Faith in the Empire of the Eaſt [s]. What muſt we therefore think of the Popes obſtinately inſiſting on the *Greeks* yielding, even in theſe Circumſtances, to their Will, and ſeparating themſelves from their Communion, becauſe they would not? Did they act therein as the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, as the Vicars of Chriſt? To ſay they did, is abſolute Blaſphemy. From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that the Popes were the Schiſmatics, with thoſe who adhered to them; and not the *Greeks*, though generally ſtigmatized with that Name; they alone being Schiſmatics, agreeably to the Definition of St. *Cyprian*, received by all, who, without juſt Cauſe, ſeparate themſelves, as I have ſhewn the Popes to have done, from the reſt of their Brethren.

Year of Chriſt 519. *In this Diviſion the Popes the Schiſmatics, and not the* Greeks.

The Emperor was not ſatisfied with cauſing the Articles, ſent from *Rome*, to be received and ſigned by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; but, to complete the Union between the Eaſt and the Weſt, reſolved,

The Emperor orders the Articles, ſent from Rome, *to be ſigned by the other Patriarchs.*

[s] See above, p. 217. 221.

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reſolved, out of the Abundance of his Zeal for the Unity of the Church, to oblige the other Two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Metropolitan of *Theſſalonica*, to ſign the ſame Articles. *Paul*, who, on the Flight of *Severus* from *Antioch*, had been ſubſtituted in his room, obeyed with great Readineſs, being a moſt zealous Catholic, but, in other reſpects, a Diſgrace to his Order; inſomuch that the Catholics themſelves, offended at his Lewdneſs, and ſcandalous Life, obliged him to reſign. He was ſucceeded by *Euphraſius*, who began his Epiſcopacy with anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ſtriking out of the Diptychs the Names of all the Biſhops who had aſſiſted at that Aſſembly, and with them the Names of the Popes from *Leo* to *Hormiſdas*. But the Governor of the Province having let him know, that, unleſs he recanted, the Imperial Edict muſt be put in Execution, commanding all, who did not receive the Council and Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, to be driven from their Sees, he repented what he had done, received the Council, anathematized all who did not receive it, replaced in the Diptychs the Names, which he had eraſed a few Days before, and, ſigning the Articles, was re-admitted to the Communion of *Rome* [t].

They are ſigned by the Patriarch of Antioch.

Timotheus, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had lately ſucceeded *Dioſcorus* the younger in that See, bid, in a manner, Defiance to the Emperor, boldly declaring, that he would anathematize, to his laſt Breath, the Council of *Chalcedon*, together with *Leo*, and all his Letters; that he ſcorned to receive Laws of the Biſhops of *Rome*; and that he would neither be taught nor directed by them. As the People of *Alexandria* were extremely devoted to their Biſhop, ever ready to revolt, and moſt zealouſly attached to the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, which they believed to be, and it would be no eaſy Task to prove it was not, the genuine Doctrine of their Patriarch *Cyril*, the Emperor thought it adviſeable to diſſemble for the preſent, and patiently wait till an Opportunity offered of bringing back the *Egyptians*, by gentle Methods, to the Unity of the Church. To *Theſſalonica* was diſpatched from *Conſtantinople* one of the Legates, *John* the Biſhop, with ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics in his Retinue; and Count *Licinius*, a Perſon of great Diſtinction, was appointed by the Emperor to attend them. But the Terms of Union ſeemed ſo very unreaſonable to *Dorotheus*, Metropolitan and Biſhop of that

The Patriarch of Alexandria *refuſes to ſign them.*

[t] Theoph. al ann. 513.

City,

City, that, while the Legate was reading them in a public Aſſembly, he could not forbear ſnatching them out of his Hand, and tearing them in his Preſence. There wanted no more to raiſe the Populace, who, falling upon the Legate, and thoſe who were with him, killed his Hoſt, and Two of his Eccleſiaſtics, wounded him dangerouſly in Three Places, and would have put an End to his Life, had not Count *Licinius* brought, in great Haſte, the Soldiery to his Reſcue, and conveyed him, well guarded, to one of the Churches; and there he continued, not daring to appear abroad, till the Emperor, informed of what had happened, ſent for *Dorotheus* to *Conſtantinople* [u]. The other Legates, who had remained in that City, took care to acquaint the Pope, as ſoon as they could, with the inhuman Treatment their Collegue had met with, laying the whole Blame on *Dorotheus*, and one of his Presbyters, named *Ariſtides*, as if the Populace had been under-hand ſtirred up by them. The Pope, highly provoked *at the Inſult offered to St.* Peter *and himſelf, in the Perſon of his Legate*, anſwered their Letter as ſoon as he received it, injoining them to uſe all the Intereſt they had with the moſt religious Emperor, and his Miniſters, that *Dorotheus* might not be ſuffered to return to *Theſſalonica*, that his See might be declared vacant, and he ſent to *Rome*, together with the Presbyter *Ariſtides*, to have their Doubts reſolved there, and to be inſtructed by the Apoſtolic See, ſince they would not hearken to the Inſtructions of its Legates [w]. *Rome* was certainly the moſt proper Place Men, who queſtioned the Papal Authority, could be ſent to, to be, at the ſame time, inſtructed and convinced; and no-where elſe would all their Doubts have been more quickly reſolved. But the Emperor, without hearkening to the Legates, ordered *Dorotheus* to be tried at *Conſtantinople*; and all his Puniſhment was, to be ſent to *Heraclea*, whence he was ſuffered, after a few Days Confinement, to return to his See. *Baronius*, who thinks he ought at leaſt to have been confined for Life to *Oaſis*, the moſt inhoſpitable Place of the whole Empire, cries out here; Is it poſſible, that Juſtice, under an Emperor, who takes his Name from Juſtice, ſhould be thus ſold and betrayed in the Cauſe of the holy Pontiff! For the Legates pretended, that *Dorotheus* had bribed his Judges, having carried with him to *Conſtantinople*, ſay they in the Relation they ſent to *Rome*, ſuch Sums as were capable of corrupting not only Men, but the

Year of Chriſt 519.

Occaſion great Diſturbances at Theſſalonica. *One of the Legates wounded, and in great Danger of his Life.*

The Pope requires the Biſhop of Theſſalonica *to be ſent to* Rome.

But he is tried at Conſtantinople, *and ſuffered to return to his See.*

[u] Suggeſt. Legat. inter epiſt. Hormiſd. [w] Hormiſd. ep. 57.

Angels

Year of Christ 519.

Angels themſelves [x]. They thought, it ſeems, that no Man could withſtand the Temptation of Money; and indeed that few could, at leaſt of thoſe who were ſent from *Rome*, we have ſeen already, and ſhall ſee hereafter, on ſeveral Occaſions. The Emperor allowed *Dorotheus* to return to his See, as I have related; but it was upon Condition, that he ſhould appeaſe the Pope, and ſend for that Purpoſe a ſolemn Legation to *Rome*. With this Condition the Metropolitan complied, the following Year 520. and, at the ſame time, wrote to the Pope, ſtyling him, in the Addreſs, *The moſt Holy and Bleſſed Father and Fellow-Miniſter*, and in the Letter, *in all things moſt bleſſed, and thrice bleſſed Father, in every reſpect perfect*, &c. But, however laviſh of his Praiſes, he took care to avoid all Expreſſions that could be conſtrued into any kind of Subjection, or even Submiſſion; for, inſtead of deſcending to Apologies and Excuſes, he arraigned the Legates, who had accuſed him, of Slander and Calumny, declaring, that he was ſo far from having been anyways concerned in the late Riot, as they had maliciouſly ſuggeſted, that, on the contrary, to ſave the Life of the venerable Biſhop, he had even expoſed his own [y]. This was certainly falſe, if what the Legates wrote to the Pope was true. But the Emperor being ſatisfied, the Pope was obliged to be ſatisfied too. *Dorotheus* probably ſigned on this Occaſion the Articles of Union, and was reconciled to *Rome*.

He ſends a ſolemn Legation to Rome, *and is reconciled to that See.*

Year of Christ 520.

The greater Part of the Biſhops refuſe to ſtrike out of the Diptychs the Names of the Orthodox Biſhops.

The Two Patriarchs, of *Conſtantinople* and *Antioch*, had, in Compliance with the Articles ſent from *Rome*, ſtruck out of the Diptychs the Name of *Acacius*, and, together with his, the Names of the Orthodox Biſhops, who had died out of the Communion of *Rome*, as I have related above; and their Example was readily followed, with reſpect to the Name of *Acacius*. But, as to the Names of the other Biſhops, the far greater Part peremptorily refuſed to eraſe them, ſaying, that they had rather live for ever ſeparated from *Rome*, than thus ſtigmatize the Memory of ſo many eminent Prelates, who had deſerved ſo well of the Catholic Faith, who were no leſs Orthodox than the Pope himſelf, and had given more convincing Proofs of their Orthodoxy than he had ever occaſion to give. The Biſhops were backed by their Clergy; and the People, joining both, began to mutiny, to exclaim againſt the Pope, to complain of

[x] Suggeſt. Legat. ubi ſupra. [y] Inter ep. Hormiſd.

the

the Emperor for gratifying him in ſo unreaſonable a Demand, and, making the Cauſe of the Catholic Biſhops the Catholic Cauſe, to look upon all, who were for ſuppreſſing their Names, as Friends to *Eutyches*, and Enemies to the Church. The Emperor, Count *Juſtinian* his Nephew, and *Epiphanius* the new Patriarch, who had ſucceeded in the Beginning of this Year to *John* the *Cappadocian*, alarmed at the general Diſcontent that reigned among the People as well as the Clergy, and dreading the Effects of the popular Zeal, inſtead of uſing Violence with the refractory Biſhops, which they knew would be attended with a great deal of Bloodſhed, and might, in the End, coſt the Emperor the Loſs of his Crown, reſolved to recur to the Pope, and try whether they could not prevail upon him to be ſatisfied with their eraſing the Name of *Acacius* alone. With this View *Juſtinian* wrote to *Rome* the firſt, acquainting the Pope, that neither the People, the Clergy, nor the Biſhops, though threatened with Exile, nay, and with Fire and Sword, could be induced to omit, at Divine Service, the Names of ſo many holy Catholic Prelates; and, at the ſame time, conjuring his Holineſs, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church, and the Peace of the State, not to inſiſt on that Point, ſince he would thereby involve both in a new War, and more dangerous Troubles than either had hitherto felt. *Your Holineſs*, ſays he in his Letter, *ought to conſider the Nature of Things, and the Difference of Times; and, being ſatisfied with the Condemnation of* Acacius, *of* Dioſcorus, *of* Timotheus, Ælurus, Petrus Mongus, *and* Petrus Fullo, *end at laſt this obſtinate Conteſt.* IT IS NOT BY PERSECUTION AND BLOODSHED, BUT SACERDOTAL PATIENCE, THAT MEN ARE TO BE GAINED TO GOD: BY STRIVING TO GAIN SOULS, WE OFTEN DESTROY BOTH BODIES AND SOULS: IT IS BY MILDNESS AND LENITY ALONE THAT OLD ERRORS CAN BE CORRECTED [z]. How much Chriſtian Blood would have been ſaved, had the Popes, or the Emperors themſelves, hearkened to this excellent Leſſon!

Year of Chriſt 520.

Juſtinian recurs to the Pope, begging he would not inſiſt on their Names being eraſed.

His Sentiments concerning Perſecution.

The Patriarch, and the Emperor, both wrote preſſing Letters to the ſame Purpoſe. The Patriarch accompanied his with a rich Preſent to the Pope, conſiſting of a Chalice of Gold, adorned with a great Number of Jewels, of a Patin likewiſe of Gold, another Chalice of Silver, and Two Silk Veils. The Emperor, in his Letter, aſſures the Pope, that he has ſpared no Pains in cauſing the Terms of

The Emperor and the Patriarch write to the ſame Purpoſe. The Patriarch's Letter accompanied with a Preſent.

[z] Inter Epiſt. Hormiſd.

Union,

Year of Christ 520.

Union, prescribed by the Apostolic See, to be received by all; but that upon some he cannot prevail, either by Persuasions or Menaces, to condemn those after their Death, in whom they placed their greatest Glory while they were living; that their Obstinacy is Proof against all Dangers, and Death itself; that he is extremely grieved to find the great Work of an intire Reconciliation, which he had so much at Heart, thus retarded; but, on the other Side, is no less unwilling to proceed to Violence, and shed the Blood of his innocent Subjects; and therefore does not doubt but his Apostleship, rather than oblige him to turn Persecutor, will connive, for the present, at the Names of the Orthodox Bishops being kept in the Diptychs, and be satisfied with their condemning the Memory of *Acacius* alone; the rather, as his holy Predecessor Pope *Anastasius* had required no more, to receive all to his Communion, who professed the same Faith [a].

The Pope, in his Answer, insists on their Names being erased.

But the Pope was deaf to all Remonstrances and Reasons. He still insisted on the Condemnation not only of *Acacius*, but of all who had communicated with him, or his Memory; and because the Emperor had shewn himself, in his Letter, utterly averse to Persecution and Bloodshed, he strove, in his Answer, to reconcile him to both.

Year of Christ 521.

He encourages Persecution.

" Many Things, says he, which we naturally detest and abhor, are, " in some Cases, necessary Remedies; and then, our Health being at " Stake, we are not to consult, but strive to overcome, our natural " Aversion. In Sickness, we are apt to complain of the Remedies " that are prescribed for our Cure, and hate those who prescribe them. " But would it be good-natured or friendly in a Physician to forbear " applying what he knows to be conducive to Health, out of Compas- " sion, or through Fear of causing a momentary Pain? It is Cruelty " to spare, and Compassion to cure, let the Remedies, that work " the Cure, be ever so painful [b]." Thus did this Pope, in direct Opposition to the Doctrine of the Gospel, endeavour to extinguish in the Emperor all Sense of Humanity; nay, and to convince him, that he could by no other means better shew himself a kind and benevolent Prince, than by shedding the Blood of his innocent People. These Antichristian Principles have ever since been maintained, as is but too well known, by the Church of *Rome*; and, in Compliance with them, the Popes have never failed, when it was in their Power, to encourage Persecution, and stir up the Popish Princes to persecute and pursue, with Fire and Sword, their Protestant Subjects. To

[a] Inter Epist. Hormisd. l. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont.

[b] Hormisd. Ep. 75.

these

theſe Principles are owing the Racks, the Dungeons, and the unrelenting Torments of the Inquiſition; it being highly meritorious with the Miniſters of that infernal Tribunal to rack the Body, without Mercy, for the Good of the Soul, and highly criminal for any of them to ſhew Compaſſion, let the Torments be ever ſo exquiſite, when they are, as they ſay, become neceſſary Remedies for the Cure of the Soul. Year of Chriſt 521.

As the Church of *Rome* has adopted theſe Maxims, ſhe can never renounce them; and it is quite ſurpriſing, that ſome Proteſtants, either miſled themſelves, or wanting to miſlead others, ſhould pretend, that, in ſome Degree, ſhe has renounced them already, and is become more indulgent, than ſhe has been in former Times, to thoſe who diſſent from her. Are not her Priſons filled, at this very time, with thoſe whom ſhe ſtiles Heretics, or only ſuſpects of what ſhe calls Hereſy? Are not her Racks ſtill daily employed in extorting Confeſſions? Does ſhe any-where ſuffer, where her Power prevails, Doctrines to be taught or profeſſed, diſagreeing in the leaſt with thoſe, which ſhe profeſſes and teaches? On what, then, can the Opinion be founded, of her having begun of late to abate of her former Severity? Let her diſcharge her Inquiſitors, ſhut up her Inquiſitions, grant Liberty of Conſcience where ſhe dares to refuſe it; and then, but not till then, we ſhall, with theſe *her Proteſtant Friends*, acknowlege her Lenity. *His Principles adopted by the Church of* Rome.

The Emperor, though ſo great a Bigot, was ſo far from hearkening to the Suggeſtions of the Pope, that, on the contrary, greatly offended at his Obſtinacy, and more at his Principles, he joined, in the End, his Subjects againſt him; and, commending them for the Regard they paid to the Memory of their Catholic Paſtors, allowed them, without giving himſelf any farther Trouble about the Conſent of his Holineſs, to keep all their Names in the Diptychs. The Pope, finding he could not prevail, thought it adviſeable to diſſemble; and wrote accordingly to the Patriarch, impowering him to receive all to the Communion of *Rome*, who, anathematizing *Acacius*, and the others mentioned above, condemned their Memories [c]. As no Mention was made, in that Letter, of the Orthodox Biſhops, the Patriarch obliged none to eraſe their Names; nay, he replaced in the Diptychs, with the Approbation of the Emperor, the Names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, which his Predeceſſor had cancelled; and the Pope, by not diſapproving, tacitly approved, what he had done. And thus *The Emperor allows the Names of the Catholic Biſhops to be kept in the Diptychs, in ſpite of the Pope.*

[c] Hormiſd. Ep. 77.

Year of Chriſt 521.

was an intire Reconciliation at laſt brought about, we may ſay, in ſpite of the Pope. It is obſervable, that ſeveral among the Biſhops, who had communicated with *Acacius*, or his Memory, and were, on that Score, thought by the preſent Pope unworthy of a Place in the Catalogue of Biſhops, have by his Succeſſors been judged worthy of a Place in the Calendar of Saints: they now invoke at the Altar the Names which he thought would have contaminated the whole Church, had they only been mentioned at the Altar; and therefore would have involved both the Church and the State in the utmoſt Confuſion to have them ſuppreſſed, had the Emperor been as bloody-minded as he.

New Diſputes in the Church.

Whether One of the Trinity, *or* One Perſon of the Trinity, *ſhould be ſaid to have ſuffered on the Croſs.*

The Eaſt and the Weſt were now happily reconciled, after ſo long and obſtinate a Diviſion. But the Church was not ſuffered to enjoy the Peace and Tranquillity, which ſhe had Reaſon to expect from that Reconciliation. New Diſputes aroſe daily among her Members; and one, which had been already carried on for ſome time, remained ſtill undecided. The Diſpute was, Whether *One of the Trinity*, or *One Perſon of the Trinity*, ſhould be ſaid to have *ſuffered in the Fleſh?* The Propoſition, *One of the Trinity ſuffered in the Fleſh*, ſome *Scythian* Monks maintained to be Orthodox; and the other, *One Perſon of the Trinity ſuffered in the Fleſh*, to import abſolute Hereſy. But, on the other Side, a Deacon, named *Victor*, pretended the former Propoſition to import abſolute Hereſy, and the latter alone to be Orthodox. Both the Monks and the Deacon received the Council of *Chalcedon*, acknowleged Two Natures in Chriſt, in Oppoſition to *Eutyches*, and, in Oppoſition to *Neſtorius*, only One Perſon. But nevertheleſs, by a long Chain of unintelligible Inferences, the Monks ſtrove to convince the Deacon, that he was a rank *Neſtorian*; and the Deacon ſtrove, in his Turn, to convince them, by the ſame Method of Reaſoning, that they were rank *Eutychians*, and *Arians* into the Bargain. Beſides, the Deacon pretended, that the Word *One*, without the Addition of *Perſon*, referred only to the Divine Subſtance or Nature; and, conſequently, that to ſay, *One of the Trinity ſuffered*, was as much as to ſay, *One of the Natures of the Trinity ſuffered*; which was evidently ſuppoſing, that, in the Trinity, there were more Natures than One. On this great Streſs was laid by one *Trifolius*, a Presbyter, who lived at this time, and ſeems to have been well verſed in all the Subtilties and Cavils of Logic, the only Knowlege, if it deſerves that Name, which was now in

in Requeſt. For, in a Letter he wrote to *Fauſtus*, a *Roman* Senator, he reaſons thus; "In the Trinity, ſays he, there are not Three Gods, "but One God in Three Perſons. Now the Word *One* neceſſarily "imports the Nature; and hence it follows, that the Two Propoſi- "tions, *One of the Trinity ſuffered*, and *One of the Three Di-* "*vine Natures*, or *Three Gods*, *ſuffered*, muſt, of courſe, be ſyno- "nymous." But neither will that Writer allow the other Propoſition to be Orthodox, *One Perſon of the Trinity ſuffered*, ſince it might be concluded from thence, that the Divine Nature had ſuffered. "That Error, indeed, adds he, you avoid by adding, *in the* "*Fleſh*; but you thereby confound the Two Natures; and, flying "from the *Theopaſchites*, fall in with the *Eutychians*." He concludes with adviſing *Fauſtus* to ſhun all Expreſſions alike, that have neither been uſed by the Oecumenical Councils, nor by the Fathers in their Writings approved by the Councils. They had all now forgot, that there was ſuch a Book as the Scripture.

Year of Chriſt 521. *Both Expreſſions condemned by ſome.*

The Monks, finding themſelves arraigned of Hereſy, had recourſe to the Legates of the Pope, who were then at *Conſtantinople*; for the Diſpute began in 519. and the Legates, having ſeveral times heard both *Victor* and them, inſtead of reconciling them, and ſhewing that their Meaning was the ſame, and their Diſagreement only about Words, gave Sentence in Favour of the former. The Monks did not acquieſce in their Judgment, as we may well imagine; but, highly provoked, to uſe their Expreſſions, at the Raſhneſs, Partiality, and Ignorance, of the Legates, in condemning what they did not, or would not underſtand, they diſpatched Four of their Fraternity to *Rome*, to complain of them to the Pope, and to get the Propoſition approved by him, which they had condemned. But the Pope, informed by his Legates of what had paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, not only confirmed the Sentence they had given, but kept the Deputies of the Monks a whole Year, in a manner, Priſoners, at *Rome*, to convince them by that means, ſince he could by no other, of their Error. Some write, that he drove them at laſt out of the City, as incorrigible Heretics; while others tell us, that, to the great Diſappointment of the Pope, they made their Eſcape in the Night. However that be, they found Means, before they left the City, to paſte up, in ſeveral public Places, their Confeſſion of Faith, compriſed in Twelve Articles, with as many Anathemas againſt all, the Pope not excepted, who did not receive it. This exaſperated the Pope to ſuch

The Propoſition, One of the Trinity, &c. *condemned by the Legates of the Pope.*

The Monks, who maintained it, appeal to the Pope, who condemns the Propoſition, and uſes them ill.

Year of Christ 521.

Year of Christ 522.

a Degree, that, in his Answer to a Letter which he received, at this time, from *Possessor*, an *African* Bishop, who had been driven from his See by the *Arians*, and resided at *Constantinople*, he inveighed against the Monks in the most abusive Terms, taxing them with Pride, Arrogance, and Obstinacy; and painting them as the worst of Men, as Enemies to the Church, as Disturbers of the Public Peace, as Slanderers, Lyers, and, above all, as Instruments employed by the Enemy of Truth, to banish all Truth, to establish Error in its room, and sow among the Wheat *the poisonous Seeds of diabolical Tares*[d]. As Copies of this Letter were dispersed by *Possessor* all over the East, *Maxentius*, one of the Monks, and the most learned among them, undertook to answer it; and, in his Answer, he treats the Pope worse, if possible, than he had treated the Monks. He begins with declaring, that he does not believe the Piece, he answers, to have been written by *Hormisdas*, or by any other Christian Bishop, it being wholly made up of Errors, Contradictions, Calumnies, and Lyes. He then inveighs against the Legates of the Pope, against *Possessor*, and most of all against the Author of the Letter, as not a disguised, but an open and avowed Heretic; proves, and indeed unanswerably, the Proposition, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*, to be intirely Orthodox, as it was understood by him and his Brethren, and explained by them to the Pope; justifies the Conduct of the Monks; and concludes with these Words: "The Author of this Letter, whether "it was really written by *Hormisdos*, or falsly ascribed to him, is, "without all Doubt, a Heretic, since he will not allow Christ the Son "of God to be One of the Trinity." It is remarkable, that though Copies of this Letter were dispersed over the whole Christian World, though the Pope, who was there charged with Heresy, had many Friends both in the East and the West, not one of them offered to undertake his Defence, or pretended to justify his condemning the above-mentioned Proposition, as it was explained by the Monks, often declaring, that they thereby meant no more, than that *Christ, who was One of the Persons of the Trinity, suffered in the Flesh.* Nay, *Hormisdas* had the Mortification to see, before he died, the Bishops of the East, all to a Man, and likewise the Catholic Bishops of *Africa*, with St. *Fulgentius* at their Head, that is, the far greater Part of the Church, engaged in Defence of the Monks, and con-

The Pope writes against the Monks.

His Letter is answered by one of them.

Not one Writer offers to defend the Pope.

[d] Apud Bar. ad ann. 520. p. 58. et Hormisd. Ep. 70.

demning

demning with them all, who did not admit the Expreſſion, which he had condemned. Had he lived but a few Years longer, he would have ſeen that Expreſſion adopted by the whole Catholic Church, and thoſe anathematized by the whole Catholic Church, who did not approve and receive it, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate hereafter. Year of Chriſt 522.

But he died the following Year 523. on the 6th of *Auguſt*, having held the Chair Nine Years, and Eleven Days; and on that Day his Reliques are ſtill expoſed to public Adoration, in the Church of St. *Peter*, where he is ſuppoſed to have been buried. What intitled him to that Honour was, as is ſaid, his extraordinary and truly apoſtolical Zeal in cauſing the Council of *Chalcedon* to be everywhere received, and in healing the Diviſions which had reigned ſo long in the Church. But the Council of *Chalcedon* was received, from the Beginning, by all in the Weſt; and its being as univerſally received in the Eaſt, was intirely owing, as we have ſeen, to the Decree which *Juſtin* iſſued, of his own Motion, as ſoon as he aſcended the Imperial Throne. As to the Diviſions of the Church, they were healed indeed in his Time; but what extraordinary Merit *Hormiſdas* had in healing them, and reconciling the Two Churches, it would be no eaſy matter to determine. He made no Advances towards a Reconciliation; he could by no means be induced, notwithſtanding his boaſted Zeal for the Unity and Peace of the Church, to abate, in the leaſt, of the Pretenſions of his See, for the ſake of either; nay, he inſiſted on Terms far more unreaſonable, than the moſt aſſuming among his Predeceſſors had preſumed to require. It is true, they were complied with at laſt; and Peace was reſtored. But that was not owing to any Zeal or Condeſcenſion in him, but to the Zeal, and, in ſome Degree, to the Weakneſs, of the Emperor, who pitying the unhappy Condition of the Church, thus miſerably rent by her own Prelates, choſe rather to gratify the Pope in all his Demands, however unreaſonable, than to ſuffer one half of the Church to continue any longer diſunited from the other, to the great Danger of both. It is obſervable, that of the Five Popes, who governed the *Roman* Church during this Schiſm, one only has been denied the Honour of Saintſhip, *viz.* Pope *Anaſtaſius*, the only one among them, who ſhewed himſelf inclined to ſacrifice the Pretenſions of his See to the Welfare of the Church [e]. I leave the

Hormiſdas *dies.* Year of Chriſt 523.

It was not owing to him that the Council of Chalcedon *was received, nor that an End was put to the Schiſm.*

[e] See above, p. 243.

Reader

Year of Christ 523.

Reader to conclude from thence what Kind of Merit was rewarded with that Honour in the reſt.

His Character.

Hormiſdas was a Man of uncommon Parts, of great Policy and Addreſs, as appears from his whole Conduct; but of a moſt haughty, vindictive, and imperious Temper, and, to the eternal Infamy of his Name and Memory, the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop, who, in Matters of Conſcience, dared openly to countenance, nay, and to ſanctify, Slaughter and Bloodſhed. As for his Writings, of the many Letters he wrote, 79 have reached our Times. The learned *Du Pin*, miſled by *Baronius*, counts 80 [f]; but the Strength and Energy with which *Hormiſdas* expreſſes himſelf in the other Letters, though they all ſavour of the Barbariſm of the Age, evidently prove that to St. *Remigius*, appointing him Vicar of the Apoſtolic See, in the new-converted Kingdom of *Clovis*, to be ſuppoſititious [g]: beſides, in that Letter, *Clovis* is ſuppoſed to be ſtill living; and nothing is more certain, than that he died on the 27th of *November* 511. that is, Two Years and Eight Months before the Election of *Hormiſdas* [h]. Hence it is manifeſt, that the Letter, which *Clovis* is ſaid to have written to this Pope, acknowleging him for the ſupreme Head of the Church, and which *Baronius* diſplays and comments with great Pomp and Flouriſh of Words, is likewiſe a bare-faced Forgery. The far greater Part of the Letters of *Hormiſdas* relates to the Affairs of the Eaſt. But that he did not ſuffer his Attention to be ſo engroſſed by them, as to neglect the Opportunities that offered of maintaining and improving the Authority uſurped by his Predeceſſors in the Weſt, appears from his Letters to *John* of *Tarragon*, and *Saluſtius* of *Seville*. For, being conſulted by them about ſome Points of Diſcipline, he thence took Occaſion to appoint them his Vicars, the former for the *Hither*, and the latter for the *Farther Spain*; impowering them to aſſemble in Council the Biſhops of the Provinces, over which they were ſet, to compoſe their Differences, and to ſee that the Canons were every-where punctually obſerved. This Power he granted them, on Condition of their recurring to him in all Matters of Moment, that is, on Condition of their acting in an intire Dependence upon him, and his See [i]. Thus, by their means, he extended his Power and Authority over all the Provinces and Biſhops of *Spain*. The Inſtitution of Vicars was, of all

Letters falſly aſcribed to him.

He appoints the Biſhops of Tarragon *and* Seville *his Vicars in* Spain.

[f] Du Pin, Biblioth. des Aut. Eccl. t. 4. in Hormiſd. [g] Vide Pagi ad ann. 514. n. 5. [h] Idem, n. 7. [i] Hormiſd. ep. 24, 25, 26.

the Devices that the moſt refined Policy could invent or ſuggeſt, the beſt calculated for the eſtabliſhing of the Papal Authority; the Biſhops of the firſt Sees, who were the moſt capable of effectually oppoſing the Encroachments of *Rome*, being thereby engaged, in Gratitude as well as by Intereſt, to ſupport and defend them. Year of Chriſt 523.

In the Time of *Hormiſdas* many rich Preſents are ſaid to have been made to the Church of St. *Peter* by the Emperor *Juſtin*, and others. Among the reſt King *Theodoric* ſent, if the Bibliothecarian is to be credited [k], Two Silver Candleſticks, weighing 70 Pounds. *King* Theodoric *ſends Preſents to the Church of St.* Peter.

In the earlieſt Times the Church, at leaſt the *Roman* Church, would receive nothing from Heretics; nay, in the Second Century, about the Year 170. ſhe even returned to *Marcian* 500 Drachmas of Gold, which he had given, when ſhe found that he held heterodox Doctrines, leſt ſhe ſhould be polluted with the Money of a Heretic. This *Baronius* remembered; and therefore, that we may not imagine the *Roman* Church to have been leſs pure in the 6th than ſhe was in the 2d Century, he takes care to inform us, that the Gift of the Heretical and *Arian* King was not received by her as an Offering, but only as a Preſent, which ſhe might accept, even at the Hands of an Infidel, without the leaſt Danger of being thereby defiled or polluted [l]. Had this Diſtinction been known to the Church in *Marcian*'s Time, ſhe might have ſafely kept his 500 Drachmas. However, it was not firſt broached by *Baronius*; but had been uſed, long before his Time, by the Canoniſts, pretending, the better to gratify the Avarice of the Clergy, that by the Canons forbidding Donations and Legacies to be accepted from public Sinners, from infamous Women, or from thoſe who were at Variance with their Relations, nothing elſe was meant, than that ſuch Donations and Legacies ſhould not be accepted as Oblations, but only as Preſents or Gifts [m]. This Diſtinction has proved very ſerviceable to the Church of *Rome*; it being well known, that ſhe owes the far greater Part of her preſent Wealth to the Bounty of thoſe, whoſe Donations and Legacies ſhe was, by her Canons, injoined to reject. *In the primitive Times, Preſents not accepted from Heretics.*

[k] Anaſt. in Hormiſd. [l] Vide Bar. ad ann. 523. [m] Vide Can. 93. apud Gratian. diſt. 90. et Mendoſ. in hunc locum.

JOHN,

Year of Christ 523. JUSTIN, THEODORIC, King of *Italy*.

JOHN,

Fifty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

John *choſen.* *HOrmiſdas* was ſucceeded by *John*, ſurnamed *Cateline*, ordained on the 13th of *Auguſt*, after a Vacancy of Seven Days. He was a Native of *Tuſcany*, the Son of one *Conſtantius*, and Preſbyter of the *Roman* Church [n]; which is all we know of him before his Election. His Pontificate was ſhort and unhappy; and the Calamities that befel him were owing to the indiſcreet Zeal of the Emperor *Juſtin*. For that Prince, not ſatisfied with having put an End to the Schiſm, undertook, in the next Place, to clear his Dominions from Heretics, as he ſtyled them, of all Denominations. He began with the *Manichees*, who, taking Advantage of the general Confuſion that reigned in the Church, during the late Diſputes between the *Eutychian* and Orthodox Parties, had perverted, unobſerved, great Numbers of both to their impious Tenets. Againſt them therefore the Emperor iſſued an Edict, in the 6th Year of his Reign, that is, in 523. commanding them to be put to Death without Mercy, where-ever they ſhould be diſcovered, and convicted [o]. This Edict was attended with no bad Conſequences; the *Manichees* being univerſally abhorred and deteſted, on account of the execrable Principles, and immoral Practices, of that infamous Sect. But the Zeal of *Juſtin*, ſavouring not a little of Enthuſiaſm, did not ſuffer him to ſtop here. The following Year 524. he enacted another Edict, ordering the *Arians*, who were very numerous in the Eaſt, to deliver up all their Churches to the Catholic Biſhops, and the Catholic Biſhops to conſecrate them anew. The *Arians* had been allowed, by the Emperors, the free and open Exerciſe of their Religion; had contented themſelves with worſhiping God in their own Way, without ever attempting to bring over any, either Orthodox or *Eutychian*, to their Perſuaſion; were as good Subjects as the beſt of the Catholics; and, on all Occaſions, had ſerved, with as much Zeal and Fidelity as they, their Prince, and their Country. Being therefore conſcious to themſelves, that they had given no Occaſion to ſuch an Edict, nor Offence to their Fellow-Subjects, or their Sovereign, they often and warmly remonſtrated againſt the Treatment

The Emperor Juſtin *iſſues an Edict againſt Heretics of all Denominations.*

Iſſues another Edict, commanding the Arians *to deliver up their Churches to the Catholics.*

Year of Chriſt 524.

[n] Evagr. Lib. Pont. [o] Cod. Juſt. leg. 12.

which

which they ſo undeſervedly met with. But the Emperor was not to be moved, and the Catholics were already in Poſſeſſion of moſt of their Churches. In this Diſtreſs, none of their Friends at Court daring to ſpeak a Word in their Favour, they reſolved to recur to King *Theodoric*, whom they well knew to be a zealous *Arian*, though, by a Principle of Toleration, he no leſs favoured his Catholic than he did his *Arian* Subjects. He was the only Prince in the World, whoſe Interpoſition and good Offices they thought would be of ſome Weight with the Emperor; and to him they privately diſpatched ſome of their chief Men, with Letters in the Name of all, to acquaint him with the Evils, which they ſo unjuſtly ſuffered, and the far greater Evils, which they had Reaſon to apprehend, unleſs, touched with Compaſſion, he interpoſed in their behalf, and eſpouſed their Cauſe as his own, ſince the Holy Religion, which was common to both, and for which they ſuffered, made it his own. The King received the Deputies in the moſt obliging manner, aſſured them of his good Offices, and wrote, without Delay, moſt preſſing Letters to the Emperor, and all the great Men at Court, in their Favour. But no kind of Regard was paid to his Letters; the Perſecution continued, and the *Arians* were every-where driven from their Churches, and in ſome Places, by the over-zealous Catholics, out of the Cities. This *Theodoric* could not brook; and reſolved to reſent it in a proper manner. The firſt thing, that occurred to him, was to retaliate on the Catholics in the Weſt all the Severities that were practiſed on the *Arians* in the Eaſt. But as he was a Prince of a moſt humane Diſpoſition, and beſides an Enemy, by Principle, to all Perſecution, he could not prevail upon himſelf to proceed to ſuch Extremities, till all other means he could think of had proved ineffectual. He thought of many; weighed and examined many; and at laſt fixed upon one, which he apprehended could not fail of the wiſhed for Succeſs. He knew what Weight the Advice and Counſels of the Pope had with the Emperor; how much the Emperor defered to the Judgment of the Biſhop of *Rome*, in all Matters of Religion and Conſcience; and therefore did not doubt but the Perſecution would ſoon be at an End, could the Pope, by any means, be prevailed upon to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the perſecuted *Arians*, and, diſapproving the Meaſures which the Emperor was purſuing, employ his Counſel and Authority to divert him from them.

Year of Chriſt 524.

The Arians *implore the Protection of King* Theodoric.

Who writes to the Emperor, in their behalf. The Emperor pays no Regard to his Letters.

Year of Christ 524.

The King sends for the Pope to Ravenna.

The King was ſenſible, that it was only by Menaces, by Force and Compulſion, that the Pope could be brought to act ſuch a Part; and reſolved, accordingly, to employ them at once, that no room might be left for Delays and Excuſes. Having therefore ſent for him to *Ravenna*, he complained to him, with great Warmth, of the unchriſtian Spirit and Proceedings of the Emperor; remonſtrated againſt the Violences that were daily practiſed on the Catholics in the Eaſt, meaning the *Arians*, which he hoped no Chriſtian Biſhop would ever countenance or approve; ſtrove to convince the Pope of the Injuſtice of the late Edict; and, comparing the happy Situation of the Heretics, meaning the Catholics, in his Dominions, with the unhappy Condition of the Catholics in thoſe of the Emperor, he added; "But I muſt let you know, that I am determined "not to ſit as an idle Spectator on ſuch an Occaſion. I am, you "know, and I have often declared it, an Enemy to all kind of "Perſecution; I have ſuffered not only the Inhabitants of *Italy*, "but even my *Goths*, to embrace and profeſs, undiſturbed, which "of the Two Religions they thought the moſt pleaſing to God; "and, in the Diſtribution of my Favours, have hitherto made no "Diſtinction between Catholic and Heretic. But if the Emperor "does not change his Meaſures, I muſt change mine. Men of "other Religions the Emperor may treat as he pleaſes, though "every Man has a Right to ſerve his Creator in the manner which "he thinks the moſt acceptable to him. But as for thoſe, who "profeſs the ſame holy Religion which I profeſs, and believe to be "the only true Religion, I think myſelf bound to employ the "Power, which it has pleaſed God to put into my Hands, for "their Defence and Protection. If the Emperor therefore does not "think fit to revoke the Edict, which he has lately iſſued againſt "thoſe of my Perſuaſion, it is my firm Reſolution to iſſue the like "Edict againſt thoſe of his; and to ſee it every-where executed "with the ſame Rigour. Thoſe who do not profeſs the Faith of "*Nice*, are Heretics to him; and thoſe who do, are Heretics to "me. Whatever can excuſe or juſtify his Severity to the former, "will excuſe and juſtify mine to the latter. But the Emperor," continued the King, "has none about him, who dare freely and "openly ſpeak what they think, or to whom he would hearken, "if they did. But the great Veneration, which he profeſſes for "your See, leaves no room to doubt, but he would hearken to "you.

His Speech to the Pope.

" you. I will therefore have you to repair forthwith to *Conſtan-*
" *tinople*, and there to remonſtrate, both in my Name, and your
" own, againſt the violent Meaſures, in which that Court has ſo
" raſhly engaged. It is in your Power to divert the Emperor from
" them; and till you have, nay, till the Catholics are reſtored to
" the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and to all the Churches, from
" which they have been driven, you muſt not think of returning
" to *Italy* [p]." An anonymous Writer, who flouriſhed at this Time, adds, That *Theodoric* likewiſe inſiſted on the Emperor's allowing thoſe to return to the Catholic Faith (the *Arian*), whom he had by any kind of Violence obliged to abjure it; that the Pope promiſed to do all that lay in his Power to procure the Revocation of the Edict, and the Reſtitution of the Churches; but as for thoſe who had already changed their Religion, he aſſured the King, that the Emperor would, upon no Conſideration whatever, ſuffer them to change it anew; and that as to himſelf, he could not, in Conſcience, take upon him to ſuggeſt it, nor would he be charged with ſuch a Commiſſion. The King, ſays the anonymous Writer, was greatly provoked at this Speech, and, in the Tranſport of his Paſſion, ordered the Pope to be immediately conveyed on board a Veſſel, and the Veſſel to put to Sea [q]. However that be, certain it is, that the Pope undertook the Embaſſy, not out of any Kindneſs to the *Arians*, with which he has been by ſome unjuſtly reproached, but to divert the Storm that threatened the Catholics in the King's Dominions. With him were joined, in the ſame Commiſſion, Five other Biſhops, and Four Senators, all Men of the firſt Rank. A moſt ſplendid Embaſſy.

Year of Chriſt 524.

He ſends him with the Character of his Embaſſador, to divert the Emperor from the Perſecution he had begun.

On his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, he was received with the moſt extraordinary Marks of Honour, by Perſons of all Conditions and Ranks. The Nobility and Clergy went out to meet him; and he made his Entry amidſt the loud Acclamations of numberleſs Crouds, that flocked from all Parts, to ſee the firſt Biſhop of the Catholic Church; who had never before been ſeen in the Eaſt. The Emperor, ſays the anonymous Writer, quoted above, met him, among the reſt, and could not have honoured St. *Peter* himſelf more than he did him. The Bibliothecarian adds, That *Juſtin* bowed down to the very Ground before the Vicar of the bleſſed *Peter*, and,

Received with extraordinary Marks of Honour at Conſtantinople. Year of Chriſt 525.

[p] Theoph. ad ann. 524. Marcell. in chron. [q] Anonym. Val. p. 59.

Year of Christ 525.

coveting the Honour of being crowned by him, received at his Hands the Imperial Diadem [r]. I will not quarrel with the Bibliothecarian about the Bow; but that the Emperor, though now in the Eighth Year of his Reign, had not been yet crowned, is highly improbable; and if he was crowned before, it is no leſs improbable, that he ſhould now deſire to be crowned anew. The Patriarch invited the Pope to perform divine Service in the great Church, together with him. But he would neither accept the Invitation, nor even ſee the Patriarch, till he agreed not only to yield him the firſt Place, but to ſeat him on a kind of Throne above himſelf. It is obſervable, that the Pope alleged no other Reaſon, why he ſhould be allowed this Mark of Diſtinction, than becauſe he was Biſhop of *Rome*, or of the firſt City, *quia Romanus eſſet Pontifex* [s]. The Patriarch indulged him in every thing he required, and they celebrated *Eaſter* together, with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity. Authors obſerve, that the Pope officiated in the *Latin* Tongue, according to the Rites of the *Latin* Church; and admitted all to his Communion but *Timotheus*, the *Eutychian* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who happened to be then at *Conſtantinople* [t].

An Inſtance of his Pride.

The Emperor revokes the Edict againſt the Arians.

As to the Subject of the Embaſſy, all Authors agree, that the Emperor, yielding to the Reaſons alleged by the Pope, and the other Embaſſadors, revoked his Edict, reſtored to the *Arians* all their Churches, and allowed them the ſame Liberty of Conſcience which they had enjoyed before the Edict was iſſued [u]. The Embaſſadors therefore, taking Leave of the Emperor, ſet out from *Conſtantinople* on their Return to *Ravenna*, in the Latter-end of this, or the Beginning of the following Year. On their Arrival they were immediately introduced to the King, who was ſo far from being ſatisfied with the Account they gave him of their Embaſſy, that, on the contrary, he expreſſed againſt them all the greateſt Indignation, and ordered them to be conveyed from the Palace to the public Jail [w]. What could provoke, to ſo great a Degree, a Prince of *Theodoric*'s Moderation and Temper, none of the many contemporary Hiſtorians have thought fit to let us know; none even of thoſe who relate this very Event. Their Silence has left room for the Conjectures of the Moderns; and many have been offered, ſome

The Pope nevertheleſs impriſoned by the King, on his Return to Ravenna.

[r] Anaſt. in Joann. [s] Theoph. ubi ſupra. [t] Theoph. Marcell. in Chron. Niceph. Caliſt. [u] Theoph. ibid. Marcell. Chron. Auct. Miſcell. l. 15. ad Ann. 6. Juſt. Chron. Vet. Pontif. Anonym. Valeſ. &c. [w] Iidem Auct.

favourable

favourable to the Pope, and ſome quite otherwiſe, according to the Diſpoſition and Byas of the different Writers. *Baronius* would make us believe, that the Pope, in Imitation of the famous *Regulus*, ſacrificed himſelf on this Occaſion, adviſing the Emperor by no means to grant what he was ſent to demand in the King's Name. But he therein contradicts all the contemporary Writers to a Man [x]; and, beſides, makes the Pope a mad Enthuſiaſt, inſtead of a ſecond *Regulus*. The *Roman* Hero only ſacrificed himſelf, whereas the Pope could not ſacrifice himſelf without ſacrificing, at the ſame time, the far greater Part of the innocent Catholics in the Weſt, who were either ſubject to King *Theodoric*, or to other *Arian* Princes, in Alliance with him. A Proteſtant Writer of ſome Note [y] is of Opinion, that the Pope, ſwelled and elated with the extraordinary Honours paid him at *Conſtantinople*, aſſumed, on his Return, ſuch Airs of Authority as the King could not bear in a Vaſſal. But thus that Writer only accounts for the ſevere Treatment the Pope met with; and it is certain, that the other Embaſſadors, Biſhops as well as Senators, were treated with no leſs Severity than he. Others arraign them all of high Treaſon; and truly the chief Men of *Rome* were ſuſpected, at this very Time, of carrying on a treaſonable Correſpondence with the Court of *Conſtantinople*, and machinating the Ruin of the *Gothic* Empire in *Italy*. The King, ſay theſe Writers, probably took Umbrage at the uncommon Kindneſs ſhewn them at *Conſtantinople*; and perhaps had ſome Intimation of their having encouraged the Emperor to take Advantage of the King's old Age, or the Minority of his Grandſon, to deliver *Italy* from the Dominion of the *Arian Goths*, and reunite it to the Empire. This Conjecture many have adopted, as of all the moſt plauſible, and, conſidering the preſent Situation of Affairs, the beſt grounded. But from the anonymous Writer, quoted above, we may yet perhaps account, on a better Foundation, for the King's Wrath and Reſentment againſt his Embaſſadors. They were ſtrictly injoined by *Theodoric*, as he informs us, to inſiſt with the Emperor on his declaring thoſe, who through Fear or Compulſion had quitted the *Arians*, free to return to them, and reſume unmoleſted their antient Religion. This the King thought a juſt and reaſonable Demand; nothing more being thereby required, as he well expreſſed it, than that Men

Year of Chriſt 525.

Several Conjectures concerning the Motive of the King's Indignation.

The moſt probable Conjecture.

[x] Vide Auct. ſupra citatos. [y] Heydegger. Hiſt. Papat. in Joan.

might

Year of Christ 525.

might be allowed to pull off a Mask, which Fear, prevailing in some over Conscience, obliged them to wear. With that Demand, however, the bigotted Emperor did not comply; and to his not having complied with it we may, I think, with better Reason, ascribe the Indignation of the King, and the Treatment the Embassadors met with, than to any other Provocation. For *Theodoric* well knew, that the Emperor would have granted them that, as he had done their other Demands, had they urged it as they ought, and as they were by him expresly commanded to do. It was therefore, most probably, their Disobedience to the express Command of their Sovereign, that provoked his Wrath, and brought indifferently on them all, as they were all joined in the same Commission, the woful Effects of his Royal Displeasure. What became of the others, we know not;

The Pope dies in Prison.

Year of Christ 526.

but the Pope died in Prison on the 18th of *May* of the following Year 526 [z]. His Body was translated from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and deposited in the Basilic of St. *Peter*, where he is honoured to this Day as a Martyr; but whether he deserved that Honour, I leave the Reader to judge. Two Letters are ascribed to this Pope; but they are now both universally rejected, even by the *Roman* Catholic Writers, as inconsistent with Chronology, with History, and with common Sense [a], though quoted by *Baronius* as genuine (A).

[z] Anonym. Vales. Anast. Marcell. chron.

[a] See Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibl. des Aut. Eccles. tom. 4. p. 99. et Pagi ad ann. 526. n. 3.

(A) Of this Pope *Gregory the Great* relates, that, being distressed, on his landing at *Corinth*, in his Way to *Constantinople*, for want of a gentle Horse to pursue his Journey, a Man of Distinction lent him that which his Wife used to ride; but on Condition that he sent him back when he had reached a certain Place. The Pope sent him back accordingly; but he might as well have kept him: for the Horse, knowing his Rider, and proud of so great an Honour, could never afterwards be brought to debase himself so as to carry so mean a Burden as a Woman; and the Husband, moved with the Miracle, returned him to the Pope (1). This Miracle, as well as the Cure of a blind Man, said by the same Writer to have been performed by this Pope, in the Sight of the whole People of *Constantinople* (2), has escaped all the contemporary Historians.

(1) Greg. Mag. dial. l. 3. c. 2.

(2) Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 526.

JUSTIN, JUSTINIAN, **FELIX III.** THEODORIC, ATHALARIC, } Kings of *Italy*.

Fifty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *John* was attended with great Diſturbances in the *Roman* Church. Many Candidates appeared for the vacant See, and the whole City, the Senate as well as the People and Clergy, was divided into Parties and Factions, the Papal Dignity being now as eagerly ſought for, and often obtained by the ſame Methods and Arts, as the Conſular was in the Times of the Heathens. As the contending Parties could not agree among themſelves, *Theodoric*, apprehending that their Diſagreement might prove, in the End, as fatal to *Rome*, as it had proved in the Diſpute between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus* [b], thought it incumbent upon him to interpoſe his Authority; and interpoſed it accordingly, naming one, whom none of the Parties had propoſed, that none might complain of his favouring one Party more than another. The Perſon he named was *Felix*, by Birth a *Samnite*, the Son of *Caſtorius*, an Eccleſiaſtic of a moſt exemplary Life, and owned by Men of all Parties to be, in every reſpect, worthy of the Epiſcopal Dignity. The King had nothing in View but the public Welfare; and therefore choſe one, whom the Electors, having their private Intereſt in View, and their private Ends to ſerve, had all overlooked. But, notwithſtanding the extraordinary Merit of *Felix*, all Parties joined againſt him to a Man, as unduly choſen, ſince neither the Senate, the People, nor the Clergy, had had any Share in his Election. The King could not but know, that what he had done was not without a Precedent; that ſome of the Catholic Emperors, to prevent Diſturbances, had appointed, of their own Authority, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the firſt Biſhop of the Eaſt; and that none had ever preſumed to queſtion their Authority [c]. However, being unwilling to quarrel with his People, he condeſcended to come to the following Agreement with them; *viz.* That they ſhould acknowlege *Felix* for lawful Biſhop of the City of *Rome*; but that in time to come they ſhould be allowed to chuſe whom they pleaſed; that the King ſhould confirm, or not confirm,

Great Diſturbances and Diviſions about the Election of a new Pope.

As the Parties could not agree, Theodoric *names one,* Felix III.

The Pope, and the other Biſhops of Italy, *henceforth choſen by the People and Clergy;*

[b] See above, p. 249, et ſeq. [c] See above, p. 264, 265.

Year of Christ 526.

as he thought fit, the Person whom they had chosen; that he should not be deemed lawful Bishop, nor be ordained, by what Majority soever chosen, till confirmed by him; and that for his Confirmation he should pay a certain Sum, to be distributed to the Poor [d]. In this manner the Popes, and with them all the other Bishops of *Italy*, for the Agreement extended to all, continued to be chosen, not only under the *Gothic* Kings, the Successors of *Theodoric*, but under the *Greek* Emperors too, so long as they remained Masters of that Country. The People and Clergy elected; the Decree of the Election was sent to the King, or the Emperor; and if he confirmed it, the Person elected was then, and not till then, ordained or consecrated. *Theodoric* had no other View, as he declared, in requiring the Person elected to be confirmed by him, than to prevent the Election from falling on Men unworthy of the high Station to which they were chosen, or on such as were disaffected to the Government, or suspected of maintaining a secret Correspondence with the Enemies of the State. However, *Baronius*, thinking it a sacrilegious Profanation for secular Princes to interfere, on any Consideration whatever, in the Election of the High Pontiff, inveighs here against *Theodoric*, as a cruel Barbarian, as a barbarous Tyrant, as an impious *Arian*; and, having exaggerated with all his Eloquence, and bewailed the deplorable Condition of the *Roman* Church, reduced by that Heretic to a State of Slavery, he comforts himself in the End, and dries up his Tears with the pious Thought, that the Author of such a Calamity died soon after, and was eternally damned; nay, with him this good Cardinal damns, in the Transport of his Zeal, all who have followed, or shall follow, his Example [e]; that is, all, or almost all, the Christian Princes and Emperors, from the Time of *Theodoric* to the present. For they all have concerned themselves, and still do, more than *Theodoric* ever did, in the Election of the Pope. And truly, if the Pope is the *Universal Bishop*, they have, nay, the whole Christian World has, the same Right to concern themselves in his Election, as the People of particular Cities formerly had to concern themselves in the Election of their particular Bishops.

but not ordained till confirmed by the King.

This Regulation reasonable, and necessary.

But Theodoric *is damned for it, by* Baronius.

The *Roman* Senate having acquiesced, as well as the People and Clergy, in the above-mentioned Agreement, *Felix* was owned by all for lawful Bishop, and ordained accordingly, on the 12th of *July* 526. the See having been vacant from the 18th of *May* to that

[d] Cassiod. l. 8. c. 15. [e] Bar. ad ann. 526. p. 116.

Time.

Time. In the very Beginning of the preſent Pontificate, that is, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, died King *Theodoric*; and was ſucceeded, as he had no Male Iſſue of his own, by his Two Grandſons. To *Athalaric*, the Son of his Daughter *Amalaſuntha*, he bequeathed his *Italian* Dominions; and to *Amalaric*, his Grandſon by his Daughter *Teudetuſa*, and King of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, the *Gallic* Province lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, and the *Mediterranean*, which he had formerly taken from the *Burgundians*. But *Athalaric*, or rather *Amalaſuntha*, who governed during his Minority, being unwilling to yield that whole Country, it was agreed between her and *Amalaric*, that the *Oſtrogoths* ſhould hold the Country between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*; and the *Viſigoths* that which lay on the oppoſite Side of that River, extending to the Confines of the *Franks*. *Amalaſuntha* kept the City of *Arles*, ſtanding on an Iſland formed by the *Rhone*; but remitted the Tribute, which the *Viſigoths* paid to the *Oſtrogoths*, and reſtored to them the rich Furniture of their Kings, which her Father had conveyed from *Carcaſſone* to *Ravenna* [f].

Year of Chriſt 526. Theodoric *dies, and is ſucceeded in his* Italian *Dominions by his Grandſon* Athalaric. *And by his Grandſon* Amalaric *in the Countries which he poſſeſſed in* Gaul.

As to the Particulars of *Theodoric*'s Death, the anonymous Writer, who lived at this very Time, tells us, that he died of a Flux, the ſame Death which *Arius*, the Author of his Religion, had died of before him; for that Writer was a moſt zealous Catholic, and gives *Theodoric* no Quarter [g]. *Procopius* writes, that not long after the Death of *Symmachus*, whom he had cauſed to be beheaded [h], the Head of a large Fiſh being ſerved up while he was at Supper, the Injuſtice of that Sentence occurring to his Mind, he fanſied the Head of the Fiſh to be the Head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghaſtly manner. Seized therefore with Fear and Horror, he was carried from the Table to his Bed-chamber, where, reflecting anew on his Cruelty and Injuſtice both to *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, he died of Grief; this being the firſt and laſt Wrong, ſays that Writer, though no ways partial to the *Goths*, any of his Subjects had ever received from him [i]. The Head of this Fiſh *Baronius* compares to the Hand that appeared to *Belſhazzar*, writing his Doom on the Wall [k], and ſeems no more to queſtion the one than the other. However, *Jornandes* takes no notice of that Apparition or Imagination; but ſays, that *Theodoric* died of old Age; and he is on that Account cenſured by the An-

Particulars of his Death, as related by different Authors.

[f] Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 13. [g] Anonym. Valeſ. [h] See above, p. 258.
[i] Procop. Hiſt. Goth. l. 1. p. 232. [k] Bar. ad ann. 526. p. 116.

Year of Christ 526.

A ſtrange Tale, related by Pope Gregory, *concerning the Puniſhment of* Theodoric *after his Death.*

naliſt as an unfaithful and partial Hiſtorian. But in what manner ſoever *Theodoric* died, *Baronius* abſolutely inſiſts on his having been damned after his Death; and, to put it out of all Doubt that he was, he alleges the Authority of a Pope, who believed it, of no leſs a Pope than *Gregory the Great*. *Gregory* indeed did not know it by any Revelation that was made to him; but learnt it of one *Julianus*: *Julianus* learnt it of his Wife's Grandfather; and his Wife's Grandfather of a holy Hermit, who ſaw him caſt down into Hell. For *Julianus*'s Wife's Grandfather, as the Story is related by *Gregory*, in his Dialogues [l], having been obliged by Streſs of Weather to put in at the Iſland of *Lipari*, as he was returning from *Sicily* to *Rome*, took that Opportunity to viſit, with ſome of his Company, an Hermit, renowned for his Sanctity, who lived there. The Hermit, in diſcourſing with them, asked them, whether they knew, that King *Theodoric* was dead? *Theodoric* dead! replied they, God forbid! we left him alive, and have heard nothing of his Death. But I tell you, anſwered the Hermit, that *Theodoric* is dead: I ſaw him Yeſterday, at the Hour of None, brought hither between Pope *John* and the Patrician *Symmachus*, and by them thruſt down *Vulcan*'s boiling Pot, meaning the *Vulcano*, or burning Mountain, of the Iſland of *Lipari*. They, who were come to viſit the holy Man, adds *Gregory*, amazed and terrified at ſo dreadful a Viſion, ſet down, with great Care, the Day; and, on their Return to *Italy*, found, that *Theodoric* died the very Day in which his Death and Puniſhment were revealed to the Servant of God. *Gregory* concludes, very gravely, that as *Theodoric* had killed Pope *John* by keeping him in Priſon, and *Symmachus* with the Sword, he was juſtly caſt into Fire, after his Death, by thoſe whom, in his Lifetime, he had unjuſtly condemned. But how came *Boetius* to be forgotten on this Occaſion? He too had been put to Death by *Theodoric*, and no leſs unjuſtly than either *John* or *Symmachus*. Such were the Tales that now prevailed, and were as univerſally believed as the Goſpel itſelf; nay, they took place of the Goſpel.

Theodoric *quite illiterate.*

Theodoric was, according to ſome Authors, quite illiterate; and could not even write the Letters of his own Name, which he therefore cauſed to be cut on a thin Plate of Gold. This Plate, ſay they, he placed on the Paper; and his Hand being directed by the Letters, which were cut quite through, ſigned his Name [m]. But

[l] Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 4. c. 6. [m] Valeſ. in Excerpt.

this

this is not at all consistent with what we read in *Ennodius*; *viz.* that his Predecessors had preferred Ignorance to Learning; but that he had shewn himself the Patron and Encourager of Letters; that under him Learning flourished in all its Branches; and that he not only admired and rewarded it in others, but thought it an Ornament worthy of himself [n]. Such Commendations, uttered, as they were, in a Panegyric pronounced before the King, would have been deemed a Satire rather than a Panegyric, had he been altogether illiterate. However, he discountenanced Learning in his *Goths*, if what the great Men among them alleged against the learned, or, as they styled it, unbecoming Education of *Athalaric*, was true; *viz.* that *Theodoric* had never suffered the Children of the brave *Goths* to be sent to Schools, to be awed there by the contemptible Pedants, saying, That they, who had trembled, when Children, at the Sight of a Rod, would tremble, when Men, at the Sight of a Sword, or a Spear [o].

Year of Christ 526.

The following Year 527. died, on the first of *August*, the Emperor *Justin*; and was succeeded by his Nephew *Justinian*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire Four Months before. His Death was owing to a Mortification, occasioned by a Wound, which he had formerly received in the Foot [p].

The Emperor Justin *dies; and is succeeded by* Justinian.

Year of Christ 527.

Of the present Pope we know but very little. He probably performed nothing worthy of notice. In his Time a Deacon of the *Roman* Church having been delivered up, by the secular Judge, to his Creditor, who kept him confined, and a Presbyter of the same Church treated with great Severity for a small Debt, *Felix* presented, in his own Name, and in the Name of the whole *Roman* Clergy, a Memorial to King *Athalaric*, complaining of the Usage their Brethren had met with, as not only unjust in itself, but derogatory to a Custom, which had long obtained in their Church, that the Ecclesiastics should be summoned before the Bishop, and the Cause be heard and determined by him, to prevent their being diverted by vexatious Suits from discharging, as they ought, the Functions of their Office. The King received their Memorial, and soon after issued an Edict, commanding all, who had, or should have Demands, in Time to come, on any Ecclesiastic belonging to the *Roman* Church, to apply first to the Bishop, who would either

Athalaric *orders all Suits at Law with the* Roman *Clergy to be heard first by the Pope.*

Year of Christ 528.

[n] Ennod. Panegyr. Theod. p. 290. [o] Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 1. [p] Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 9. Evagr. l. 4. c. 9. Marcell. chron. Chron. Alex.

Year of Christ 528.

hear and determine the Cauſe himſelf, or appoint proper Perſons to act in his room. If he declined or delayed doing either, the Plaintiff was then allowed to recur to the Lay Tribunals. But if he firſt had recourſe to them, he was to loſe his Suit, and to forfeit beſides Ten Pounds of Gold, which the Officers of the Exchequer were immediately to levy, and the Biſhop was to diſtribute, at his Diſcretion, to the Poor [q]. This Privilege the King granted to the *Roman* Clergy only, in Honour of the Apoſtolic See, as he declared in his Edict; and as it was confined to them, no Diſtinction was made, in virtue of the preſent Decree, between the Eccleſiaſtics belonging to other Churches and the Laity. The preſent Edict related only to Civil Caſes; for in criminal Actions the Clergy did not yet enjoy any kind of Privilege or Exemption.

The Clergy forbidden by the Canons to recur to Lay Judges.

Long before the Time of *Athalaric* the Clergy were forbidden, by their own Laws, the Laws or Canons of the Church, to recur to Lay Judges in the Controverſies that aroſe among themſelves; and forbidden, in Criminal Cauſes, on Pain of being degraded, and, in Pecuniary, of loſing whatever they had gained by the Action [r]. But, if the Controverſy happened to be between a Clergyman and a Layman, the Layman was allowed, by a Law of the Emperor *Valentinian*, to chuſe his Court, and oblige the Clergyman to plead before the Secular Judge [s]. This Law was now revoked, with reſpect to the *Roman* Church, by *Athalaric*'s obliging the Laymen, in all Suits at Law with the Eccleſiaſtics, to bring their Action firſt before the Biſhop. He did not, however, oblige them to acquieſce in the Judgment of the Biſhop; and his not requiring them to acquieſce in it, was allowing them to appeal from the Judgment of the Biſhop to that of a Secular Court. At this Time *Alaric*, King of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, enacted a Law ſtill more favourable to the Clergy, than that of *Athalaric*. For by his Law no Layman was to ſue an Eccleſiaſtic in a Secular Court, nor was an Eccleſiaſtic to anſwer any Action brought againſt him there, without the Permiſſion of the Biſhop [t]. Thus did the *Arian Goths*, though repreſented by ſome fanatical Writers of thoſe Times, as Enemies to God and his Church, prove better Friends to the Clergy, than any of the Catholic Emperors who had gone before them. The Privilege granted by *Atha-*

The Arian Goths *more favourable to the Clergy than any of the Catholic Emperors.*

[q] Caſſiodor. l. 8. c. 24. [r] Concil. Chalcad. c. 9. Conc. Carth. 3. c. 9. Conc. Venetic. c. 9. Conc. Cabillon. c. 11. Conc. Matiſcon. c. 5. Conc. Milev. c. 19. [s] Valentin. Novel. 12. in Cod. Theod. [t] Conc. Agath. c. 32.

laric to the *Roman* Clergy only, the Emperor *Juſtinian* extended to all Eccleſiaſtics; but upon Condition, that if the Layman declared in the Term of Ten Days, that he did not acquieſce in the Judgment of the Biſhop, the Cauſe ſhould be re-examined by the ordinary Judge. If his Sentence agreed with that of the Biſhop, no farther Appeal was allowed. If it did not agree, room was left for appealing to the illuſtrious Powers, that is, to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Dioceſe, or to extraordinary Judges of the Emperor's own appointing [u]. Year of Chriſt 528.

As for Criminal Cauſes, the Clergy were exempt, by the Laws of the *Roman* Empire, from the Juriſdiction of the Secular Courts, in all Cauſes purely Eccleſiaſtical, that is, in ſuch as related to Crimes that were committed againſt the Faith, againſt the Canons, Diſcipline, and good Order of the Church; and were puniſhable with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. Crimes of that Nature were left, by the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Emperors, to the Cognizance of the Biſhops, and the Synods of each Dioceſe or Province [w]. But in no other Criminal Cauſe did the Clergy yet enjoy, or even claim, any kind of Privilege or Exemption. They were all, as Members of the Civil Society, the Pope himſelf not excepted, indiſcriminately tried, and condemned, or abſolved, by the Civil Magiſtrate. *The Clergy exempt from the Juriſdiction of Secular Courts, in Criminal Cauſes purely Eccleſiaſtical, but in no others.*

It is now the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and has been defined by the Council of *Trent*, that the Clergy are exempt, by Divine Right, from the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate, or the Juriſdiction of Secular Princes [x]; a Doctrine, perhaps, of all that are taught or held by that Church, the moſt indiſputably repugnant to the Doctrine of the Scripture, and the Fathers, as well as to the Practice of all Antiquity. St. *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, recommends it as an indiſpenſable Obligation incumbent on *every Soul*, to *be ſubject unto the higher Powers*; and declares, that *whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*; and that *they who reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation* [y]; which is declaring all, without Diſtinction or Exception, bound, on Pain of Damnation, to be ſubject to the ſuperior Powers. The Apoſtle ſpeaks here of the *Miniſter of God*, who *beareth the Sword*; and conſequently of the Civil, not of the Eccleſiaſtical *The Clergy not exempt, by Divine Right, from the Juriſdiction of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

[u] Novel. 83. 123. Ibid. l. 16. tit. 12. leg. 7.
[w] Cod. Theod. l. 6. tit. 2. de Epiſc. leg. 12. Ibid. leg. 23. Ibid. tit. 11. leg. 1. Valentin. Novel. 12. Juſtin. Novel. 83.
[x] See Bellar. de Cler. l. 1. c. 28.
[y] Paul. ep. ad Rom. c. xiii.

Powers,

Year of Christ 528.

Powers, as he has been ridiculouſly underſtood by ſome of the Popes, pretending that, by the above-mentioned Words, he inculcates Obedience and Subjection to the Biſhop, eſpecially to the firſt Biſhop, his Holineſs the Pope [z]. St. *Peter* ſeems to have been as great a Stranger as St. *Paul* to the Immunity of the Clergy, or their Exemption from the Secular Courts. For he too exhorts all Chriſtians, the Clergy not excepted, to *ſubmit themſelves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake; whether it be to the King as ſupreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him* [a]. The Words of the Two Apoſtles have been underſtood and explained by all the Fathers, and even ſome of the Popes, as extending to the Clergy as well as the Laity. *The Words of St.* Paul, LET EVERY SOUL, &c. *were ſpoken to all,* ſays *Chryſoſtom, to the Prieſts and the Monks, as well as to the Laymen. Whoever you be, whether an Apoſtle, an Evangeliſt, or a Prophet, you are ſubject to the higher Powers* [b]. *Power over all Men,* ſays Pope *Gregory the Great, has been granted by Heaven to my Lords* (the Emperors), *and I am ſubject to Command* [c]; and St. *Bernard,* writing many Ages after to the Archbiſhop of *Sens,* puts him thus in mind of the Obedience and Subjection which the Clergy owe, as well as the Laity, to Secular Princes; *If every Soul muſt be ſubject to the higher Powers, yours muſt be ſubject with the reſt. Who has excepted you? Whoever ſtudies to except you, ſtudies to deceive you* [d]. With theſe the other Fathers all agree [e]; and it is quite ſurpriſing, that, in Oppoſition to a Doctrine ſo univerſally taught by them, the Council of *Trent* ſhould have defined *the Immunity of the Church, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to have been inſtituted by Divine Ordination.* As to the Practice of the Church, no one can be ſo little converſant in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or ſo great a Stranger to the Imperial Laws, as not to know, that for many Ages no kind of Immunity or Exemption was enjoyed by the Clergy in Criminal Cauſes, not relating to Matters of Religion; but that they were all tried in the ſame manner, and by the ſame Judges, as the Laity. As none of them ever objected againſt the Power and Juriſdiction of the Civil Magiſtrate, we may well conclude them to have been all alike utterly unac-

[z] See above, p. 268. [a] Pet. ep. 1. c. ii. ver. 13. [b] Chryſ. hom. 23. in epiſt. ad Roman. [c] Greg. l. 2. ep. 62. [d] Bernard. ep. 42. [e] Vide Iren. l. 5. c. 20. Juſt. in Apol. 2. Tertull. de Idololat. Greg. Naz. orat. ad Præſid. irat. et popul. pertimeſc. Ambroſ. in Luc. l. 4. c. 5. Auguſt. in Joan. tract. 6. &c.

quainted with the *Divine Ordination* diſcovered and defined by the Council of *Trent*. Year of Chriſt 528.

As we find very little recorded of the preſent Pope, *Baronius* is willing to apply to him an old Epitaph on one of his Name, commending him for his Generoſity to the Poor, his Compaſſion for the Afflicted, his godly Pride joined to a humble Piety, and his having increaſed the Wealth of the Apoſtolic See, *Sedis Apoſtolicæ creſcere fecit opes*. An extraordinary Merit indeed! *Felix* died on the 18th of *September* 530. having preſided in the *Roman* Church Four Years, Two Months, and Six Days. Of the Three Letters that are aſcribed to him, one only is allowed by the Critics to be genuine, that, which he wrote to *Cæſarius* of *Arles*, forbidding any to be raiſed to the Prieſthood, who had not ſerved the Church in the inferior Degrees.

Felix *dies*. Year of Chriſt 530.

JUSTINIAN, **BONIFACE II.** ATHALARIC, King of *Italy*.

Fifty-ſixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *Felix* was attended with the uſual Diſturbances, in Spite of all the Precautions the Governor of *Rome*, and the other Officers of the King, could uſe to prevent them; and the whole City was divided into Two oppoſite Parties. By the one was choſen *Boniface*, the Second of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, but the Son of a *Goth*, named *Sigiſvultius*; and by the other the Deacon *Dioſcorus*, formerly employed by Pope *Hormiſdas* in the Embaſſy he ſent to the Emperor *Juſtin*. Both were choſen, and both ordained, on the ſame Day, the 21ſt of *September*; *Boniface* in the Baſilic of *Julius*, and *Dioſcorus* in that of *Conſtantine*. As both had powerful Friends, and neither would yield, the City was threatened with as great Calamities as it had ever felt on ſuch an Occaſion. But Providence intervened; and while the contending Parties were preparing for War, Peace was unexpectedly re-eſtabliſhed by the Death of *Dioſcorus* [f].

Two choſen at the ſame Time, Boniface *and* Dioſcorus.

Dioſcorus *dies*.

Boniface, being now in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Papal Chair, began his Pontificate with wreaking his Vengeance on the Memory of his

[f] Anaſt. in Bonif. II.

deceaſed

Year of Christ 530.

deceaſed Competitor, whom he ſolemnly excommunicated, as guilty of Simony, when he could not clear himſelf from that Charge, nor retort it on him, as perhaps he otherwiſe might. The Sentence of Excommunication *Boniface* cauſed to be ſigned by ſeveral Deacons, Presbyters, and Biſhops; and placed it, thus ſigned, in the Archives of the *Roman* Church, that the Name of *Dioſcorus* might be curſed and execrable to all Poſterity. But, ſome Years after, Pope *Agapetus*, thinking his Predeceſſor had therein been actuated more by Paſſion and Revenge, than Zeal, abſolved *Dioſcorus*, and cauſed the Sentence of Excommunication to be burnt in the Church [g].

Is excommunicated by his Rival, after his Death.

Decree of the Roman *Senate againſt Simoniacal Contracts.*

As through the Corruption of the People, and the Ambition of the *Roman* Clergy, the Papal Chair was now, as ſoon as vacant, and often before, expoſed, in a manner, to public Sale, the *Roman* Senate, to provide ſome Remedy againſt the reigning Evil, paſſed a Decree, declaring null and execrable all Promiſes, Bargains, and Contracts, by whomſoever, or for whomſoever, made with a View to engage Suffrages in the Election of the Pope; and excluding for ever from having any Share in the Election ſuch as ſhould be found to have been directly or indirectly concerned, either for themſelves, or for others, in Contracts or Bargains of that Nature [h]. The Anathemas of the Church already began, it ſeems, to be looked upon as *bruta fulmina*, both by the People and the Clergy.

The Pope confirms the Decrees of ſome Gallican *Biſhops, condemning the* Semipelagian *Doctrine.*

In the Latter-end of the late Pontificate *Cæſarius* of *Arles* had preſided at a Council in *Gaul*, the Second of *Orange*, in which was condemned the Doctrine of the *Semipelagians*, denying the Neceſſity of preventing Grace with reſpect to the Beginning of Faith. At the Breaking up of the Council, which only conſiſted of 13 Biſhops met by Chance, on Occaſion of the Conſecration of a Church, *Cæſarius* wrote to *Felix*, intreating him to confirm, with the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, the Doctrine which he and his Colleagues had defined. But *Felix* being dead before the Letter reached *Rome*, it was delivered to *Boniface*, who, as he had lived long in great Intimacy with *Cæſarius*, immediately anſwered it, declaring the Doctrine, which the Council had defined, to be intirely agreeable to that of the Church, and the Fathers [i].

Year of Chriſt 531.

The following Year the Pope held a Council in the Baſilic of St. *Peter*, on a very extraordinary Occaſion. He propoſed to alter

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Caſſiod. l. 9. ep. 15. [i] Concil. t. 4. p. 1691.

the

the manner of Election, and, in Defiance of the known Laws of the Church, and the Decrees of his Predeceſſors, to appoint himſelf a Succeſſor. But, not thinking it adviſeable to attempt ſuch an Innovation without the Concurrence of a Council, he aſſembled the neighbouring Biſhops, and the *Roman* Clergy, acquainted them with his Reſolution, and, at the ſame time, required them to paſs a Decree, impowering him to name whom he pleaſed to ſucceed him. Such a Propoſal ſurpriſed the whole Aſſembly; and they all oppoſed it, eſpecially the *Roman* Clergy, to whom Elections had begun of late to prove a moſt gainful Traffick. But they oppoſed it in vain. The Pope was determined; and the Council, finding they could by no poſſible means divert him from his Reſolution, yielded at laſt; and not only paſſed the Decree, and ſigned it, but, at his Requeſt, or rather Command, bound themſelves, by a ſolemn Oath, to acknowlege, upon his Demiſe, for lawful Pope, the Perſon whom he ſhould name. When they had all taken this Oath, the Pope approached the Shrine of St. *Peter*, and there named for his Succeſſor, to the Throne of that Apoſtle, one *Vigilius*, a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, whom we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention hereafter. Such a Conduct in the Pope, ſo plainly repugnant to the Laws both of the Church and the State, is generally thought to have been owing to the Suggeſtions of the Deacon; and indeed with a great deal of Reaſon. For *Vigilius* was a Man of great Craft, and an unbounded Ambition; and we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſed to the Throne of St. *Peter*, by means ſtill more uncanonical.

Year of Chriſt 531.

He propoſes to alter the manner of Election, and appoint his Succeſſor.

But the above-mentioned Decree never took place. The Pope, ſoon after repenting, or rather made to repent, what he had done, convened a Second Council, at which aſſiſted, beſides the Biſhops, and the *Roman* Clergy, the whole *Roman* Senate in a Body; and, in the Preſence of that numerous Aſſembly, the Pope firſt owned himſelf guilty of High Treaſon, and then not only revoked, the Biſhops and Clergy readily concurring with him, but burnt the Decree, which he had extorted from them a very few Months before [k]. Was this new manner of electing the High Pontiff ſuggeſted by the Holy Ghoſt! The Pope owned himſelf guilty of High Treaſon; and ſo he certainly was, the King being excluded by that Decree, as well as the People and Clergy, from having any Share in the Election; whereas by the Agreement, made in the late Reign, no Perſon was

Owns himſelf guilty of High Treaſon, and burns the Decree he had made.

[k] Anaſt. in Bonif. II.

Year of Christ 531.

to be deemed lawful Bishop, till confirmed by him. It was therefore, in all Likelihood, by the King's Order, that the Pope assembled this Second Council, that he owned his Guilt in so solemn and public a Manner, and revoked the Decree.

The Bishop of Larissa, *deposed by the Patriarch of* Constantinople, *recurs to the Pope.*

The same Year the Pope assembled a Third Council, consisting of Four Bishops, and Forty Presbyters, of the *Roman* Church. It was convened to hear and examine the Complaints of *Stephen* Bishop of *Larissa*, and Metropolitan of *Thessaly*, who, pretending to have been unjustly deposed by *Epiphanius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, had dispatched to *Rome* one of his Suffragans, *Theodosius* of *Echinus*, to implore the Protection of the Apostolic See. The Council met, for the first time, on the 7th of *December*, when *Theodosius*, appearing before them, presented to *Boniface* a Memorial or Request from *Stephen*, setting forth, that he had been canonically chosen, ordained, and installed; that, nevertheless, *Probianus* of *Demetrias* conspiring against him, he knew not why, with some other Bishops, who had all signed the Decree of his Ordination, had persuaded the Patriarch, that his Election was uncanonical; that thereupon the Patriarch had suspended him from the Functions of his Office, and forbidden the Bishops and Clergy of *Thessaly* to communicate with him, without deigning to hear what he had to offer in his Defence; that he had appealed to the Apostolic See, but nevertheless had been carried by Force to *Constantinople*, where he would have been imprisoned, had he not been bailed by his Friends; that the Patriarch, having assembled in Council the Bishops, who happened to be then at *Constantinople*, had obliged him to appear before them; that he indeed had protested against their Authority, maintaining, that, agreeably to a Custom which obtained in his Province, he ought to be judged at *Rome*, and that it was a crying Injustice in them to usurp the Authority which Christ and his Church had given, and Custom had confirmed, to the See of St. *Peter*; but that such Remonstrances had only served to provoke the Patriarch [and no Wonder they did], who, without hearkening to them, or paying the least Regard to his Protest, had not only judged and condemned him, but delivered him up to the Defenders of the Church, who kept him confined, and, as it were, in Prison. The Metropolitan of *Larissa* closes his Request with exhorting the Pope to exert his Authority in Defence of his just Rights, openly invaded by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who, if

Council held at Rome *on this Occasion.*

his Holineſs were not on his Guard, would ſoon ſubject all *Illyricum* to his See. Year of Chriſt 531.

Juriſdiction of the Popes with reſpect to Illyricum.

On the 9th of *December* was held the Second Seſſion of the preſent Council, when the ſame *Theodoſius* of *Echinus* preſented another Memorial in Favour of his Metropolitan, ſigned by himſelf, and Three other Suffragans, remonſtrating, at the ſame time, *that, abſtracting from the Primacy which impowered the Apoſtolic See to receive Appeals from all Parts of the World, the venerable Prelates of that See had always claimed a ſpecial Juriſdiction over the Provinces of* Illyricum. To prove that, he produced all the Letters which the Popes had written to their Vicars the Biſhops of *Theſſalonica*, from the time of *Damaſus*, the firſt who uſurped that Juriſdiction, down to the time of *Leo* [l]. The other Acts of this Council have not reached our Times; but from a Letter of Pope *Agapetus*, choſen Four Years after, it appears, that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* maintained the Judgment which he had given; that *Stephen* was not reſtored, notwithſtanding his Appeal to the Apoſtolic See; but that one *Achilles* was ordained in his room [m]. The Patriarch was not, it ſeems, ſo fully convinced as *Stephen* and *Theodoſius* pretended to be, that the Juriſdiction exerciſed by the Popes over *Illyricum* was given them by Chriſt, or that they were impowered, by the Primacy of their See, to receive Appeals from all Parts of the World. And truly the Primacy was originally underſtood to import no more, and did import no more, than Rank, Honour, or Precedency. But from Honour to Power the Paſſage is eaſy; and the Popes wanted neither the Means nor the Inclination of improving it into Power. The Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* had been long ſtriving to ſubject the Provinces of *Illyricum* to their See; and indeed not without Succeſs, as we may obſerve here by the way, ſince the Biſhops of *Theſſaly*, in the Caſe before us, had recourſe not to *Rome*, but to *Conſtantinople*, ſummoning their Metropolitan to anſwer there for his illegal Election, and thereby acknowleging the Authority of that See both over him and them. *Damaſus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*, who aſſumed any kind of Juriſdiction or Power over *Illyricum:* but the Power which he had aſſumed, and his Succeſſors had continued to exerciſe ever ſince his time, having never been authorized either by the Imperial Laws, or the Laws of the Church, the Biſhop of *Con-*

[l] Concil. t. 4. p. 1691. [m] Agapet. Ep. 4.

Year of Christ 531.

ſtantinople thought, that, as thoſe Provinces were ſubject to the Eaſtern Empire, they ought, agreeably to the Principles of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, which conformed to the Civil, to be rather ſubject to his See, than to that of *Rome*. This occaſioned endleſs Diſputes between the Two Rival Sees, till *Leo Iſauricus* adjudged *Illyricum* to that of *Conſtantinople*, and, with *Illyricum*, all the Provinces that belonged to the Empire.

Boniface *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 532.

The following Year 532. died *Boniface*, on the 17th of *October*, having governed the *Roman* Church Two Years and Twenty-ſix Days. The Letter, which this Pope is ſaid to have written to *Eulalius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, is now rejected by all, even by *Baronius*, as a barefaced Forgery. No Biſhop of that Name ever governed the Church of *Alexandria*; and, beſides, the Letter is ſuppoſed to have been written in the reign of *Juſtin*, who died on the Firſt of *Auguſt* 527. whereas *Boniface* was not raiſed to the Epiſcopal Dignity till the 21ſt of *September* 530. The Sticklers for the Papal Supremacy laid once great Streſs on a Requeſt of the ſame pretended Biſhop of *Alexandria*, wherein he excommunicates all his Predeceſſors, who had invaded, and all his Succeſſors who ſhould invade, the Rights and Privileges of the Apoſtolic See. But that Piece too they are now obliged to condemn, as the Work of an Impoſtor. Such Forgeries were of great Uſe in the Ages of Darkneſs and Monkery; and the Edifice, which was then built upon them, ſtands to this Day.

His Letter to Eulalius, *and the Requeſt of the pretended Biſhop, barefaced Forgeries.*

JUSTINIAN, **JOHN II.** ATHALARIC, THEODATUS, } Kings of *Italy*.

Fifty-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

Great Conteſts during the Vacancy.

THE Death of *Boniface* was attended with the uſual Commotions in the City; and many aſpired to the vacant Dignity, ſparing neither Pains nor Money to attain it. For, in ſpite of the many Laws both Eccleſiaſtic and Civil, Simony ſtill reigned without Maſk or Diſguiſe; Votes were publicly bought and ſold; and, notwithſtanding the Decree lately iſſued by the Senate, Money was offered to the Senators themſelves; nay, the Lands of the Church were mortgaged by ſome, and the ſacred Utenſils pawned by others,

Simoniacal Practices.

or

or publicly ſold, for ready Money [n]. The Conteſt laſted from the 17th of *October* to the 31ſt of *December*, when *John*, ſurnamed *Mercurius*, was preferred in the End to all his Competitors, merely in Conſideration of his extraordinary Merit, as we are to ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding the Corruption of the People, and the Sums that were offered them by the other Candidates. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Projectus*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church [o]. So very ſcandalous were the Practices which had openly prevailed during the Vacancy, that the Defender of the Church, the more effectually to prevent the like Abuſes in time to come, thought himſelf obliged to apply to the King, to an *Arian* King. He applied accordingly, with Tears in his Eyes *(flebili allegatione)*; and *Athalaric*, at his Requeſt, iſſued an Edict, confirming, by his Royal Authority, the Decree which the Senate had made, on the like Occaſion, Two Years before [p]. This Edict the King addreſſed to the Pope, requiring him to notify it to *all the Patriarchs*, that is, to all the Biſhops of the chief Cities of *Italy*; for ſo they were all ſtyled by the *Goths*. He wrote at the ſame time to *Salvantius*, then Governor of the City, commanding him to make it known, without Delay, to the *Roman* Senate and People; to cauſe it to be engraved on Tables of Marble, and to be ſet up, thus engraved, before the Porch of the Church of St. *Peter*, as a public Monument [q]; a Monument that greatly redounded to the Honour of the *Arian* Prince, and no leſs to the Shame and Diſgrace of the Catholic People and Clergy of *Rome*. *Baronius* pretends it was by the Pope's Command the Defender applied to the King. I ſhould be glad to know of whom he had that Intelligence; for neither by the King in his Ordinance, nor by any Writer before the Annaliſt's Time, is the Pope ſaid to have been any-ways concerned in procuring the above-mentioned Edict.

Year of Chriſt 532. John *choſen at laſt.*

The Edict made by the Senate is confirmed by the King, and ſet up before the Porch of St. Peter.

While the *Arian* King was ſtriving, by moſt juſt and equitable Laws, to clear the Church from all Simony in the Weſt, the Catholic Emperor was employing the moſt unjuſt and unchriſtian Means of clearing her from all Hereſies in the Eaſt, that of Perſecution, and the moſt cruel Perſecution any Chriſtian Emperor had yet ſet on foot, or countenanced. For by an Edict which he iſſued *to unite*

Juſtinian *iſſues a ſevere Edict againſt all who diſſented from the Church.*

[n] Caſſiod. l. 9. Ep. 15. [o] Lib. Pontif. [p] See above, p. 328. [q] Caſſiod. ibid.

all

Year of Christ 532.

all Men in one Faith, whether Jews, Gentiles, or Christians, such as did not, in the Term of Three Months, embrace and profess the Catholic Faith, were declared infamous, and, as such, excluded from all Employments both Civil and Military, rendered incapable of leaving any thing by Will, and their Estates confiscated, whether real or personal. These were convincing Arguments of the Truth of the Catholic Faith; but many, however, withstood them; and against such as did, the Imperial Edict was executed with the utmost Rigour. Great Numbers were driven from their Habitations with their Wives and Children, stript and naked. Others betook themselves to Flight, carrying with them what they could conceal, for their Support and Maintenance; but they were plundered of the little they had, and many of them inhumanly massacred by the Catholic Peasants, or the Soldiery, who guarded the Passes. The *Montanists* (A) in *Phrygia*, retiring

(A) The *Montanists*, so called from *Montanus* the Founder of their Sect, who lived about the latter End of the Second Century, administred Baptism in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of *Montanus*, who pretended to be the Holy Ghost; and had Two Propheteſſes to attend him, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*; and their Names too they sometimes added, in administring Baptism, to the Names of the Father and the Son (1). This Baptism they believed to be valid even after Death; and therefore baptized after Death such as had not received Baptism in their Lifetime (2). They condemned Second Marriages, as no better than Adultery, acknowleging One Matrimony, as they did One God, and stigmatizing the Catholics, who acknowleged more, with the Name of *Psychici*, or carnal Men (3). They likewise denied it to be lawful for a Christian to fly in time of Persecution, or to bear Arms in Defence of the Empire (4). The antient Fathers were all, or almost all, so far *Montanists*, as to think Second Marriages, in some Degree, criminal. For they not only excluded Digamists from holy Orders, but obliged them to perform One or Two Years Penance, and to abstain, in the mean time, from the Eucharist (5). As all *cannot contain*, and God and Nature have provided no other Remedy against Incontinence but Marriage, it thence follows, in common Sense, that Marriage may, and even ought to be repeated, as often as Necessity requires. The Aversion, which the Fathers had to Second Marriages, was in great measure owing to the high Opinion they entertained of Celibacy, which they thought the most refined State of Christian Perfection; and to that Notion was likewise owing their discountenancing a married State, and decrying Matrimony in general. *Though I will not positively pronounce*, says *Origen* (6); *yet I suppose there are some Actions of Men, which, however free from Sin, are not worthy to be honoured with the Presence of the Holy Ghost. For Instance, lawful Marriage is not sinful; yet, when conjugal Acts are performed, the Holy Ghost will not be present, though he be a Prophet who performs them.* St. *Hierom*, the great Patron of Celibacy, goes farther; for he condemns, in some Places, Marriage, as absolutely sinful. *If it be good*, says he, *for a Man not to touch a Woman, then it is evil to touch her. For nothing is contrary to Good, but Evil. While*

(1) Basil. Ep. Can. 1. c. 1. Theophylact. in Luc. xxiv. (2) Philostr. de Hæres. c. 2. (3) Tertull. de Monogam. c. 1. (4) Tertull. de Coron. Mil. c. 11. (5) Concil. Neocæs. Can. 7. Concil. Laod. Can. 1. Basil. Can. 4. (6) Orig. Hom. 6. in Num.

I per-

tiring with all their Wealth to their Churches, ſet them on fire, and conſumed in the Flames themſelves, their Wealth, and their Churches. The *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Samaria*, openly revolted; and, ranging themſelves under the Banner of one *Julian*, a noted Robber, whom they choſe for their King, and their Leader, engaged the Imperial Troops in the Field; but, after a moſt obſtinate and bloody Diſpute, were utterly defeated, with the Loſs, if *Procopius* is to be credited, of 100,000 Men [r]. All who outlived ſo dreadful a Slaughter, readily embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and were baptized ſoon after the Battle. And the Chriſtian Religion, ſays the Hiſtorian [s], they profeſs to this Day, when Governors are ſent them from *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Faith and Integrity are Proof againſt Bribes: but when they are governed, as they often are, by Men of a different Character, they purchaſe, with Money, the Liberty of blaſpheming Chriſt, and openly profeſs the Religion of their Fathers. Such are, and ſuch ever will be, Converſions that are owing, not to Conviction, but to Penal Laws or Perſecution. Year of Chriſt 532.

Juſtinian formerly declared, as we have ſeen, againſt Perſecution [t], oppoſing, with a truly Chriſtian Spirit and Zeal, one of the Popes, by whom it was countenanced. On that Occaſion he ſtrongly recommended Perſuaſion and Lenity, as the only effectual Means of gaining Men; and loudly condemned all Force and Violence, as calculated not to gain the Souls, but to deſtroy both the Souls and the Bodies [u]. And truly he was a Man of too good Senſe not to be convinced of ſo plain a Truth; and his acting now in direct Oppoſition to it, could only be owing to the Motive to which it is aſcribed by a contemporary Hiſtorian, employed by him on ſeveral Occaſions, and well ac- *His perſecuting the Heretics owing to Avarice, not to Zeal.*

[r] Procop. Hiſt. Arcan. c. 11. [s] Auct. Chron. Alex. [t] See above, p. 303. [u] See ibid.

I perform the Duty of a Husband, I do not the Duty of a Chriſtian. For he commands we ſhould always pray: If ſo, we muſt never ſerve the Ends of Matrimony; for, as often as we do, we cannot pray. I ſuppoſe that the End of Matrimony is eternal Death. The Earth indeed is filled by Marriage, but Heaven by Virginity. As the Apoſtle permits not thoſe, who are already married, to put away their Wives, ſo he forbids Virgins to marry [which is abſolutely falſe]. Marriage is permitted only as a Remedy againſt Luſt; it being more tolerable to be proſtituted to one Man, than to many. Thus *Hierom* (7). By what Heretic was ever Marriage more diſparaged? It was upon ſuch Prejudices, ſuch Errors, and Miſinterpretations of Scripture, that Marriage was thought unbecoming thoſe, who adminiſtred holy Things, and Celibacy was injoined.

(7) Hier. in Jovin. l. 1.

quainted

Year of Christ 532.

quainted with his Temper and Views[w]. He was engaged in many great Works, had formed vaſt Deſigns, but wanted Money; while the *Jews*, and thoſe whom he ſtyled Heretics, eſpecially the *Arians*, were poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth. And it was, according to that Writer, to his Want of Money, and their Wealth, that his Zeal was owing for *uniting all Men in one Faith*[x]. It is certain, at leaſt, that his Coffers, which had been drained by the *Perſian* War, were filled anew by this Edict; and he was enabled to carry on his Works, and at the ſame time to engage in an expenſive War with the *Vandals*, whom he drove in the End quite out of *Africa*. It is obſervable, that, Men being narrowly watched on Occaſion of this Edict, and Informers encouraged to accuſe ſuch as did not conform to the Belief and Worſhip of the Catholic Church, many Perſons of the firſt Rank, many who were in great Favour at Court, and even ſome of the chief Officers of the Empire, were found to be ſtill addicted to the Superſtition of the Gentiles, and to worſhip *Jupiter* in private, while they conformed in public to the Chriſtian Rites[y]. They were perhaps eſtranged, and no Wonder they were, from the Chriſtian Religion, by the eternal Quarrels, and mortal Feuds, that reigned among the Chriſtians, and were utterly unknown to the Gentiles. Perhaps they put off their Converſion till the Chriſtians had agreed among themſelves what they were, and they were not, to believe; which indeed was taking a long Term, or rather putting it off *ſine die*. I might add, that the Chriſtian Worſhip was now become no leſs idolatrous than that of the Gentiles, who therefore choſe to retain their own, there being no material Difference between the one and the other, between their worſhiping the antient Heroes, or the modern Saints: and as to the Articles of Belief, they were now, by the Cavils and Subtilties of the contending Parties, rendered quite unintelligible to the Chriſtians themſelves.

The Diſpute about the Expreſſion, One of the Trinity, *&c. revived.*

The following Year 533. was revived with great Warmth in the Eaſt, the Diſpute about the Expreſſion, *One of the Trinity ſuffered in the Fleſh*. That Expreſſion having been condemned by Pope *Hormiſdas*, as we have ſeen above[z], the Monks, known at *Conſtanti-*

Year of Chriſt 533.

[w] Procop. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Procop. ibid. Chron. Alex.
[z] See p. 306.

nople

nople by the Name of *Acœmetæ* (B), acquieſcing in his Judgment, argued thus; If One of the Trinity did not ſuffer on the Croſs, One of the Trinity was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, who therefore ought no longer to be ſtyled the *Mother of God*. On the other hand, the *Origeniſts* reaſoned thus; If One of the Trinity did not ſuffer, Chriſt, who ſuffered, was not One of the Trinity; which was the Doctrine of the preſent *Origeniſts*. Againſt both the Emperor, who took great Delight in ſuch Diſputes, and was as well acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church as any Man of his Age, maintained the Virgin *Mary* to be properly and truly the Mother of God, and Chriſt to be, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, *One of the Trinity*; nay, and declared all to be Heretics who denied the one or the other. The Monks, alarmed, and not without Reaſon, at their being ſtigmatized with the Name of Heretics by the Emperor, after the Edict, which he had lately iſſued againſt Heretics of all Denominations, diſpatched, without Delay, Two of their Body to *Rome*, to engage the new Pope in the Defence of a Doctrine, which was evidently grounded upon, and undeniably deducible from, that which one of his holy Predeceſſors had defined. This their Deputies were to repreſent; and, putting the Pope in mind of the Saying of the Apoſtle, *If I build again the Things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a Tranſgreſſor* [a], urge the Diſgrace which the *Roman* Church would bring on herſelf, by approving at one time what ſhe condemned at another.

Year of Chriſt 533.

Which is maintained by the Emperor, and condemned by ſome Monks.

The Emperor no ſooner heard, that the Monks were applying, than he too reſolved to apply to the Pope. Having therefore drawn up a long Creed, or Confeſſion of Faith, containing the diſputed Article among the reſt, *One of the Trinity ſuffered in the Fleſh*, he diſpatched Two Biſhops with it to *Rome*, *Hypatius* of *Epheſus*, and *Demetrius* of *Philippi*. At the ſame time he wrote a very obliging Letter

Both apply to the Pope.

[a] Ad Galat. c. ii. v. 18.

(B) They were called *Acœmetæ*, that is, *Watchers*, from their being conſtantly employed, both Night and Day, in Divine Service. For they divided themſelves into Three Claſſes; and, ſucceeding each other at a ſtated Hour, they thus continued a perpetual Courſe of Divine Service without Intermiſſion, by Night or by Day. They were alſo called *Studitæ*, and their chief Monaſtery at *Conſtantinople Studium*, from *Studius*, a *Roman* of great Wealth and Diſtinction, who, renouncing the World, embraced their Manner of Life, and built that Monaſtery. Moſt of them held the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and would not allow the Virgin *Mary* to be called truly and properly the *Mother of God* (1).

(1) Niceph. l. 15. c. 23.

Year of Chriſt 533.

to the Pope, congratulating him on his Election, aſſuring him, that the Faith contained in the Confeſſion he ſent him, was the Faith of the whole Eaſtern Church, and intreating him to declare, in his Anſwer, that he received to his Communion all who profeſſed that Faith, and none who did not. To add Weight to his Letter, he accompanied it with a Preſent for St. *Peter*, conſiſting of ſeveral Chalices, and other Veſſels of Gold, enriched with precious Stones. The Deputies of the Monks, and the Two Biſhops ſent by the Emperor, arrived at *Rome* about the ſame time; and the Pope heard both; but, being quite at a Loſs what to determine, wiſely declined, for the preſent, returning an Anſwer to either. He was ſenſible, that he could not condemn the Doctrine of the Monks, without admitting the Expreſſion, which his Predeceſſor had rejected as repugnant to the Catholic Faith. But, on the other hand, he was unwilling to diſoblige *Juſtinian*, and well appriſed of the Conſequences which he had Reaſon to apprehend from his condemning a Doctrine that was held by all the Biſhops of the Eaſt, and the Emperor himſelf, as an Article of Faith. Being thus perplexed and undetermined, he conſulted, in the firſt place, the *Roman* Clergy aſſembled by him for that Purpoſe; but them he found divided in their Opinions, ſome adviſing him to reject, and others thinking he ought to receive, the Confeſſion of *Juſtinian*. The former alleged, that it contained the very Expreſſion which his Predeceſſor *Hormiſdas* had condemned in the *Scythian* Monks; and the latter, that ſuch an Expreſſion, when uſed by *Juſtinian*, who anathematized in his Confeſſion *Eutyches*, *Neſtorius*, and all other Heretics [which, by the way, the *Scythian* Monks did too, and in the moſt ſolemn manner], could import no kind of Hereſy, though it might, when uſed by thoſe Monks. The Pope, finding his own Clergy could not agree among themſelves, reſolved to conſult thoſe of other Churches. Had he known, that all private Opinions would be over-ruled, in the End, by the unerring Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, he would not have given himſelf ſo much Trouble about them. At this time flouriſhed *Ferrandus*, Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, one of the moſt learned Men of the Age, and famous to this Day for his *Collection of Canons*. He was therefore conſulted, among the firſt, by *Anatolius* Deacon of the *Roman* Church, no doubt at the Deſire of the Pope; and the Anſwer, which he returned, was intirely agreeable to that which St. *Fulgentius*, whoſe Diſciple he was, and the other *African* Biſhops, had formerly returned to the *Scythian* Monks,

The Emperor accompanies his Letter to the Pope with a Preſent for St. Peter.

The Pope conſults the Roman *Clergy,*

And other Men of Learning.

Monks, when consulted by them. For he not only approved the controverted Expression, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*; but strove to prove, with all the metaphysical Subtilties and Distinctions that could be expected from a modern Schoolman, that the Divinity itself might be said to have suffered in the Flesh [b]. With *Ferrandus* agreed, as to the Expression, *One of the Trinity*, &c. all the learned Men of the Age; all declared it intirely Orthodox, nay, and taxed with Heresy such as denied it. The Pope, therefore, moved by their Agreement, assembled anew the *Roman* Clergy, with the neighbouring Bishops; and, having received in their Presence, and with their Approbation, the Confession of *Justinian*, approved the controverted Expression, as quite agreeable to the Apostolic Doctrine, and pronounced those separated from his Communion, who should thenceforth presume to dispute it. With this Judgment he acquainted the Emperor, by a Letter dated the 25th of *March*, and the *Roman* Senate by another, which he wrote about the same time, warning them not to communicate with the Monks *Acœmetæ* [c]. Thus was the same Proposition condemned by one Pope, as *repugnant, without all Doubt, to the Catholic Faith*, as *containing the poisonous Seeds of diabolical Tares* [d]; and approved by another, as *quite agreeable to the Apostolic Doctrine*. The Advocates for Infallibility have spared no Pains, as we may well imagine, to reconcile such contradictory Definitions. In order to that, they pretend the above-mentioned Expression not to have been condemned by *Hormisdas* as heretical, but only as an Expression that was new, that *might* imply some Heresy, that had never been used by the Fathers or Councils; and nothing else, that I know of, has yet been offered by any of them on this Subject. But whether the Words of *Hormisdas*, which I have quoted above, import no more, I leave every Reader to judge.

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The Pope declares the Expression orthodox, which his Predecessor had declared heretical.

Year of Christ 534.

Baronius, in commenting the Letter which *Justinian* wrote on this Occasion to the Pope, makes long Descants on the extraordinary Deference which he paid to his Holiness. But that little or no Account ought to be made of that exttaordinary Deference, will soon appear. *Justinian* indeed paid great Deference to the Pope, as well as to all other Bishops, when they agreed with him; but none at all, when they did not; thinking himself at least as well qualified as the best of them, and so he certainly was, to decide Controversies con-

Justinian *paid great Regard to the Pope, when the Pope agreed in Opinion with him.*

[b] Ferrand. Ep. ad Anat. [c] Liberat. c. 24. & l. 8. c. de summ. Trin.
[d] Suggest. Dios. inter Ep. Hormisd. See above, p. 308.

Year of Christ 534.

cerning the Faith; and we ſhall ſoon ſee him entering the Liſts with his Holineſs himſelf.

The Pope is conſulted by the Gallican *Biſhops.*

The ſame Year 534. the Pope received Letters from *Cæſarius* of *Arles*, and ſome other Biſhops of *Gaul*, conſulting him about the Puniſhment they ſhould inflict on *Contumelioſus* of *Riez*, accuſed before them, and guilty, by his own Confeſſion, of ſome Sin of Uncleanneſs. On this Occaſion the Pope wrote Three Letters, one to *Cæſarius* in particular, another to the other Biſhops, and a Third to the Clergy of *Riez*, authorizing them (for he interpoſed his Authority, though they had only asked his Advice) to ſuſpend the guilty Biſhop from all Epiſcopal and Sacerdotal Functions, to ſhut him up in a Monaſtery for Life, and to appoint a Viſitor to officiate in his room, till another Biſhop was choſen [e]. Theſe Letters are dated the 7th of *April* of the preſent Year; and of this Pope nothing elſe occurs in Hiſtory that is worthy of Notice, till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 27th of *May* of the following Year 535. after he had ſate 2 Years, 4 Months, and 26 Days [f]. The Letter, long ſuppoſed to have been written by him to one *Valerius*, is now allowed by all to be the Work of the Impoſtor *Iſidorus Mercator*.

He dies. Year of Chriſt 535.

JUSTINIAN, **AGAPETUS**, THEODATUS, King of *Italy*.

Fifty-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Agapetus *choſen.*

THE Election of the new Pope was made without the leaſt Diſpute or Diſturbance; which was, no Doubt, owing to the Edict *Athalaric* had cauſed to be ſet up before the Porch of the Church of St. *Peter*. In the room of the deceaſed Pope was choſen, and ordained on the 3d of *June*, *Agapetus*, a Native of *Rome*, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, and the Son of *Gordianus*, Presbyter of the ſame Church [g].

Juſtinian was no ſooner informed of the Election of *Agapetus*, than he wrote to him, by the Presbyter *Heraclius*, a moſt obliging

[e] Apud Bar. ad ann. 534. p. 222. [f] Vide Pagi ad hunc Ann. n. 2. [g] Liberat. Brev. c. 21. Lib. Pontif.

and

and reſpectful Letter, congratulating him on his Promotion, and, at the ſame time, begging him to confirm the Confeſſion of Faith, which his Predeceſſor had approved, and to exclude from his Communion, as avowed Heretics, the Monks, who refuſed to admit the Propoſition, *One of the Trinity ſuffered in the Fleſh.* The Pope readily complied with his Requeſt, declared that Expreſſion intirely Orthodox, and excluded from the Communion of the Apoſtolic See, and the Catholic Church, the unhappy Monks, and all who, with them, ſhould preſume to diſpute it. However, he took care to let the Emperor know, that he approved his Confeſſion, as being agreeable to the Doctrine of the Fathers, though he could not help thinking it unbecoming in a Layman to dictate in Matters of Faith [h]. This Reproach *Juſtinian* diſſembled, and wrote ſoon after another Letter to the Pope, ſuggeſting to his Holineſs (for neither the Wars, in which he was conſtantly engaged, nor the Affairs of State, could divert him from intermeddling in Eccleſiaſtical Matters), that it would greatly facilitate, in his Opinion, the Converſion of the *Arian* Clergy, were they ſuffered to keep the ſame Rank in the Church, which they held among thoſe of their Sect. In the ſame Letter he allows the Cauſe of *Stephen* of *Lariſſa*, condemned and depoſed by the Patriarch *Epiphanius* [i], to be judged anew by the Pope; but on condition, that he ſent Legates into the Eaſt, to judge it there. Laſtly, he begs it as a Favour, that his Holineſs would be pleaſed to appoint the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana Prima* (A) his Vicar for *Illyricum*; which Dignity had been hitherto enjoyed by the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*. His Complaiſance to the Pope may be well aſcribed to the Deſire he had of obtaining that Favour. But the Pope would not grant it; nor would he allow the converted *Arians* to keep their former Rank, or to be admitted in any other, among the Catholic Clergy, both being forbidden, ſaid he, with reſpect to them, as well as to all other Heretics, by the Canons of

Year of Chriſt 535.

He excommunicates the Monks, denying the Expreſſion One of the Trinity, *&c.*

The Emperor adviſes the Pope to receive the Arian *Clergy in the Rank they held before.*

The Pope refuſes to admit them.

[h] Inter ep. Agap. t. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. & Agap. ep. 6.

[i] See above, p. 330.

(A) That City was antiently called *Prævalis*, and afterwards *Acrida*; but as it ſtood near the Village where *Juſtinian* was born, he honoured it with his own Name. It became afterwards a Patriarchal See; and the Five Provinces of the *Dacian* Dioceſe, with the Two *Pannonia's*, in the Dioceſe of *Weſt-Illyricum*, were ſubjected to it (1). It was called *Juſtiniana*, with the Addition of *Prima*, to diſtinguiſh it from Four other Cities bearing the ſame Name.

(1) Juſt. Novel. 131. c. 3.

Year of Christ 535.

the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers. Both indeed were repugnant to the Practice of the *Roman* Church; but neither was forbidden by the Canons. *It is the Custom of our Church*, says Pope *Innocent, to grant only Lay Communion to those who return from Heretics, and not to admit any of them even to the lowest Order of the Clergy* [k]. But as to the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers, those of the great Council of *Nice* allowed the *Novatians* to retain, in the Church, the same Rank, whether Sacerdotal or Episcopal, which they held among those of their Sect [l]. In the Year 397. the same Indulgence was granted by the *African* Fathers to the *Donatists*, that they might thereby be encouraged to return to the Unity of the Church [m]; nay, long before that Time, in the Year 313. it had been determined, in a Council held at *Rome* under Pope *Melchiades*, that the *Donatists* should, upon their Return to the Church, enjoy the same Dignities and Honours which they enjoyed before [n]. The Third Oecumenical Council, that of *Ephesus*, made a Decree with respect to the *Massalian* Heretics, that if any of their Clergy would return to the Church, and anathematize, in Writing, their former Errors, they should continue in the same Station which they were in before [o]. Agreeably to the Decrees of these Councils, the First of *Orleans*, held in 511. allowed the converted *Arians* to be admitted among the Clergy, in whatever Rank it should please the Bishop to place them [p]. The Bishops, who composed that Assembly, seem to have been better acquainted than the Pope with the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers. The Pope, perhaps, alluded to one of the Canons of the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, forbidding Heretics, from whatever Heresy they came, to be ordained, and commanding those to be degraded, who had already been ordained [q]. But that Regulation was understood to have been revoked by the subsequent Councils, especially by the Oecumenical Councils of *Nice* and *Ephesus*. For the Council of *Eliberis* was held, according to the most probable Opinion, about the Year 305. that is, Twenty Years before that of *Nice*.

It was not repugnant to the Canons.

The Pope sends Legates into the East, to re-examine

As to the Affair of the Bishop of *Larissa*, *Agapetus* promises to send Legates to try his Cause; and, in the mean time, at the Request of the Emperor, admits *Achilles* to his Communion, who had been

[k] Innoc. ep. 22. [l] Con. Nic. can. 8. [m] Cod. Can. Afr. can. 48. et 58.
[n] August. ep. 50. ad Bonifac. [o] Conc. Eph. act. 7. decret. cont. Massalian.
[p] Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 12. [q] Conc. Elib. can. 51.

ordained

ordained in the room of the depoſed Biſhop; but will not allow him to exerciſe any Epiſcopal Functions, till he is farther informed by his Legates. He complains of the Patriarch for having ordained the new Biſhop without the Privity of the Apoſtolic See, though he had done it by the Emperor's Order, it being incumbent upon him, ſays the Pope, on ſuch an Occaſion, to put the Emperor in mind of the Regard which was due to that See [r].

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the Cauſe of the Biſhop of Lariſſa.

With this Letter the Pope diſpatched to *Conſtantinople* a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, and ſoon after Five Biſhops, with the Character of his Legates, to re-examine the Cauſe of the Metropolitan of *Lariſſa* [s]. But, as to the Iſſue of that Affair, Authors have left us quite in the Dark.

The Iſſue of that Affair uncertain.

About the ſame time the Pope received a Letter from the Biſhops of *Africa*, who, being delivered, at laſt, from the Yoke of the *Vandals*, by the Valour and Conduct of the famous *Beliſarius*, had met at *Carthage*, to the Number of 227, with a Deſign to re-eſtabliſh the antient Diſcipline, which had been utterly neglected during the long and cruel Perſecution they had ſuffered under the *Arian* Kings of that Nation (A). The Letter was addreſſed to *John*; but he being

The African *Biſhops conſult the Pope.*

[r] Agap. ep. 4. [s] Concil. t. 5. p. 11.

(A) The *Vandals* or *Wandals*, originally a *Gothic* Nation (1), and ſo called from the *Gothic* Word *Wandelen*, which ſignifies to wander (2), abandoned *Spain*, which they had entered, with the *Suevians* and *Alans*, in the Year 409. and, croſſing the Streights of *Gibraltar*, as they are now called, landed in *Africa*, in the Month of *May* 429. and in one Year made themſelves Maſters of all the Cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirtha*, and *Hippo* (3). In the Year 439. they took *Carthage* by Surprize, and ſoon after reduced all *Africa*, which they kept till the Time of *Juſtinian*, in ſpite of all the Efforts uſed by the Emperors of the Eaſt as well as the Weſt, to reſcue that wealthy Country out of their Hands. But *Juſtinian* recovered it, after Two Years War, by the Conduct and Bravery of *Beliſarius*, whom he employed in that Expedition. The firſt Year 533. *Beliſarius* defeated *Gelimer*, the laſt King of the *African Vandals*, in a pitched Battle; and made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Cities, among the reſt, of *Carthage* itſelf, after it had been held by the *Barbarians* 95 Years. The following Year 534. he reduced the other Cities of *Africa*, with the Iſlands of *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and whatever elſe belonged to the *Vandals*, either on the Continent, or in the Iſlands. The *Vandals* not only profeſſed, like the other *Gothic* Nations, the Doctrine of *Arius*, but bore an irreconcilable Hatred to the Catholics, who were therefore more cruelly perſecuted by ſome of their Kings, eſpecially by *Genſeric*, *Huneric*, and *Traſamund*, than the *Arians* ever had been by the Catholic Emperors. The Biſhops ſuffered the moſt; for they were, in all 466, driven from their Sees, and either confined to the Iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, to cut Wood there, or ſhut up in Priſons, where they periſhed with Famine. This Perſecution is minutely deſcribed, in five Books, by *Victor*

(1) Procop. bell. Vand. l. 1. c. 2. (2) Matth. Præt. in Orbe Goth. (3) Auct. vit. S. Auguſt.

Biſhop

Year of Christ 535.

being dead, it was delivered to *Agapetus*, his Succeſſor. The *African* Fathers, deſirous of regulating their Conduct by the Judgment of the Apoſtolic See, wanted to know whether they ſhould ſuffer the *Arian* Clergy, who returned to the Church, to remain in their former Stations, or ſhould only receive them to Lay Communion. By the ſame Letter they begged, that the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as well as the other Eccleſiaſtics of *Africa*, who ſhould travel into Countries beyond Sea, without the Permiſſion of their Superiors, might be treated as Heretics. Their View in this was to prevent their Clergy from recurring, on every ſlight Occaſion, to the Pope; which had been formerly the Cauſe of endleſs Diſputes between *Rome* and *Africa*. *Agapetus*, however, granted them their Requeſt; and, as to the *Arian* Clergy, he returned to the *Africans* the ſame Anſwer, which he had given to *Juſtinian*; but adviſes them to allow the Eccleſiaſtics of that Sect, who renounced their Errors, a competent Maintenance out of the Revenues of the Church [t].

His Anſwer to them.

Juſtinian *attempts the Reduction of* Italy.

In the mean time the Emperor *Juſtinian*, encouraged by the ſurpriſing Succeſs that had attended his Arms in the Reduction of *Africa*, reſolved, in the next place, to attempt that of *Italy*, the Death of *Amalaſuntha* ſupplying him with a no leſs plauſible Pretence for making War on the *Goths*, and driving them out of *Italy*, than the depoſing of *Hilderic* had offered him for making War on the *Vandals*, and driving them out of *Africa*. *Theodoric* bequeathed his *Italian* Dominions to his Grandſon *Athalaric*, as I have related above. But, he being under Age, his Mother *Amalaſuntha* took upon her the Adminiſtration, during his Minority. She was the Daughter of *Theodoric*, by *Audefleda*, the Siſter of *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*; and is highly commended, by all the Writers of thoſe Times, for her Piety, Religion, Wiſdom, and Learning. *Theodatus*, who ſucceeded *Athalaric*, in a Letter, which he wrote to the *Roman* Senate, ſtyles her the Glory of Princes, the Flower and Or-

The State of Affairs in Italy, *at this time.*

[t] Agap. ep. 2.

Biſhop of *Vitis*, who was himſelf one of the Sufferers (4). After his Death the Biſhops were recalled by *Hilderic*, a Prince of an humane Diſpoſition, and a Friend to the Catholics. But he was ſoon driven from the Throne by *Gelimer*; and it was under Colour of maintaining his Right againſt the Uſurper, that *Juſtinian* made War on the *Vandals*, to whom *Africa* had been yielded for ever by the Emperor *Zeno*.

(4) Vict. Vit. de perſecut. Vandal.

nament

nament of her Family, the *Solomon* of Women, a Princeſs endowed with every good Quality becoming her Sex, well verſed in the *Greek*, in the *Latin*, and in many other Languages, and thoroughly acquainted with every Branch of Learning [u]. However, the *Gothic* Lords were greatly diſſatisfied with her, chiefly on account of her bringing up the young King, her Son, not among military, but learned Men; an Education, ſaid they, not at all becoming the Leader of ſuch an active and warlike Nation as that of the *Goths*. This they ſpoke like true *Goths*, not knowing that the greateſt Generals the World can boaſt of were Men of Learning. *Amalaſuntha* nevertheleſs, not thinking it ſafe to diſoblige them, removed the Men of Learning, whom ſhe had placed about the young King, and ſuffered him to be brought up by the *Goths*, after the *Gothic* manner. But ſhe had ſoon Occaſion to repent of her Complaiſance to them; for the Youth, now free from all Reſtraint, none of the *Goths* daring to reprove him, ſoon contracted, by his Debaucheries, and riotous Life, a lingering Diſtemper, of which he died in the Year 534. the Eighth of his Reign. Upon his Death *Amalaſuntha*, well appriſed that the *Goths* would not ſuffer a Woman to rule over them, ſent in great Haſte for *Theodatus*, the Son of *Amalafreda*, Siſter to *Theodoric*, who, at that time, led a private Life in *Tuſcany*; recommended him to the *Goths*, as deſcended from the Royal Family, that of the *Amali*; and prevailed upon them to acknowlege him for their King. As *Theodatus* was utterly unacquainted both with Civil and Military Matters, timorous, indolent, and wholly addicted to the Study of the *Platonic* Philoſophy, ſhe did not doubt but he would be ſatisfied with the Title of King, and ſuffer her to enjoy the ſame Power which ſhe had exerciſed during the Minority of her Son. But the unhappy Princeſs was ſoon made ſenſible of her Miſtake. For the new King, jealous of his Authority, had no ſooner aſcended the Throne, than he cauſed her to be conveyed from *Ravenna* into *Tuſcany*; and there confined her to an Iſland, in the Lake of *Bolſena*, where ſhe was ſoon after ſtrangled, by his Order, in the Bath [w] (E). As ſhe had always lived

Year of Chriſt 535.

Athalaric *dies.*

And is ſucceeded by Theodatus.

Who puts Amalaſuntha *to death.*

[u] Caſſiod. l. 10. ep. 4. [w] Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 4. Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 59.

(E) *Procopius* writes, that *Theodatus* cauſed her to be put to Death, at the Inſtigation of the Empreſs *Theodora*, jealous of the uncommon Regard the Emperor ſeemed to have for her (1).

(1) Procop. anec.

Year of Christ 535. in great Friendſhip and Amity with *Juſtinian*, who was extremely deſirous of reuniting *Italy* to the Empire, and had, at this time, a victorious Army on foot, with a very able and experienced General at their Head, he thought no other Pretence could better juſtify, in the Eyes of the World, his making War on the *Goths*, than that of revenging the Death of his Friend and Ally. Under Colour therefore of revenging it, he ordered *Beliſarius* to make a Deſcent upon *Sicily*, and, at the ſame time, *Mundus*, Commander of the Troops in *Illyricum*, to march into *Dalmatia*, which was ſubject to the *Goths*, and attempt the Reduction of *Salonæ*, the better to open a Paſſage into *Italy*. *Mundus* made himſelf Maſter of *Salonæ*, and *Beliſarius*, landing without Oppoſition in *Sicily*, reduced that Iſland with more Expedition than he himſelf expected [x]. *Theodatus*, alarmed at the ſurpriſing Succeſs of the Emperor's Arms, reſolved, as he was an utter Stranger to Military Affairs, to ſue for Peace, and oblige the Pope to interpoſe his Mediation, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining it. He commanded him accordingly to repair to *Conſtantinople*, with Propoſals for an Accommodation; threatening to deſtroy the City of *Rome*, and to put the whole People to the Sword, as well as the Senate, if he did not ſucceed in his Negotiation, and divert the Emperor from purſuing the War. *Agapetus* was far advanced in Years; but nevertheleſs, not daring to decline the Commiſſion, ſet out, without Delay, in the very Beginning of the following Year 536. It is obſervable, that the *Roman* Church, which we have hitherto ſeen abounding in Wealth above all the Churches of the Chriſtian World, was reduced at this time to ſo great a Poverty, that the Pope was obliged to pawn, with the King's Treaſurer, the ſacred Veſſels, for ready Money, wherewithal to defray the Charges of his Journey; which the King no ſooner knew, than he ordered them to be reſtored [y]. The Writers of theſe Times tell us, that, in the late Elections, ſome of the Candidates had engaged to pay large Sums, in caſe they were choſen; nay, that to purchaſe Votes they did not even ſcruple to mortgage the Lands and Revenues of the Church. Had any ſuch Simoniacs ever been choſen, we might eaſily account for the preſent Poverty of that Church. But as we are aſſured by *Baronius*, that none of them ever were choſen, we are quite at a Loſs how to account for it. Pope *Agapetus* had neither Gold nor Silver, as *Ba-*

Juſtinian, *to revenge her Death, makes War on the* Goths.

Theodatus *ſends the Pope, with the Character of his Embaſſador, to ſue for Peace.*

Year of Chriſt 536.

The Poverty of the Roman *Church, at this Time.*

[x] Procop. ibid. c. 5.

[y] Caſſiod. var. ep. l. 2. ep. 2.

roniis obſerves, no more than his Predeceſſor *Peter*; but was as rich as that Apoſtle in miraculous Gifts; and theſe he diſplayed at his firſt landing in *Greece*, by curing a Man from his Birth both Cripple and Dumb, who, at his Command, ſtood up and ſpoke. A greater Miracle than that which was, at the Gate of the Temple, wrought by St. *Peter!* With this, and many other wondrous Tranſactions, Poſterity would have been utterly unacquainted but for Pope *Gregory* [z], who has collected, with great Care, all the Events of that nature, which had eſcaped the Knowlege of the Writers, who flouriſhed at the Time when they are ſuppoſed to have happened.

Year of Chriſt 536.

Miracles ſaid to have been wrought by Agapetus.

Agapetus arrived at *Conſtantinople* about the 20th of *February*, and was received by the Emperor, and the great Men at Court, with all the Reſpect that was due to the Firſt Biſhop of the Catholic Church. As to the Affair, on which he was ſent, he had no Occaſion to mention it either to the Emperor or his Miniſters; the King having, upon ſome Advantages gained by his Troops in *Dalmatia*, changed his Mind with reſpect to the Terms of Peace, which he had injoined the Pope to propoſe. But Matters of a different Nature, and more ſuitable to his Profeſſion, kept *Agapetus* ſtill at *Conſtantinople*. The preceding Year died, on the 5th of *June*, *Epiphanius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; and in his room was preferred, by the Intereſt of the Empreſs *Theodora*, *Anthimus*, tranſlated from the See of *Trapezus* or *Trebiſond* to that of the Imperial City. As Tranſlations were prohibited by the Canons, and, beſides, the new Patriarch was violently ſuſpected of *Eutychianiſm*, the Empreſs, by whom he was patronized, being known to countenance that Doctrine and Party, the Pope refuſed to communicate with him till he returned to his former See, and, anathematizing *Eutyches*, publicly received the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*. On the other hand, the Empreſs ſpared no Pains to engage the Biſhops in the Defence of *Anthimus*; and many ſhe did engage, either by Promiſes, or the Money, which ſhe is ſaid to have plentifully diſtributed among them on that Occaſion [a]. Theſe, at her Inſtigation, not only perſuaded the Emperor, that the Faith of *Anthimus* was altogether Orthodox; but, pretending to ſuſpect that of the Pope, painted him as one who was no Enemy, ſo far as they could judge, to the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*. Upon this Imputation the Emperor,

The King changes his Mind, as to the Terms of Peace.

The Pope refuſes to communicate with Anthimus *of* Conſtantinople; *and why.*

[z] Greg. l. 3. Dialog. c. 3. [a] Zonar. Ann. part. 3. in Juſtinian.

Year of Chriſt 536.

Quarrels with the Emperor.

at the next Audience, examined the Pope very narrowly about his Faith; and found it, to his great Satisfaction, intirely agreeable to his own, and that of the Church. However, as he entertained as good an Opinion of the Faith of *Anthimus*, he did all that lay in his Power to prevail upon the Pope to communicate with him.

But *Agapetus* was inflexible. He promiſed, indeed, to admit the pretended Patriarch to his Communion, as Biſhop of *Trebiſond*, provided he firſt received the Council of *Chalcedon*, and anathematized *Eutyches*, with all who adhered to him. But, at the ſame time, declared, that as he had been raiſed to the See of *Conſtantinople*, in Defiance of the Canons, he neither could, nor ever would, acknowlege him for lawful Biſhop of that City. *I will have you to acknowlege him for lawful Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, replied the Emperor, with a threatening Voice, provoked at the Peremptorineſs of the Pope. *Acknowlege him this Moment, or this Moment I drive you from hence into Exile.* At theſe Words the Pope lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, *I expected*, ſaid he, with great Coolneſs, *to ſee a moſt religious and Chriſtian Emperor; and therefore chearfully undertook, in my old Age, ſo long and painful a Journey. But I find, to my great Diſappointment and Surprize, that I have to deal with a new* Diocleſian. Then turning to the Emperor, *But know, Sir*, he added, *that I dread not your Anger; I fear not your Menaces; diſpoſe of me as you pleaſe; I ſhall think it the greateſt Happineſs to lay down my Life in ſo good a Cauſe.* Had the Emperor been a *New Diocleſian*, the Pope would have paid dear for the Liberty he took. But *Juſtinian* was ſo far from reſenting it, as he might, and perhaps ought to have done, that, applauding his Firmneſs and Intrepidity, he was that Moment reconciled to him, and treated him ever after with the greateſt Reſpect, and even Veneration. The Pope, ſeeing the Emperor thus appeaſed, and diſpoſed to hear what he had to object againſt *Anthimus*, aſſured him, that the Biſhop of *Trebiſond* was no Catholic, but a known Enemy to the Catholic Faith, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; that none could recommend him, but ſuch as were Enemies to both; and that he was therefore greatly ſurpriſed to find his Cauſe was ſo warmly eſpouſed by ſo religious and Catholic a Prince. " But that you may not think, he added, that I thus arraign him " of Hereſy without juſt Reaſons and Grounds, let *Anthimus* him- " ſelf be ſent for; let him be asked, in your Preſence, whether " he

The Emperor threatens him; but he is not intimidated with his Threats.

The Emperor is reconciled to him.

'he acknowleges Two Natures in Chriſt." The Emperor approved the Motion; *Anthimus* was immediately ſent for; was interrogated both by the Pope and the Emperor, concerning the Myſtery of the Incarnation. But, to their Interrogations, he only returned indirect, evaſive, and equivocal Anſwers; nor could he ever be brought to own, in plain Terms, Two Natures in Chriſt. The Emperor therefore, no longer queſtioning the Truth of what he had been told by *Agapetus*, ordered the new Patriarch to be immediately removed: and he was removed accordingly; none of his Friends venturing to interpoſe in his behalf. In his room was choſen, and, at the Requeſt of the Emperor, ordained by the Pope, *Mennas* or *Menas*, who on ſeveral Occaſions had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Zeal for the Catholic Faith, and the Council of *Chalcedon* [b]. "Thus "did the High Pontiff, uſing the Plenitude of his Power, and ex- "erting that Authority, which raiſes him above the Canons, depoſe "the firſt Biſhop of the Eaſt, and ſubſtitute another in his room, "without the Concurrence of a Council, though the Concurrence "of a Council was required by the Canons." With this Epiphonema *Baronius* cloſes his Account of the preſent Tranſaction, ſet forth by him in a very different Light from that, in which it has been placed by the contemporary Writers [c]. For, according to their Account, neither was *Anthimus* depoſed, nor *Mennas* ſubſtituted in his room, nor any other Power exerted or exerciſed on this Occaſion, by the High Pontiff, but that which was common to him with all other Biſhops, at leaſt with all the Patriarchs, and which they might have exerted and exerciſed as well as he. As *Anthimus* was ſuſpected of Hereſy; as he had been tranſlated, without Cauſe, from one Church to another, contrary to the Canons; every Patriarch had a Right to exclude him from his Communion, till he purged himſelf from that Suſpicion, and returned to his former See; and the High Pontiff did no more. It was therefore at his Remonſtrances only, and by his Influence, not by his Authority, that the new Patriarch was driven from his See.

Year of Chriſt 536.

Anthimus *ſent into Exile, and* Mennas *choſen in his room.*

The Conduct of the Pope, on this Occaſion, no Proof of his Supremacy.

That from the Conduct of the Pope, on this Occaſion, nothing can be concluded in favour of the Supremacy, is owned even by a *Jeſuit*, and a Jeſuit of no mean Character [d], notwithſtanding the

[b] Syn. Conſtantin. ſub Men. Act. 1. Liberat. in Breviar. c. 21, 22. Vigil. ep. 2. Niceph. l. 17. c. 19. Evagr. l. 4. c. 11. [c] Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 262. [d] P. Doucin hiſt. du Neſt. p. 380.

great

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great Streſs that is laid on it by his Brother *Bellarmine*, by *Baronius*, and by moſt other *Roman* Catholic Writers. "*Anthimus*, "ſays that Jeſuit, was not, properly ſpeaking, depoſed. Depoſi- "tion ſuppoſes a lawful or canonical Election, which that of the "pretended Patriarch was not. As he had not therefore been yet "acknowleged by the Firſt See, the Biſhop of that See had no Occa- "ſion to aſſemble a Council, in order to deny him his Communion. "In ſuch Circumſtances every Patriarch had a Power to act in the "ſame manner as the Pope acted; and in the ſame manner they "did act, when they knew, or only ſuſpected, the Election of their "pretended Collegue to be uncanonical." If every Patiarch had a Power to act in the ſame manner as the Pope acted, in what did the Pope exert his *Plenitude of Power*, his paramount Authority? As for the Subſtitution of *Mennas*, he was no-ways at all concerned in it, *Mennas* having been choſen, as we read in the Acts of a Council that was held ſoon after, by *the Suffrages of the Emperor, of the Clergy, of the Nobles, and the People* [e]. The new Patriarch was indeed ordained by the Pope. But that any other Biſhop might have done as well as he; and his having been preferred therein to other Biſhops was looked upon by all, and is expreſſed by *Liberatus* as a Favour. *The Pope*, ſays that Writer [f], *by the Emperor's Favour, ordained* Mennas, *conſecrating him with his own Hand.*

The Pope aſcribes to himſelf the depoſing of Anthimus.

The Pope immediately notified the Depoſition of *Anthimus*, and Election of *Mennas*, by a circular Letter, to all the Biſhops, who had communicated with the former; and in that Letter he had the Vanity to boaſt, that *the heretical Biſhop had been depoſed by the Apoſtolic Authority, with the Concurrence and Help of the moſt religious Emperor.* He there beſtows great Commendations on the new Patriarch; takes care to let the Biſhops know, that he had ordained him; and modeſtly adds, that his having been ordained by him contributed much to his Dignity, ſeeing he was the firſt Eaſtern Biſhop who, ſince the Time of St. *Peter*, had had the Honour of being conſecrated by any who ſate in the ſame Chair. As he had received Ordination at his Hands, the Pope flatters himſelf, that he will prove in no reſpect inferior to any ordained in thoſe Parts by St. *Peter* himſelf [g]. So great was his Modeſty!

His Vanity.

[e] Syn. Conſt. ſub Menn. ſub Men. Act. 1. et Agapet. ep. 5.

[f] Liberat. Brev. c. 21.

[g] Conſt. Synod.

While

While *Agapetus* continued at *Conſtantinople*, Two Memorials were preſented to him, worthy of Notice; the one in the Name of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Oriental Dioceſe, and *Jeruſalem*; the other in the Name of the Monks of the ſame Dioceſe, of *Jeruſalem*, and of *Conſtantinople*. The firſt was thus addreſſed: *To our moſt holy Lord, and moſt bleſſed Father of Fathers*, Agapetus *Archbiſhop of the* Romans, *and Patriarch, the Biſhops of the Oriental Dioceſe, and thoſe who dwell in the holy Places of Chriſt our Lord, with the* Ambaſiatores (F), *and other Clerks* (G), *aſſembled in this Royal City*. That of the Monks was addreſſed thus: *To* Agapetus, *our moſt holy Lord, moſt bleſſed Archbiſhop of antient* Rome, *and Oecumenical Patriarch*, Marianus *Presbyter and Primate of the Monaſteries of the Royal City, with the other Archimandrites, or Abbots, of the ſame City, of* Jeruſalem, *and of the Oriental Dioceſe aſſembled in the ſame Synod* (H).

Year of Chriſt 536. *Two Memorials preſented to him, againſt the leading Men of the* Eutychian *Party.*

The Purport of both Memorials is the ſame. They intreat the Pope to appriſe the Emperor, with whom he had ſucceeded ſo well againſt *Anthimus*, of the incredible Miſchief that was done daily at *Conſtantinople* by the Followers of *Eutyches*, eſpecially by *Severus*,

The Purport of theſe Memorials.

(F) *Ambaſiator* was the *Latin* Word, in thoſe Times, for *Reſident*; and anſwered the *Greek* Word *Aprocriſarius*. For Biſhops not being allowed to be long abſent from their Churches, without the Emperor's ſpecial Leave or Command, they kept a kind of Reſidents in the Imperial City, to act in behalf of them, and their Churches. Theſe Reſidents are frequently mentioned by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and ſtyled by them *Apocriſarii* or *Reſponſales* (1). In Proceſs of Time the Emperors gave the Name of *Apocriſarii* to their own Embaſſadors; ſo that it became common to all Reſidents and Legates, by whomſoever employed (2).

(G) By the Word *Clerici*, *Clerks*, ſeem to be meant here all Eccleſiaſtical Orders below the Epiſcopal, though that Word is frequently uſed to denote the inferior Orders, that is, the ſeveral Orders below thoſe of the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Thus the Third Council of *Carthage* (3), St. *Ambroſe* (4), *Hilarius* (5), and *Epiphanius* (6), ſpeak of the *Clerici* or Clerks as diſtinct from the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

(H) It is quite ſurpriſing, that the *Roman* Catholic Writers ſhould lay any Streſs on theſe high-ſounding Titles; nothing being better known than that, for many Ages, thoſe of *bleſſed*, *moſt bleſſed*, *holy*, *moſt holy*, were given indifferently to all Biſhops. They then imported real Sanctity or Holineſs of Life; but now that the Popes have appropriated them to themſelves, they no longer denote Virtue or Holineſs, but Grandeur and Power. As for the Title of *Oecumenical*, *Juſtinian* ſtyles *Mennas*, *Epiphanius*, and *Anthimus*, Archbiſhops, and Oecumenical Patriarchs, in ſeveral of his Reſcripts (7); and *Leo* beſtows the ſame Titles on *Stephen*, in Ten Laws, one after the other (8).

(1) Liberat. Brev. c. 12. Evagr. l. 4. c. 38. Juſtin. Novel. 6. c. 2. et Nov. 79. c. 1. (2) Suicer. Theſaur. com. 1. p. 456. (3) Concil. Carth. 3. t. 15. (4) Ambroſ. de dignit. Sacerd. c. 3. (5) Pſeud. Ambroſ. in Eph. iv. (6) Epiphan. hæreſ. 68. (7) Juſtin. Novel. 7. 16. 42. (8) Leo Imp. Conſtit. Novel. 1, 2, 3, &c.

who

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who had been formerly driven from the See of *Antioch* by the Emperor *Juſtin*, as an incorrigible Heretic, and the moſt inveterate Enemy the Orthodox had [h]. From theſe Memorials it appears, that the *Eutychian* Party was anew become formidable in the Eaſt; that they were not only countenanced by the Empreſs *Theodora*, but by ſeveral Perſons, both Men and Women, of the firſt Rank, by ſome of the Emperor's chief Miniſters; nay, and by ſeveral Biſhops; that *Severus*, though proſcribed by *Juſtin*, and condemned to have his Tongue cut out, now publicly appeared at *Conſtantinople*, and there publicly preached, with great Succeſs, the Doctrine of *Eutyches*; that his Diſciples, namely *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and *Iſaacius* a *Perſian*, had erected, in the City and Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, Altars and Baptiſteries in Oppoſition to the Altars and Baptiſteries of the Catholics; that they held unlawful Aſſemblies, gained daily great Numbers of Followers, raiſed frequent Diſturbances, and even ſtrove to drive the Catholics from their Churches, and appropriate them to thoſe of their Sect. Both the Biſhops and the Monks charge *Iſaacius* with having firſt ſtruck, and afterwards defaced, torn, and thrown into the Fire, a Picture of the Emperor, blaſpheming his Name, and calling him a Heretic. The Monks, intreating the Pope to provide a Remedy againſt the prevailing Evils, tell him, that as St. *Peter* went from the Eaſt to *Rome*, to oppoſe the wicked Attempts and Deſigns of *Simon* the Magician; ſo was his Holineſs ſent by Heaven from *Rome* into the Eaſt, to defeat the no leſs wicked Views and Artifices of *Severus*, *Petrus*, *Zoaras*, and *Iſaacius*, and bring them to Confuſion, with all their Friends and Abetters [i].

Agapetus *dies.*

The Pope was indiſpoſed, and confined to his Bed, when he received the Memorials. He peruſed them, however, and ſent them to the Emperor. But, in the mean time his Illneſs increaſing, he died a few Days after, according to the moſt probable Opinion, on the 22d of *April* of the preſent Year 536. having preſided in the *Roman* See 10 Months, and 19 Days. His Obſequies were performed with ſuch Pomp and Magnificence, with ſuch a Concourſe of People of all Ranks and Profeſſions, as had never before been ſeen at *Conſtantinople*. The Ceremony is deſcribed, and in a Style that does not at all ſavour of the Barbariſm of the Age, by an

His pompous Obſequies.

[h] See above, p. 293.

[i] Syn. Conſtant. ſub Menna, Act. 2.

anony-

anonymous Writer, who ſeems to have been an Eye-witneſs of all the Particulars he relates [k] (A). Year of Chriſt 536.

When the Funeral Rites were ended, the Body of the deceaſed Pontiff was conveyed, in a Leaden Coffin, to *Rome*, and there depoſited in the Baſilic of St. *Peter*. He is greatly commended by the contemporary Writers, eſpecially by the above-mentioned anonymous Author, by *Liberatus*, and by the Fathers of the Council, that was held at *Conſtantinople* ſoon after his Death [l]. He is now honoured as a Saint by the *Greeks* as well as the *Latins*, his Feſtival being kept by the former on the 17th of *April*, and by the latter on the 22d of *September*, perhaps the Day on which his Remains were tranſlated to *Rome* [m] (B). *He is ſainted.*

Beſides the Letters of the preſent Pope, which I have already mentioned, he wrote one in 535. in Anſwer to a Letter from *Cæſarius* of *Arles*, applying to him in Behalf of the Poor in *Gaul*. For the *Roman* Church, as ſhe abounded in Wealth above all other Churches, uſed, on ſeveral Occaſions, to contribute conſiderable *His Letter to* Cæſarius *of* Arles.

[k] Biblioth. Vatican. lib. num. 1538. apud Regiſt. S. Greg. p. 194. Vide Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 271. [l] Liberat. c. 21. Concil. ſub Menn. [m] Vide Pagi ad hunc ann. n. 10.

(A) The Author has tranſcribed, *verbatim*, a Paſſage from the Letter, which St. *Jerom* wrote to *Aletius*, on occaſion of the Obſequies of *Ruffina*; whence we may probably conclude him to have belonged to the *Latin* Church, and to have written in that Language.

(B) Of this Pope *Sophronius* relates, that the Inhabitants of a City, which he calls *Rumellum*, having, out of mere Spite and Malice, accuſed their Biſhop, as if he ſacrilegiouſly uſed the ſacred Veſſels at his Table, the Pope, without any farther Inquiry, diſpatched Two of his Clerks, with Orders to bring the Biſhop to *Rome*, bound, and on foot. The Clerks obeyed, and the Biſhop was, on his Arrival, immediately conveyed to Priſon, without ſo much as being heard by his Judge, or ſuffered to appear before him. But he had not been long thus confined, when his Innocence was revealed in a Viſion to the Pope, and the Viſion was confirmed by a moſt ſtupendous Miracle, wrought in the Sight of the whole City of *Rome*; as is related at Length by the above-mentioned Writer (1). This Tale, however improbable and abſurd in all its Circumſtances, however injurious to the Memory of *Agapetus*, *Baronius* pretends to believe; and thence concludes, that though the Pope, as, after all, he is but a Man, may, like other Men, be at firſt impoſed upon, and ſwayed by falſe Informations; yet Providence will interpoſe in the End, and even prevent him, by the greateſt of Miracles, if neceſſary, from judging wrong and unjuſtly (2). This is aſcribing to the Pope a more extenſive Infallibility than any Pope has yet claimed; an Infallibility even with reſpect to private Cauſes, that have no kind of relation to Faith, or to Doctrine. It was, no doubt, for the ſake of this Inference, that *Baronius* adopted ſo ridiculous and ſenſeleſs a Tale; and it is only upon ſuch Tales that this or any other Infallibility can be grounded.

(1) Prat. Spirituale, c. 150. (2) Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 273.

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Sums for the Relief of the Poor of other Churches, and their indigent Clergy p. But at this time she was quite destitute of Money, as we have seen; and, as for her Lands and Possessions, *Agapetus* tells the Primate of *Arles*, that the venerable Decrees of the Fathers, forbidding Alienations on any Consideration whatever, are so peremptory and express, that they can by no means be dispensed with. *You must not ascribe*, says he, *our not complying with your Request to Avarice, or any temporal View. It is not the Love of Money, but the strict Account, which we are to give the last Day, that restrains us from granting what you demand*, WE BEING BOUND, AS WE SHALL ANSWER IT ON THAT DAY, INVIOLABLY TO OBSERVE WHATEVER THE AUTHORITY OF A SYNOD HAS DECREED q. The Synod, which the Pope speaks of, was but a National Synod, held in *Italy*, under *Symmachus* r; and if he thought himself bound in Conscience to observe inviolably the Canons and Decrees of a National Council, it cannot be doubted, but he thought himself bound to observe, with the same Strictness, the Canons and Decrees of the Oecumenical Councils, and, consequently, that he was an utter Stranger to the boasted *Plenitude of Power*, and *paramount Authority, raising him above all the Decrees and Canons of the Church*, with which we have seen him above vested by *Baronius* (A). As for the Letter, said to have been written by this Pope to *Anthimus*, it is now rejected by all as spurious.

He thinks the Decrees of a National Synod binding, even with respect to him.

As

p See Vol. I. p. 29. et Vol. II. p. 279. q Agapet. ep. 6. r See above, p. 267.

(A) By the Decree of the Council, held under *Symmachus*, as it is quoted by *Agapetus*, the alienating of Lands or immoveable Possessions belonging to the *Roman* Church, was forbidden in all Cases, without Exception. But, by the more Christian and equitable Laws of the Emperors, forbidding Alienations, Two Cases were always excepted; *viz.* when by no other means the Poor could be relieved in time of Famine, nor the Captives be redeemed from Slavery. In either of these Cases it was lawful, nay, and agreeable to what had been practised by the greatest Saints, to sell or pawn even the sacred Utensils, and consecrated Vessels of the Church. Thus St. *Ambrose* did not scruple to melt down the Communion-Plate of the Church of *Milan*, to redeem some Captives, who otherwise must have continued in Slavery; and when the *Arians* charged him, on that Account, with Sacrilege, he wrote, in Answer to that Charge, an excellent Apology, which has reached our Times, and is well worth the Perusal of every Reader. "Is it not better, "says he there, among other things, that "the Plate should be melted by the Bi-"shop to maintain the Poor, when they "can be maintained by no other means, "than that it should become the Spoil "and Plunder of a sacrilegious Enemy? "Will not the Lord thus expostulate "with us? Why did you suffer so many "helpless Persons to die with Hunger, "when you had Gold to relieve and

"support

As the Removal of *Anthimus* from the See of *Conſtantinople* was chiefly owing to the Influence of *Agapetus*, and the Intereſt he had with the Emperor, his Death was no ſooner known to thoſe of Year of Chriſt 536.

" ſupport them? Why were ſo many " Captives carried away, and ſold with- " out Ranſom? Why were ſo many ſuf- " fered to be ſlain by the Enemy? It had " been better to have preſerved the Veſ- " ſels of living Men, than lifeleſs Metals. " To this what Anſwer can be returned? " Should one ſay, I was afraid leſt the " Temple of God ſhould want its Orna- " ments; Chriſt will anſwer; *My Sacra* " *ments require no Gold, nor do they pleaſe* " *me the more for being miniſtred in Gold,* " as they are not to be bought with Gold. " The Ornament of my Sacraments is " the Redemption of Captives; and thoſe " alone are precious Veſſels, that redeem " Souls from Death." The Saint concludes, that though it would be highly criminal for a Man to convert the ſacred Veſſels to his own private Uſe, yet it is ſo far from being a Crime, that he looks upon it as an Obligation incumbent upon him, and his Brethren, to prefer the living Temples of God to the unneceſſary Ornaments of the material Buildings (1). Of the ſame Opinion were St. *Auſtin* (2), *Acacius* of *Amida* (3), *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* (4), *Deogratias* of *Carthage* (5), and others without Number; who are all greatly commended by the contemporary Catholic Writers, for parting with the Ornaments and the ſacred Veſſels of their Churches, to redeem the Captives from Slavery. The Emperor *Juſtinian*, in his Law againſt Sacrilege, forbids the Church-Plate, Veſtments, or any other Gifts, to be ſold or pawned; but adds, *Except in caſe of Captivity or Famine, the Lives or Souls of Men being preferable to any Veſſels or Veſtments whatever* (6). Were the ruling Men of the Church of *Rome* of the ſame Opinion; were they perſuaded, that the Souls of Men are preferable to any Veſſels or Veſtments; we ſhould not ſee ſuch an immenſe Profuſion of rich and unneceſſary Ornaments in their Churches, while their Streets are crouded with ſo many miſerable Objects, and many Thouſands of Chriſtian Captives ſuffer, among the Infidels, the moſt tyrannical Bondage. *Baronius* obſerves here, that tho' the Pope be, by the Prerogative of his Primacy, the common Father of all the Poor throughout the Chriſtian World, though he was intreated by a Saint (*Cæſarius* of *Arles*, ſainted for the Deference he paid to the *Roman* See) to relieve them; yet, as he could not relieve them without alienating the Goods of the Church, he inviolably adhered to the Decree forbidding ſuch Alienations; that all future Popes might learn of him, how inflexible and ſteady they ſhould be with reſpect to that Point (7); that is, in other Words, that all future Popes might learn of him to be cruel to the Poor, and ſuffer them to periſh rather than to part even with the ſuperfluous Ornaments of the Church to relieve them. A Chriſtian Leſſon indeed! Had St. *Ambroſe*, or St. *Auſtin*, lived in the time of this Pope, they would have thought the Title of *the Father of the Poor* but ill beſtowed on him.

Theodorus Lector writes, that, in his Time, about the Year 520. the *Roman* Church had not yet any immoveable Poſſeſſions, it being, according to him, the Cuſtom of that Church, when any ſuch were left her, to ſell them immediately, and divide the Money, accruing from the Sale, into Three Shares; one of which was appropriated to the Fabric, another was given to the Biſhop, and the Third was diſtributed among the reſt of the Clergy (8). This Cuſtom continued, in the Opinion of *Valeſius*, to obtain at *Rome* till near the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*. But that both he and *Theodorus* were miſtaken, appears from the Decree of the Council held at *Rome* in 502. as it

(1) Ambr. de Offic. l. 2. c. 28. (2) Poſſid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. (3) Socrat. l. 7. c. 24. (4) Theodoret. l. 2. c. 27. (5) Vict. de perſec. Vandal. l. 1. (6) Codex Juſt. l. 1. tit. 2. de ſacroſanct. Eccleſ. leg. 21. (7) Bar. ad ann. 535. p. 256. (8) Theodor. Lect. Collectan. l. 2. p. 567.

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of the *Eutychian* Party, than they began anew, being countenanced by the Empress, to exert all their Interest and Power in favour of the deposed Patriarch, pretending that he still retained his Dignity, since he could not, agreeably to the Canons, be condemned or removed without the Concurrence of a Council. That no room might therefore be left for such a Plea, *Mennas*, the new Patriarch, assembled a Council, in great Haste, consisting of the Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, and in that Neighbourhood, in all 55. At that Assembly presided *Mennas*, having on his Right-hand the Five Legates, whom *Agapetus* had sent to *Constantinople* the Year before, with 25 other Bishops; and 23 on his Left. *Baronius* will have the Legates to have presided in Conjunction with the Patriarch [s]. But that *Mennas* alone presided, is manifest from the authentic Acts of the Council, which is there said to have been held *in the Imperial City of* New Rome, *our most holy Lord, and most blessed Archbishop and Patriarch* Mennas *presiding, and the Pope's Legates, with the other Bishops, sitting and hearing together with him,* considentibus ei, et coaudientibus. As nothing is there said of the Pope's Legates, but what is said of the other Bishops, either the Legates did not preside, or the other Bishops all presided as well as they. In this Council were read several Memorials, containing heavy Complaints against *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and their Followers: *Anthimus* was several times summoned to appear; and upon his not appearing, divested by the Council of the Episcopal Dignity, and declared unworthy of the Name of a Christian [t]. As for *Severus*, and *Petrus* of *Apamea*, they were charged with several enormous Crimes, and thereupon degraded and anathematized by all the Fathers of the Council, agreeably to the Sentence, which had been formerly pronounced against them by *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and his Council [u].

Council held at Constantinople, *under* Mennas.

In which are deposed, and anathematized, the leading Men of the Eutychian *Party.*

[s] Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 274. [t] Syn. Constant. sub Menna, Act. 1, 2, 3, 4. [u] Ibid. Act. 5.

is here quoted by *Agapetus: Let it be lawful for none, from this Day forward, to sell or alienate any Farm, how large soever. or how small soever, that belongs to the Church*, &c (9). are the Words of the Decree. That the Decree relates to the *Roman* Church alone, is evident from the Context; and, on the other hand, we cannot suppose the Council would have made such a Decree, had no Farm or Lands belonged to that Church.

(9) Agapet. ep. 6.

The

The preſent Council met, for the firſt time, on the 2d of *May*; and broke up on the 4th of *June*, when they acquainted the Emperor with the Judgment they had given; who thereupon iſſued an Edict, dated the 6th of *Auguſt*, ordering their Judgment to be put in Execution, and, at the ſame time, baniſhing *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and their Followers, from *Conſtantinople*, and all the other great Cities, condemning their Books to the Flames, forbidding all Perſons to keep them by them, and all Tranſcribers to copy them, on Pain of having their Hand cut off w. This Law was addreſſed, *To* Mennas, *the moſt holy and moſt bleſſed Archbiſhop, and Univerſal Patriarch* (A). By this Edict Peace was reſtored for a while to the Church of *Conſtantinople*.

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And baniſhed by the Emperor.

JUSTINIAN, **SILVERIUS**, THEODATUS, VITIGES, } Kings of *Italy*.

Fifty-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

UPON the Death of *Agapetus* was ordained in his room, on the 8th of *June*, after a Vacancy of 47 Days [x], *Silverius*, the Son of Pope *Hormiſdas*, begotten, as *Baronius* aſſures us, in lawful Wedlock [y]. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that he purchaſed his Dignity of King *Theodatus*, who, in Conſideration of the Sum *Silverius* paid him, named him, without conſulting the People or Clergy, and commanded all, on Pain of Death, to receive and acknowlege him for lawful Biſhop [z]. But *Liberatus*, who lived at this very Time, takes no kind of notice of any Violence uſed by the King, or any Simony practiſed by *Silverius*. "The City of "*Rome*, ſays that Writer, hearing of the Deceaſe of *Agapetus*, "choſe the Subdeacon *Silverius*, the Son of Pope *Hormiſdas*, to "be ordained in his room [a]." It was probably to juſtify the Intruſion of *Vigilius*, which we ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to ſpeak

Silverius *choſen.*

Whether his Election was owing to Simony and Violence.

[w] Juſtin. Novel. 42. [x] Vide Pagi ad ann. 536. n. 16. [y] Bar. ad hunc ann. p. 536, C. [z] Anaſt. in Silver. [a] Liberat. Brev. c. 22.

(A) In ſome *Latin* Editions of the Councils, the Word *Univerſal* has been left out here, and where-ever elſe it was added to the Title of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. The *Latins* charged the *Greeks* with having foiſted it in, and the *Greeks* the *Latins* with having deſignedly left it out. It is now no longer doubted, but the *Latins* were therein guilty of unfair Dealing, and not the *Greeks*.

of,

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of, that the Election of *Silverius* was ſaid to have been owing to Violence and Simony. However that be, certain it is, that he was acknowleged by all for lawful Biſhop of *Rome*.

Beliſarius *purſues his Conqueſts in* Italy.

In the mean time *Beliſarius* purſued his Conqueſts. Having reduced the Iſland of *Sicily*, almoſt without Oppoſition, he paſſed over, without Loſs of Time, from *Meſſina* to *Reggio*, which opened its Gates to him. From *Reggio* he bent his March ſtrait to *Rome*. The City of *Naples* refuſed to admit him; but was forced to ſurrender after a Twenty Days Siege [b]. The *Goths*, alarmed at the Surrender of that important Place, and aſcribing, as they well might, the ſurpriſing Succeſs that attended the Imperial Arms, to the Inactivity and Cowardice of their King, met at *Regeta*, a Place diſtant 280 Furlongs from *Rome*, and there depoſed *Theodatus*, and raiſed to the Throne, in his room, *Vitiges*, an Officer renowned for his Valour and Experience in War. The new King began his Reign with cauſing *Theodatus* to be put to Death, leſt he ſhould raiſe Diſturbances, or occaſion Diviſions, among the *Goths*, at ſo critical a Juncture. *Beliſarius* in the mean time advanced; and *Vitiges*, not thinking himſelf in a Condition to defend the City againſt his victorious Army, left 4000 choſen Troops in it, and withdrew with the reſt to *Ravenna*, having firſt exhorted Pope *Silverius*, and the Senate, ſays *Procopius*, to continue ſteady in their Allegiance to the *Goths*, who had deſerved ſo well of them and their City. But he was no ſooner gone than the Senate, at the Perſuaſion of the Pope, invited *Beliſarius* to come, and take Poſſeſſion of the City; which he did accordingly; the *Goths*, who could not make Head at the ſame time againſt the Enemy without, and the Citizens within the Walls, retiring by the *Flaminian*, while the *Romans* entered by the *Aſinarian* Gate. Thus was the City of *Rome* reunited to the Empire, on the 10th of *December* of the preſent Year 536. after it had been ſeparated from it Threeſcore Years [c]. *Beliſarius* ſent immediately the Keys of the Gates to *Conſtantinople*, as a Token of his Victory, and, together with them, *Leuderis* the *Gothic* Governor of the City, who had choſen rather to remain, and be taken Priſoner, than to abandon his Poſt, and fly with the reſt of his Countrymen [d].

Theodatus *depoſed, and* Vitiges *choſen in his room.*

Rome *taken by* Beliſarius.

[b] Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 8, 9, et 10. [c] Procop. ibid. c. 14. Evagr. l. 4. c. 19. Vide Pagi ad ann. 537. n. 4. [d] Idem ibid.

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The Empreſs ſtrives to gain over the Pope to the Euty-chian *Party.*

The taking of *Rome* by *Beliſarius* offered a favourable Opportunity to the Empreſs *Theodora*, of executing a Deſign, which ſhe had formed in favour of *Anthimus*, and thoſe of his Party, whom the Writers of theſe Times diſtinguiſh by the Name of *Acephali* (A). For to that Party the Empreſs was moſt zealouſly attached; and did not deſpair, notwithſtanding the Sentence of the late Council, and the Imperial Edict iſſued to confirm it, of being able to reinſtate them in the Emperor's Favour. As *Juſtinian* paid an extraordinary Deference to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the moſt effectual means that occurred to her of compaſſing her Deſign, was to perſuade the Pope, if by any means ſhe could, to receive *Anthimus*, and the other *Acephali*, to his Communion, and exclude *Mennas* from it, with all who adhered to him. With this View ſhe wrote to *Silverius*, earneſtly intreating, or rather commanding him, to acknowlege *Anthimus* for lawful Biſhop, or to repair to *Conſtantinople*, and there re-examine his Cauſe on the Spot. This Letter gave the Pope the greateſt Uneaſineſs: he was well acquainted with the violent Temper of the Empreſs; he knew how dangerous a thing it was to diſoblige or provoke her; and therefore often ſighed in reading the Letter; and when he had read it, turning to his Friends, *I am now ſenſible*, ſaid he, *that this Cauſe will, in the End, coſt me my Life*. However, to that Letter he returned an Anſwer, without Delay, letting the Empreſs know, in a few Words, that he could not, and that ſhe muſt not flatter herſelf he ever would, re-eſtabliſh a condemned Heretic. From this Anſwer the Empreſs concluded,

But in vain.

(A) The *Acephali* were firſt heard of in *Egypt*, about the Year 482. When *Petrus Mongus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, received the *Henoticon* of *Zeno*, by which he was to anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*, only with reſpect to the perplexing Article of the Two Natures (1), ſome of his Clergy, out of the irreconcileable Hatred they bore to that Council, continued to anathematize it without Limitation or Reſtriction; and, rejecting the *Henoticon*, ſeparated themſelves from their Patriarch, becauſe he had received it. They were a kind of more rigid *Eutychians*, diſtinguiſhed, as they had, at firſt, no particular Leader or Head, with the Name of *Acephali*; which, in Proceſs of Time, was extended to all who did not receive the Council of *Chalcedon* (2). Pope *Hormiſdas*, in a Letter, which he wrote to the Presbyters, Deacons, and the *Archimandritæ* of the *Second Syria*, taxes the *Acephali* with holding the oppoſite Errors of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* (3); and *Nicephorus* writes, that they acknowleged but One Nature in Chriſt, with the *Eutychians*; and Two Subſtances, with the *Neſtorians* (4).

(1) See above, p. 188. (2) Vide Leont. de Sect. Act. 5. et Synod. Conſtantinop. ſub Menn. Act. 5. (3) Syn. Conſtantinop. ſub Menn. ibid. (4) Niceph. Calliſt. l. 18. c. 45.

that

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that nothing was to be expected from *Silverius*. But yet ſhe did not abandon the Attempt, nor deſpair of Succeſs. The Deacon *Vigilius*, whom I have mentioned above [e], was ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, whither he had attended Pope *Agapetus*. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and great Addreſs, but ambitious beyond meaſure, and ready to trample under Foot not only the Canons or Laws of the Church, but every Principle of Honour, Virtue, or Religion, that ſtood in the way of his Ambition. The Empreſs, therefore, who was no Stranger to his Character, reſolved, upon the Receipt of *Silverius*'s Letter, to have the Pope depoſed, and the Deacon, who had long aſpired to the Papal Dignity, and who ſhe well knew would ſtick at nothing to earn it, choſen in his room. She ſent for him accordingly, and, after a ſhort Preamble on the baſe and undeſerved Treatment *Anthimus*, and thoſe of his Party, had met with, ſhe let the Deacon know, that now her Servant *Beliſarius* was Maſter of *Rome*, it was in her Power to diſpoſe of the *Roman* See to whom ſhe pleaſed; that ſhe was determined *Silverius* ſhould be removed, and that ſhe would cauſe him to be ſubſtituted in his room, provided he would engage and promiſe, in Writing, to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, to receive to his Communion *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Theodoſius*, the *Eutychian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, with all who were of the ſame Perſuaſion, and approve, by his Letters, their Tenets and Doctrine. If you agree to theſe Terms, ſaid the Empreſs, I will tranſmit, by you, an Order for *Beliſarius*, injoining him to drive out *Silverius*, to place you on his See; and will preſent you beſides with 700 Pieces of Gold. To theſe Terms *Vigilius* agreed, without the leaſt Heſitation; and, having thereupon received the promiſed Order for *Beliſarius*, ſet out immediately, from *Conſtantinople*, on his Return to *Italy*; where he no ſooner landed, than, repairing to *Rome*, where *Beliſarius* then was (B), he delivered to him the Order from the Empreſs; and, at the ſame time, to engage the Gene-

She reſolves to have Silverius *depoſed, and* Vigilius *choſen in his room.*

Vigilius *agrees to the Terms propoſed by her.*

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[e] See above, p. 329.

(B) *Liberatus* ſuppoſes *Beliſarius* to have been, at this time, in *Ravenna*, and Maſter of that City. But he was therein certainly miſtaken; it being manifeſt from *Procopius*, and others, that *Ravenna* was not reduced by the *Greeks*, till Two Years after, that is, till the Year 539. the Fifth of the *Gothic* War, and the 13th of the Reign of *Juſtinian* (1).

(1) Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 30. Continuat. Marcell. et Marius, ad ann. 539.

ral to act in the Affair with more Expedition and Earneſtneſs, promiſed to pay him, as ſoon as *Silverius* was depoſed, and he inſtalled in his room, Two hundred Pieces of Gold, out of the Seven which he was to receive [f]. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that *Beliſarius* betrayed at firſt ſome Reluctancy to execute the Empreſs's Order; but that he ſoon ſtifled all Remorſe, and quieted his Conſcience, ſaying, The Empreſs commands, and it is my Duty to obey: he who ſeeks the Ruin of *Silverius*, meaning *Vigilius*, ſhall anſwer it on the laſt Day, and not I [g]. He was, it ſeems, a better General than a Caſuiſt.

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Beliſarius *ordered, by the Empreſs, to depoſe* Silverius, *and to place* Vigilius *in his room.*

Rome was, at this time, beſieged by the *Goths*, and *Beliſarius* in it. For *Vitiges*, returning from *Ravenna*, whither he had retired the Year before, to levy new Forces, advanced to the City, and, in the Month of *March* of the preſent Year, inveſted it with an Army of 150000 Men ſtrong. The gallant Behaviour of the *Romans*, as well as the *Goths*, and the many Feats that were performed by both, during the Siege, which laſted a Year and Nine Days (C), are deſcribed at Length by *Procopius* [h], but quite foreign to the Subject of the preſent Hiſtory. The Siege ſupplied *Vigilius*, and thoſe of his Party, with Matter for a plauſible Charge againſt *Silverius*. For by them the Pope was arraigned of high Treaſon, and a Letter was produced, which they pretended to have been written by him, inviting the King of the *Goths* into the City by the *Aſinarian* Gate, which the Pope there promiſed to have opened at his Approach. This *Beliſarius* knew to be a malicious and bare-faced Calumny, and even diſcovered the Perſons, by whom the Letter was forged, *viz.* *Marcus* a Lawyer, and *Julianus* a Soldier of the Guards, both, without all doubt, ſuborned by *Vigilius*. As he was not therefore quite loſt to all Senſe of Honour and Religion, his

Rome *beſieged by* Vitiges.

The Pope falſely arraigned of high Treaſon.

[f] Liberat. c. 22. [g] Anaſt. in Silver. [h] Vide Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. a cap. 17. ad fin. et l. 2. a cap. 1. ad cap. 11.

(C) So long did *Vitiges* continue before *Rome*, purſuing the Siege with great Vigour, though all his Attempts, and the many Stratagems he made uſe of, to get into the City, were conſtantly defeated by the ſuperior Skill of the *Greeks*, and their General. But a Party of the Enemy having, in the mean time, made themſelves Maſters of *Rimini*, which was diſtant but one Day's Journey from *Ravenna*, the taking of that City alarmed the King of the *Goths* to ſuch a Degree, that he immediately raiſed the Siege, and, withdrawing from before *Rome*, marched ſtrait to *Rimini*, with a Deſign to recover, at all Events, ſo important a Place. But he was attended with no better Succeſs in the Siege of *Rimini*, than he had been in that of *Rome*.

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Conſcience began anew to reproach him, and he could not prevail upon himſelf to condemn a Man, of whoſe Innocence he was ſo fully convinced in his own Mind. But, on the other hand, *Vigilius*, quite free from all Scruples of that kind, and impatient to ſee himſelf placed on the Throne of St. *Peter*, was daily putting him in mind of the Order he had brought from the Empreſs, and preſſing him to obey her Commands, as he tendered her Protection and Favour. *Beliſarius*, however, without hearkening to him, or being moved by the Promiſe, which he often renewed, of paying him 200 Pieces of Gold on his Inſtallation, reſolved firſt to try whether he could not perſuade *Silverius* to comply with the Demands of the Empreſs, and thereby redeem himſelf from the Guilt of condemning an innocent Perſon; for he was determined, at all Events, to keep fair with the Empreſs, knowing how great an Aſcendant ſhe had over her Husband. Having therefore privately ſent for the Pope, he acquainted him with the Order he had received; told him, that, notwithſtanding the Charge of Treaſon that was brought againſt him, he might ſtill prevent the Execution of that Order; and, earneſtly intreating him to comply with the Will of the Empreſs, aſſured him, that he could by no other means avoid the Loſs of his See, and the other Calamities with which he was threatened. But all was in vain: the Pope continued firm in his Reſolution, declaring anew, with great Intrepidity, that he never would condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, nor receive any of the *Acephali* to his Communion. However, upon his being diſmiſſed by *Beliſarius*, he thought it adviſeable to take Sanctuary in ſome of the Baſilics, and retired accordingly to that of the Martyr St. *Sabina*. He apprehended that the General, finding he could not prevail upon him to yield, might ſeize him; and, to make room for *Vigilius*, either put him to Death, or convey him into Exile. And that, indeed, *Beliſarius* now deſigned; and his Deſign he ſoon put in Execution. For, having, a few Days after, artfully drawn the Pope from his Sanctuary, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and to be privately conveyed to *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*. Thus *Liberatus* [i].

Beliſarius *ſtrives, at firſt, to ſave him.*

The Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Silverius.

He is ſeized by Beliſarius, *and ſent into Exile.*

Anaſtaſius's *Account of the Event.*

The *Bibliothecarian*, in his Account of this Event, tells us, that *Beliſarius* would not hearken to thoſe who firſt charged *Silverius* with a Deſign of betraying the City to the Enemy; but that, finding he was arraigned of the ſame Treaſon by many others, he began

[i] Liberat. Breviar. c. 22.

to be under ſome Apprehenſion, and thereupon ſent for the Pope to the *Pincian* Palace, where the *Greek* General had taken up his Quarters, during the Siege; that the Pope, upon his entering the Palace, was conducted, together with *Vigilius*, into an inner Room, while the Clergy, who attended him, were ordered to wait in the outward Rooms; that he found there *Antonina*, the Wife of *Beliſarius*, ſitting upon her Bed, and *Beliſarius* ſitting at her Feet; that *Antonina*, addreſſing him as ſoon as he entered the Room, asked him, What Provocation her Husband or ſhe had given to him, and the *Romans*, that he ſhould think of betraying them into the Hands of the *Goths*? *Dic, Domine Silveri Papa, quæ fecimus tibi et Romanis, ut tu velles nos in manus Gothorum tradere?* The Pope was not allowed Time to make any Reply; for *Antonina* had not yet done ſpeaking, when a Subdeacon, entering the Room, tore the Pall off of his Shoulders; and then, carrying him into another Room, ſtript him there of the other Badges of his Dignity, and dreſſed him in the Habit of a Monk. In that Attire he was ſhewn to another Subdeacon, who, haſtening out, let the Clergy know, that the Pope was depoſed, and become a Monk: *Quia Dominus Papa depoſitus eſt, et factus eſt Monachus* [k]. *Procopius* is here very conciſe; for he ſays no more, than that *Silverius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, being ſuſpected as if he deſigned to betray the City to the *Goths*, *Beliſarius* baniſhed him immediately to *Greece*, and appointed one *Vigilius* in his room [l] (A).

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That

[k] Anaſt. in Silver. [l] Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 25.

(A) I cannot help taking notice of Two Obſervations made here by *Baronius*. He obſerves, firſt, That *Beliſarius* was leſs excuſable in condemning the Pope, than *Pontius Pilate* was in condemning Chriſt, the *Greek* General having only been threatened with the Indignation of the Empreſs, whereas the *Roman* Preſident was threatened with that of the Emperor himſelf (1). *Beliſarius* was, no doubt, guilty of a very great Crime; but to compare his Guilt with that of *Pontius Pilate*, is abſolute Blaſphemy. Beſides, who does not ſee, that *Beliſarius* chiefly dreaded the Indignation of the Emperor, and that of the Empreſs only ſo far as it might be attended with his? In the ſecond Place, The Annaliſt obſerves, that *Beliſarius*, who had laid violent Hands on the *Lord's anointed*, to gratify the Empreſs, and rivet himſelf, by her means, in the Emperor's Favour, not only forfeited the Favour he had bought ſo dear, but, by a juſt Judgment, ended his Life an Object of the greateſt Compaſſion (2). It is ſurpriſing he was not better informed. It is true, that in 563. a Conſpiracy was formed againſt *Juſtinian*; that *Beliſarius* was accuſed, by ſome of the Conſpirators, of being privy to it; that, upon their Depoſition, his Eſtate was confiſcated, and he diveſted of all his Honours (3). But the

(1) Bar. ad ann. 538. p. 294, A. ann. Alex. 555. Cedren. ad ann. Juſt. 36.

(2) Bar. ibid. B.

(3) Theoph. ad

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That Time only aſſigned to each Pope which he ſate in the See.

That *Silverius*, though driven from his See, and ſent into Exile, ſtill continued to be true and lawful Pope, or Biſhop of *Rome*, is paſt all Diſpute. And yet to him I find aſſigned, in all the antient Catalogues, that Time only, which paſſed between his Election and his Expulſion; and indeed the Antients, generally ſpeaking, reckon to each Pope, as has been obſerved by *Papebroke* [r], thoſe Years, Months, or Days only, which they ſate in the See, and enjoyed their Dignity. To conform to their Style, I ſhall cloſe the Popedom of *Silverius* with his Expulſion, and reckon the Time he ſurvived it, to that of *Vigilius*.

The Letter of Silverius *to* Vigilius *ſuppoſititious.*

The Letter *Silverius* is ſaid to have written, after his Expulſion, to *Vigilius*, reproaching him with the many heinous Crimes, by which he had opened himſelf a Way to the Epiſcopal Dignity, and cutting him off for ever from the Communion of the Church, is evidently ſuppoſititious, though by *Baronius* and others quoted as genuine [s]. The Decree of Excommunication, contained in that Letter, is ſigned not by *Silverius* alone, but by Four other Biſhops, whom the Pope is ſuppoſed to have aſſembled for that Purpoſe. But

[r] Papebr. Propyl. ad menſ. Mart. in Vigil. diſſert. 13.

[s] Habetur inter acta Silv. t. 2. Concil. et t. 2. Epiſt. Rom. Pont.

ſame Authors, who acquaint us with his Diſgrace, inform us, that *Juſtinian*, being ſoon after convinced of his Innocence, reſtored whatever had been taken from him, and received him anew into his Favour (4). *Baronius* ſeems even to credit the Story of his Eyes being put out by the Emperor's Order, and his being reduced, thus deprived of his Sight, to beg in the Streets of *Conſtantinople* (5); as if the Authority of a Writer, of a Poet, who wrote in the Latter-end of the 12th Century, could be of any Weight, or could deſerve the leaſt Regard, when it openly contradicts the concurring Teſtimony of the contemporary Hiſtorians, and all Antiquity. For that Story was firſt ſet abroad by *Joannes Tzetzes*, a *Greek* Poet of the 12th Century (6), in Contradiction to all the contemporary Writers; and from him it has been copied by the later Hiſtorians. In the Wall of the Church belonging to the Order of the *Cruciferi* at *Rome*, is to be ſeen the following Inſcription, engraved on a Stone:

Hanc vir Patricius Veliſarius urbis Amicus
Ob culpæ veniam condidit Eccleſiam.
Hanc iccirco pedem ſacram qui ponis in ædem,
Ut miſeretur eum, ſæpe precare Deum.

Under theſe is the following Line:

Janua hæc eſt templi Domino defenſa potenti.

That *Beliſarius* built the Church mentioned here, to atone for his having ſacrilegiouſly treated the Vicar of Chriſt in the manner we have ſeen, *Baronius* takes for granted. Might he not have built it to atone for his Sins in general?

(4) Theoph. Cedren. ibid.

(5) Bar. ad ann. 561. p. 507.

(6) Tzet. hiſt. 86.

that,

that, from the Time of his Expulſion to the Hour of his Death, he had no Opportunity of aſſembling Biſhops, iſſuing Decrees, or thundering Anathemas, will appear hereafter. Beſides, the Letter is intirely made up of Phraſes and Sentences borrowed from the Letters of other Popes, eſpecially from that of *Felix* to *Acacius*; and is dated under Conſuls, whom all Chronologers agree not to have been Conſuls at the Time it is ſuppoſed to have been written; nor indeed at any other, during the Pontificate of *Silverius*. The Letter from *Amator* of *Autun* to *Silverius*, after his Expulſion, is ſtill, if poſſible, a more bare-faced Forgery. For it is ſuppoſed to have been written in 539. whereas *Amator* died in 535. and was ſucceeded in that Year by *Agrippinus*, who, in 538. aſſiſted at the Third Council of *Orange* [t]. This Letter too, as well as the Anſwer *Silverius* is ſaid to have made to it, conſiſts intirely of Paſſages taken from the Letters of the Popes *Leo* and *Gregory*, from the Laws of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, and from a Letter of *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*.

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And likewiſe that from Amator *to* Silverius.

JUSTINIAN,

VIGILIUS,

Sixtieth BISHOP *of* Rome.

VITIGES, HILDEBALD, ERARIC, TOTILAS, TEIAS, } Kings of *Italy*.

SILVERIUS being driven from his See, in the manner we have ſeen, *Beliſarius* ordered the People and Clergy to proceed to a new Election; and recommended *Vigilius*, who was accordingly choſen, and ordained on the 22d of *November* of the preſent Year 537. He was at this Time Deacon, or, as he is ſtyled by ſome, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, by Birth a *Roman*, and ſprung from a noble Family, his Father having been diſtinguiſhed with the Conſular Dignity. He had promiſed to the Empreſs, as has been obſerved above, to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, to admit the *Acephali* to his Communion, and to approve their Doctrine. This Promiſe *Beliſarius* now challenged, not forgetting the 200 Pieces of Gold, which he was to pay him, as ſoon as he found

Vigilius *choſen in the room of* Silverius.

[t] Vide Pagi ad ann. 539. n. 4.

himſelf

himself in Possession of the See (A). But *Vigilius*, says the Historian, fearing the *Romans*, and restrained by his Avarice, declined complying with either Engagement [u].

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Refuses to condemn the Council of Chalcedon.

In the mean time *Silverius*, arriving at *Patara*, was there received with all possible Marks of Honour and Esteem, by the Bishop of the Place; nay, the good Prelate, not satisfied with paying him all the Regard he could have expected, had he been still in Possession of his See, thought himself bound, in common Justice, to undertake his Defence, or at least to lay his Case before the Emperor. With this View he repaired to *Constantinople*; and, having, in a private Audience, acquainted *Justinian* with the base Treatment which the First Bishop of the Catholic Church had met with, earnestly begged he would interpose his Authority, and order the Cause to be tried anew. The Emperor expressed no small Surprize at the Account the Bishop gave him; for he was an utter Stranger to what had passed, the Plot having been laid by the Empress, without his Privity, and executed, unknown to him, by *Belisarius*, and his Wife *Antonina*. He inquired into all the Particulars; but, finding the Bishop knew no more of the Affairs of *Silverius*, than what he had learned of *Silverius* himself, he would not absolve or restore him. However, that he might have an Opportunity, if he was really innocent, of making his Innocence appear, he commanded him to be forthwith sent back to *Italy*, and his Cause to be there examined anew. If he cleared himself from the Treason laid to his Charge, he was, by the Emperor's Order, to be restored to his former Dignity; but, should he be found guilty, he was to be removed from the *Roman* to some other See. With this Order *Silverius* set out for *Italy*, and, travelling with great Expedition, arrived at *Rome* before *Pelagius*, whom the Empress had sent to prevent his Return, could reach that City (B).

Patara espouses the Cause of Silverius, *and recurs to the Emperor.*

Who orders his Cause to be tried anew.

Silverius *returns to* Rome.

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[u] Liberat. c. 22.

(A) I cannot help thinking *Liberatus* was mistaken with respect to that Particular. For what Temptation could 200 Pieces of Gold be to *Belisarius*, who was possessed of immense Wealth, and had the Treasures of the whole Empire at his Command and Disposal?

(B) *Pelagius* was a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and, at this time, the Pope's Nuncio, or Apocrisarius, at the Court of *Constantinople*; but, to ingratiate himself with the Empress, he had, by the blackest Treachery, joined her against the Pope himself, and was privy to all her Attempts in favour of the *Acephali*; which, however, did not prevent his being afterwards raised to the Papal Dignity, as we shall see some Years hence.

Vigilius was thunderſtruck, as we may well imagine, at the unexpected and ſudden Arrival of the Pope, and the Order he brought from the Emperor, not doubting but, ſhould it take place, *Silverius* would be acquitted, and he be ignominiouſly driven from the See. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert *Beliſarius* from cauſing it to be put in Execution. He applied chiefly to *Antonina*, who was in high Favour with the Empreſs, and had as great an Aſcendant over *Beliſarius*, as *Theodora* had over *Juſtinian*. With her he urged the earneſt Deſire the Empreſs had of ſeeing the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned by *Rome*, and the *Acephali* admitted to the Communion of that See; and both, he ſaid, the Reſtoration of *Silverius* would, to her great Diſappointment, abſolutely render impracticable. But were *Silverius* removed out of the way, and no room left to apprehend the Diſturbances which he might otherwiſe raiſe, and undoubtedly would, on ſuch an Occaſion, he bound himſelf, by the moſt ſolemn Promiſes, to gratify the Empreſs, and readily comply with all her Demands. He had ſeveral private Conferences, on this Subject, with *Antonina*, who was determined, at all Events, to bring about what the Empreſs ſo earneſtly deſired; and the Reſult of thoſe Conferences was, that *Silverius* ſhould be delivered up to *Vigilius*; and that *Vigilius*, the Moment he had him in his Power, ſhould write Letters of Communion to the leading Men among the *Acephali*, ſhould approve their Doctrine, ſhould condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, with the Letter of *Leo*, and anathematize, as Heretics, all who received or approved either. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Beliſarius*, though well appriſed of the wicked Deſigns of *Vigilius*, was nevertheleſs prevailed upon by *Antonina* to deliver the unhappy *Silverius* into his Hands, with full Power to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould think fit [w].

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But is there delivered up to Vigilius.

Vigilius, having now nothing to fear from his Rival, wrote, without Delay, the promiſed Letter of Communion to *Theodoſius* of *Alexandria*, to *Anthimus* of *Conſtantinople*, and to *Severus* of *Antioch*, the Chiefs of the *Eutychian* Party, declaring, That his and their Faith was one and the ſame. He begged they would take no Notice of his having written to them, but keep his Letter concealed from the Public, and rather pretend to diſtruſt him. This Letter he delivered to *Antonina*, and with it a Confeſſion of Faith, to be

Vigilius *writes Letters of Communion to the Chiefs of the* Acephali.

[w] Liberat. c. 22. Victor. Tun. poſt conſulat. Baſil. anno 2. Facund. lib. contr. Mocian.

privately

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privately conveyed by her to the Empreſs, and the above-mentioned Chiefs of the *Eutychian* Party. In that Confeſſion he condemned the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, rejecting the Doctrine of the Two Natures; and anathematized all who acknowleged more than One Nature, and One Eſſence, in Chriſt [x]; which was anathematizing, as *Facundus* obſerves [y], the whole Catholic Church. *Binius* and *Baronius*, unwilling it ſhould be ſaid, that even a nominal Pope only, for ſuch was *Vigilius* at this time, had thus condemned the Catholic, and confirmed the oppoſite Doctrine, allege ſeveral Reaſons to prove that Letter to have been forged by the *Eutychians*, and fathered by them upon *Vigilius*. But that *Vigilius* was capable of writing ſuch a Letter, neither *Baronius* nor *Binius* will, I believe, deny: and that he did write it, is poſitively affirmed by the contemporary Writers *Liberatus*, *Victor Tunnunenſis*, and *Facundus* [z], whom we may well ſuppoſe to have been better acquainted with what happened in their own times, than *Baronius* or *Binius*, who lived a Thouſand Years after.

Anathematizes all who acknowleged Two Natures in Chriſt.

Silverius *confined to an inhoſpitable Iſland, where he dies, or is murdered.*

As for the unfortunate *Silverius*, the Uſurper of his See no ſooner had him in his Power, than he delivered him over to Two of his Satellites, ſtyled by him the Defenders of the Church, who immediately conveyed him into the abandoned and inhoſpitable Iſland of *Palmaria* (A); and uſed him there in ſo cruel and barbarous a manner, that he died in a very ſhort time. *Liberatus* ſuppoſes him to have died of Hunger, the neceſſary Food for the Support of his Life being denied him by thoſe whom *Vigilius* had appointed to guard him [a]. But *Procopius* ſeems to inſinuate as if he had been murdered by a Perſon devoted to *Antonina*, named *Eugenius*, and at her Inſtigation: and *Alemannus* obſerves, that *Liberatus* wrote what he heard, but *Procopius* what he ſaw [b]. His Death happened

[x] Liberat. ibid. [y] Facund. ibid. [z] Liberat. Vict. Facund. ubi ſupra.
[a] Liberat. c. 22. [b] Aleman. in not. ad Hiſt. Arcan. c. 1.

(A) *Palmaria*, *Pontia* or *Pontiæ*, and *Pandataria*, now *Palmeruolo*, *Ponza*, and *Vento tiene*, are Three uninhabited Iſlands, lying in the *Mediterranean*, over-againſt the Coaſt of *Old Latium*. To ſome of them were confined, in the Times of the *Roman* Emperors, ſuch Perſons as they wanted to put to Death, without Noiſe. Thus was *Nero*, the Son of *Germanicus*, confined by *Tiberius* to the Iſland of *Ponza* (1); and *Julia*, by her Father *Auguſtus*, to that of *Pandataria* (2). Many ſuch Inſtances occur in Hiſtory; and the unhappy Exiles were doomed, generally ſpeaking, to die of Hunger.

(1) Suet. in Tiber. c. 54. (2) Tacit. Annal. l. 1. c. 53.

on the 20th of *June* of the preſent Year 538 [c]. after he had governed the *Roman* Church, according to *Anaſtaſius*, who aſſigns to *Vigilius* the Time that paſſed between the Depoſition of *Silverius* and his Death, One Year, Five Months, and Eleven Days [d] (A). He is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Martyr; and, indeed, not undeſervedly, if his ſuffering for the Faith of *Chalcedon* could intitle him to that Honour. However, it is only in the Martyrologies of the latter Times that his Name is to be found.

Year of Chriſt 538.

He is now honoured as a Martyr.

From the Death of *Silverius* the *Roman* Catholic Writers date the Epiſcopacy of *Vigilius*, reckoning him thenceforth among the lawful Popes, or Biſhops of *Rome*; and in that they all agree, though at Variance among themſelves, and quite at a Loſs how to make good his Title or Right to that See. *Baronius* [f], *Binius* [g], and *Ferrandus* [h], tell us, that, upon the Death of *Silverius*, *Vigilius* reſigned the Dignity he had uſurped, and would not reſume it, being conſcious to himſelf of the Nullity of his former Election, till he was elected anew. But of this Reſignation, and the new Election, not the leaſt Notice is taken, nor ſo much as a diſtant Hint given, by any of the contemporary Writers. They only produce *Anaſtaſius*, ſaying, That the See of *Silverius* was vacant Six Days [i]; which, they ſay, could not be while *Silverius* was alive; for he was lawful Pope ſo long as he lived: therefore after his Death *Vigilius* reſigned, and was choſen anew. But *Anaſtaſius* ſpeaks there of the

Vigilius *not choſen anew, after the Death of* Silverius.

[c] Vide Anaſt. in Sil. Orderic. l. 2. Luitprand. et Pagi ad ann. 540. n. 2, 3.
[d] Anaſt. ibid. [f] Bar. ad ann. 540. p. 319. [g] Bin. in Vigil. [h] Ferr. traité de l'Egliſe, c. 3. [i] Anaſt. in Silver.

(A) *Baronius* prolongs the Pontificate of *Silverius* to the 20th of *June* 540. reckoning to him the whole Time he ſurvived his Depoſition, and ſuppoſing his Death not to have happened till the 20th of *June* of that Year (1). This Suppoſition he founds on the Letter I have mentioned above, from *Silverius* to *Vigilius*, dated the 20th of *June* 539. For if it was written then, ſays the Annaliſt, and *Vigilius* died on the 20th of *June*, his Death could not happen till the 20th of *June* of the following Year. But that Letter I have ſhewn above to be ſuppoſititious. It is ſaid to have been written by *Silverius*, in an Aſſembly, conſiſting of Four Biſhops, during his Confinement in the Iſland of *Palmaria*; as if thoſe, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed, would have ſuffered him to aſſemble any Number of Biſhops, or he could have aſſembled them, and anathematized *Vigilius*, without their Knowlege. Beſides, by the Date of that Letter, *Silverius* muſt have lived Two Years, and upwards, in the Iſland of *Palmaria*, whereas both *Liberatus* and *Procopius* ſpeak of his Death as happening ſoon after his Arrival at the Place of his Exile.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 540. p. 319.

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Vacancy, that happened after *Silverius had ſate One Year, Five Months, and Eleven Days*, and conſequently of the Vacancy that enſued upon his Expulſion; for juſt that time paſſed, according to *Anaſtaſius*, between his Ordination and his Expulſion; whereas Two Years and Twelve Days paſſed, according to the ſame Writer, between his Ordination and his Death. For he was ordained, as the Bibliothecarian informs us, on the 8th of *June* 536. was driven from his See on the 18th of *November* 537. and died on the 20th of *June* 538. And truly, that his Expulſion was followed by a Vacancy of ſome Days, is manifeſt both from *Procopius* and *Liberatus*; of whom the former, after acquainting us, that *Beliſarius* ſent *Silverius*, Biſhop of the City, into Exile, adds, *And a ſhort time after he preferred* Vigilius *to the Pontificate, in his room* [k]. And the latter writes, That *Silverius* being depoſed, *Beliſarius*, the next Day, called together the Presbyters, the Deacons, and the Clerks, and commanded them to chuſe another Pope [l]. *Vigilius* was therefore, in all Likelihood, choſen the very next Day, the 19th of *November*, and ordained on the 22d of the ſame Month, which in 537. fell on a *Sunday*, the Day on which Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of *Rome*, were then commonly ordained (A). That *Anaſtaſius* ſpeaks of this Vacancy, is owned even by moſt of the *Roman* Catholic Writers, and, among the reſt, by the Two learned Critics *Papebroke* [m] and *Pagi* [n], who therefore reject the whole Story of the Reſignation and new Election of *Vigilius*, not only as a mere Fable, or a Dream, but as quite unneceſſary; the Want of a Canonical Election being ſufficiently ſupplied, according to them, by the Conſent and Reception of the People and Clergy of *Rome*,

The Want of a Canonical Election cannot be ſupplied by the Conſent and Reception of the People and Clergy.

[k] Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 25. [l] Liberat. c. 22. [m] Papebr. Propyl. ad menſ. Maium, in Vigil. Diſſert. 13. [n] Pagi ad Ann. 540. n. 4.

(A) In the Copy of *Anaſtaſius*, which *Baronius* peruſed, the See is ſaid to have been vacant Six Days; but Five only, in the *Louvre* Edition. And Five Days paſſed between the Expulſion of *Silverius*, on the 18th of *November*, and the Ordination of *Vigilius*, on the 22d of the ſame Month, if we include the Day on which the one was expelled, and the other ordained, which is not at all foreign to the Style of *Anaſtaſius*. For that Writer frequently reckons in the Vacancy of the See the Day on which the Pope died, and that on which his Succeſſor was ordained; nay, he ſometimes aſſigns the Day of the Pope's Death, both to his Pontificate, and to the Vacancy of the See; and to both he aſſigns here the Day of the Expulſion of *Silverius*, who otherwiſe would have ſate One Year, Five Months, and not Eleven, but Ten Days only.

nay,

nay, of the whole Church, receiving and acknowleging *Vigilius* for lawful Pope. Year of Chriſt 538.

But, firſt, The Conſent of the People and Clergy of *Rome* was not free, but extorted by Force. They were well appriſed, that *Beliſarius*, who, in Compliance with the Command of the Empreſs, had depoſed *Silverius*, to make room for *Vigilius*, would never ſuffer them to think of any other; and therefore acknowleged, or rather obeyed *Vigilius*, not only after, but before the Deceaſe of *Silverius*, when no one will ſay he was true Pope. Now Biſhops, who were neither choſen by the Clergy, nor deſired by the People, but impoſed upon both, by the Oppreſſion of Men in Power, are declared by ſeveral Canons of the *Latin* Church, and by Pope *Leo the Great*, to be no Biſhops [o]. II. If he is true and lawful Pope, who is received and acknowleged as ſuch by the Church, thoſe Apoſtates and Monſters, as *Genebrard* ſtyles them [p], were true Popes, who poſſeſſed the Chair in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, when *filthy and impudent Whores*, to uſe the Words of *Baronius* [q], *governed all at* Rome; *when they intruded their Lovers and Gallants into the See of St.* Peter, *diſpoſed of Biſhopricks, and changed Sees at their Pleaſure.* The Popes, thus intruded, were received, obeyed, and reſpected, by the whole Church, no otherwiſe, ſays *Baronius*, than St. *Peter* himſelf, no one giving himſelf the Trouble of inquiring into the Lawfulneſs of their Election [r]. And yet the Writers of thoſe Times ſpeak of them as Intruders, Uſurpers, Adulterers, and Wolves in Sheeps Clothing; and *Baronius* himſelf owns, that the Church was then without a Pope [s]. He adds, that nevertheleſs ſhe was not without a Head; Chriſt, her inviſible Head, preſerving her, amidſt ſo many Dangers, with his Aſſiſtance alone, agreeably to his Promiſe, that he will be with her even unto the End of the World. If, purſuant to that Promiſe, he preſerved her with his Aſſiſtance alone, when ſhe had no Pope, he would in like manner have preſerved her, though ſhe had never again had a Pope. What Occaſion therefore can there be for a Pope at all, or for any other Head of the Church, but Chriſt?

III. A ſecret Heretic, an Infidel, an Atheiſt, may be acknowleged and received by the Church as a true Pope; and ſome have, if a

[o] Concil. Aurelian. 5. can. 11. Concil. Cabillon. 1. can. 10. Leo, ep. 92. ad Ruſtic. Narbon. [p] Genebr. chron. ad ann. 901. [q] Bar. ad ann. 908. [r] Idem ad ann. 892. [s] Idem ad ann. 908.

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very eminent Writer of the Church of *Rome* may be credited (A). Now, if such a Man were true Pope, he would of course be infallible, and consequently would teach with Certainty what he himself did not believe; would be the spiritual Head of the Church, and yet no Member of the Church. And what can be conceived more absurd, more repugnant to Reason and common Sense, than that a Heretic, an Infidel, an Atheist, should be infallible; that one, in whom there is no Truth, should guide the Church into all Truth?

The Ordination of Vigilius *null, as well as his Election.*

IV. The Ordination of *Vigilius* was null, as well as the Election. For, not to mention other Irregularities, he was ordained into a full See, that is, into a See legally possessed by another; and the Ordination of a Man into a full See was always looked upon by the Catholic Church as absolutely null, and the Person thus ordained, as no Bishop, no more than if he had never received Ordination. This St. *Cyprian* chiefly urged against the Ordination of *Novatian*, who caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome*, after *Cornelius* had been lawfully chosen and ordained into that See. *Cornelius*, says St. *Cyprian*, *was made Bishop by the Testimony of the Clergy, and the Suffrages of the People, when no one had been ordained before him, and the Episcopal Chair was empty. Whoever, after that, pretends to be Bishop, has not the Ordination of the Church, whatever he may boast, or assume to himself. There cannot be a second Bishop after the first; and therefore whoever is made a Bishop after the first, is not a second Bishop, but no Bishop at all* [t]. As *Novatian* was ordained into the *Roman* See, while it was lawfully possessed by *Cornelius*, so was *Vigilius* while it was lawfully possessed by *Silverius*: if therefore the Ordination of the former was, on that Account, null, the Ordination of the latter must, of course, be null too. That this was not the private Opinion of St. *Cyprian*

[t] Cypr. ep. 52. al. 55. ad Anton.

(A) The most noble *Picus* of *Mirandula*, whose Words I shall here transcribe: "We remember, says he, another ordained, and received for true Pope, who, in the Opinion of good Men, neither was, nor could be, true Pope, as he believed no God, and exceeded the utmost Pitch of Infidelity. It is affirmed he confessed, to some of his Domestics, that he believed no God, even when he sate in the Papal Chair. And I have heard of another Pope, who owned to one of his Intimates, that he did not believe the Immortality of the Soul (1)."

(1) Picus Theor. 4.

only,

only, as ſome have pretended, but the received Opinion, and ſtanding Rule, of the Catholic Church, may be proved by innumerable Inſtances. Thus was *Valens* declared, by the Biſhops of *Italy*, to be no Biſhop, as was *Majorinus*, the Father of the *Donatiſts*, by thoſe of *Africa*, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they had both been ordained into full Sees; *Valens* into the See of *Petavio*, while *Marcus*, the lawful Biſhop, was ſtill living; and *Majorinus* into that of *Carthage*, when it was legally filled by *Cæcilian* [w]. The Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, for the ſame Reaſon, pronounced all, whom *Meletius* of *Lycopolis* had ordained, in *Egypt*, for Sees, that were not vacant at the Time of their Ordination, to be no Biſhops; and, at the ſame time, iſſued a Decree, commanding them to be re-ordained before they were admitted to ſerve as Biſhops in the Catholic Church [x]. In like manner the Fathers of the Second Oecumenical Council, that of *Conſtantinople*, would not admit of the Ordination of *Maximus* the *Cynic* [y], though he had been ordained by Seven Biſhops, but unanimouſly declared, That he was no Biſhop, notwithſtanding his theatrical and mock Ordination; that he never ſhould be a Biſhop; that the Clerks, ordained by him, ſhould in no Degree whatever be received as true Clerks, all that had been done to him, or by him, being abſolutely void and null, *becauſe he had intruded himſelf into a See*, that of *Conſtantinople*, *legally filled by another*, by *Nectarius* [z]. I ſhall add but one Inſtance more, that of the famous *Timotheus Ælurus* [a], whoſe Caſe was the very ſame with that of *Vigilius*: for both uſurped the Sees of lawful Biſhops, and both were acceſſary to the Death of the Biſhops, whoſe Sees they uſurped. Now the Catholic Biſhops, who were conſulted by the Emperor *Leo* about the Ordination of *Ælurus* (and, by a circular Letter, he conſulted all within the Empire), agreed to a Man in this; *viz.* That if *Ælurus* was guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, that is, if he had driven out the lawful Biſhop, to make room for himſelf, or was any-ways concerned in his Death, he neither was, nor ever could be, a Biſhop [b]. It is therefore, upon the Whole, as plain, I think, as Words and Authorities can make it, that, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of the antient Church,

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[w] Concil. Aquilei. in ep. Synod. Concil. t. 2. p. 995. et Optat. l. 1. p. 42. [x] Sacrat. l. 1. c. 9. Theodor. l. 1. c. 9. [y] See Vol. I. p. 223. [z] Concil. Conſtantin. can. 4. [a] See above, p. 108, 109. [b] Epiſt. Synod. ad Leon. Imper. ad calcem Concil. Chalced. part. 3. c. 38. et 55.

a Per-

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Vigilius *neither Pope nor Biſhop.*

a Perſon ordained into a See legally poſſeſſed by another, was no Biſhop; and conſequently that *Vigilius*, who was thus ordained, as we have ſeen, was no Biſhop. Hence it follows, Firſt, That in *Vigilius* was evidently interrupted the ſo much boaſted Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome:* and, Secondly, What is of far greater Moment, that as he was no Biſhop, he could have no Epiſcopal Power or Authority; and conſequently, that the 46 Presbyters, and 81 Biſhops, whom he is ſaid to have ordained, during his long Pontificate, were, in Truth, neither Presbyters nor Biſhops. And who can ſay, that the preſent Pope does not derive his Ordination and Authority from ſome of them? It is not, at leaſt, certain that he does not; and conſequently it is not certain, that he is a true Biſhop, and true Pope. For no Divine of the Church of *Rome* will allow one to be true Pope, who is no Biſhop, nor one, who has not been duly ordained, to be a true Biſhop, though he were received and acknowleged as ſuch by the whole Chriſtian World. Now, if it is not certain, that the preſent Pope (and the ſame Argument may be urged againſt any other) is a true Biſhop, and true Pope, how can his Definitions be certainly believed? Can a Man certainly believe even what is contained in any of the Books of Scripture, unleſs he firſt certainly believes ſuch Books to be Canonical? or ſo long as he doubts whether they be Apocryphal or Canonical?

Whether an Article of Faith to believe, that every particular Pope is a lawful Pope.

This is a knotty Point, and has reduced the Popiſh Divines to the greateſt Streights. To ſolve it, they take different Ways. *Suarez*, *Valentia*, *Arriaga*, *Raynaudus*, *Caſpenſis*, *Martinonus*, and *Rhodius*, all Divines of great Note, maintain it can never happen, that an unlawful Pope ſhould poſſeſs the Chair; and that it is an Article of Faith to believe every particular Pope lawful. If that is not an Article of Faith, ſay they, and very juſtly, no Faith can be founded on their Decrees [c]. But, on the other hand, how can that be an Article of Faith, which ſo many Inſtances, and that of *Vigilius* among the reſt, evidently prove to be falſe? He poſſeſſed the Chair 18 Years; was owned as lawful Pope by the 5th General Council, and the whole Chriſtian World; and yet, that he was no lawful Pope, has been evidently ſhewn. *Formoſus* held the Chair Five Years and upwards; was by all received and obeyed as true Pope; and nevertheleſs *Stephen* VII. declared, that he never was lawful Pope; nay,

[c] Suarez de fide, diſput. 10. ſect. 5. Mart. de fide, diſput. 5. ſect. 6.

that he was not even a Biſhop; and accordingly re-ordained all whom he had ordained. If it is therefore an Article of Faith, that every particular Pope is a lawful Pope; *Stephen* erred in Faith, when he declared *Formoſus* to have been no lawful one. *Nicholas* II. and *Julius* II. declared all Elections, in which any kind of Simony intervened, to be, *ipſo facto*, null, and the Perſon ſimoniacally elected, to be no Pope, but an Apoſtate, a Thief, a Robber, an Hereſiarch, a Magician, a Heathen, and a Publican [d]. Hence it cannot be an Article of Faith, with reſpect to any particular Pope, that he is true Pope, and not a Thief, a Robber, an Apoſtate, *&c.* unleſs it be likewiſe one that no kind of Simony intervened in his Election: and that no Man can certainly know, and conſequently no Man can believe as an Article of Faith. Year of Chriſt 538.

Others, aware of theſe Difficulties, maintain, that it matters little whether he, who poſſeſſes the Chair, be true Pope or no; ſince his Definitions and Decrees will be no leſs infallible, if he is univerſally received as a true Pope, than if he really were a true Pope. *We affirm*, ſays *Duvall*, *that a Pope, eſteemed for true, can never err; for God will never permit him to err, leſt Falſhood ſhould be obtruded upon the Church for Truth* [e]. But this Anſwer is liable, as *Suarez* well obſerves [f], to the very Difficulties which it is brought to ſolve. For as it is not certain, that every particular Pope is a true Pope, neither is it certain, that an unlawful Pope enjoys the Privilege of Infallibility: nay, the greateſt Divines of the Church of *Rome* are of Opinion, that he does not; *That Prerogative*, ſays *Martinonus*, *being granted to none but a true Pope, to whom alone it was promiſed in* Peter [g]. As it is not therefore certain, that any Pope in particular is a lawful Pope; nor is it certain, that an unlawful Pope enjoys the Privilege of Infallibility; it evidently follows, that no Faith can be founded on the Definitions and Decrees of any Pope whatever; and conſequently that their pretended Infallibility can be of no kind of Uſe or Advantage to the Church. *Whether a Pope, who is not a true, be infallible.*

And now, to reſume the Thread of the Hiſtory, and return to *Vigilius*: A few Days after the Death of *Silverius*, he anſwered a Letter from *Profuturus*, Biſhop of *Braga* in *Luſitania*, to that Pope, concerning certain Points, which occaſioned ſome Diſagreement among Vigilius *anſwers a Letter, from* Profuturus *of* Braga, *to* Silverius.

[d] Plat. in Nic. II. et Jul. II. apud Regnaud. p. 192. [e] Duvall de poteſt. Pont. part. 2. quæſt. 5. [f] Suar. de fide, diſput. 10. ſect. 6 [g] Martin. de fide, diſput. 9. ſect. 6.

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the Bishops in those Parts. *Vigilius*, in his Answer, dated the 29th of *June* 538. condemns those who abstained from certain Meats, thinking them forbidden, or evil in themselves, as if they proceeded from an evil Principle; which was the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. II. He separates from his Communion all who sung or used the lesser Doxology, thus; *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son Holy Ghost*, since they could for no other Reason suppress the Conjunction, but because they believed the Son and the Holy Ghost to be one and the same Person. III. He commands those who had been re-baptized by the *Arians*, or the *Priscillianists*, to be received, on their Return to the Church, by the Imposition of Hands used in the Reconciliation of Penitents, and not by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Lastly, he declares, That there is no Occasion to consecrate a Church built on the Foundations of one that had been consecrated [h].

He writes to Theodebert *King of* Austrasia, *and to* Cæsarius *of* Arles.

About the same time *Vigilius*, being consulted by *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia*, about the Penance that ought to be imposed upon a Man who had married his Brother's Widow, wrote Two Letters on that Occasion, the one to the King, and the other to *Cæsarius* of *Arles*. He exaggerates in both the Enormity of the Crime, which, he says, cannot be expiated but by a long Penance. However, he leaves it in the Power of *Cæsarius*, who, as he was upon the Spot, could better judge of the Compunction of the Penitent, to shorten or lengthen the Time, as he should think proper; but he requires those, who were thus married, to be immediately parted [i] (A). *Baronius* supposes *Theodebert* to be the Person who had

[h] Vigil. ep. 1. t. 5. Concil. p. 311.

[i] Vigil. ep. 3. t. 5. Concil. p. 314.

(A) The marrying of a Brother's Widow was forbidden by the Emperor *Constantius*, and the Children of those, who were thus married, declared spurious and illegitimate (1). That Law was confirmed by *Theodosius* the younger (2); and by the Canons of the Church such Marriages were condemned as incestuous, and the contracting Parties obliged to undergo public Penance. Thus the Council of *Neocæsarea* orders the Woman, who marries Two Brothers, to remain excommunicated till she is thought to be at the Point of Death; and even then to be admitted to the Sacrament, only upon Condition, that she dissolves her Marriage, and submits to a public Penance, if she recovers (3). St. *Basil* argues strongly against such Marriages as incestuous and null, in an Epistle to *Diodorus Tarsensis*, under whose Name was forged a Treatise in Defence of them (4). These Laws and Canons are all founded on the Prohibition in *Leviticus*, *Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brother's Wife* (5); and, *if a Man shall take his Brother's Wife, it is an unclean thing* (6).

(1) Cod. Theod. l. 3. tit. 12. de incest. nup. leg. 2. (2) Ibid. leg. 4. (3) Concil. Neocæsar. can. 2. (4) Basil. ep. 197. (5) Levit. xviii. 16. (6) Ibid. xx. 21.

But

had married his Brother's Widow [k]. But it is certain, that *Theodebert* never had a Brother. Year of Christ 538.

In the mean time the Emperor *Justinian*, hearing that *Silverius* was dead, and *Vigilius* was chosen in his room, but kept by *Theodora* quite in the Dark, with respect to the Circumstances attending the Death of the one, and the Election of the other, dispatched to *Rome* the Patrician *Dominicus*, to congratulate the new Pope on his Promotion, and, at the same time, to assure his Holiness, that he held, and ever would hold, the Faith which had been established by the Four General Councils, and was contained in the Letters of *Leo*. *The Emperor congratulates* Vigilius *on his Promotion.* Year of Christ 539.

On this Occasion *Vigilius* wrote a long Letter to the Emperor, commending his Piety, approving his Faith, and solemnly declaring, that he himself professed the same Faith, and had never professed any other. He had even the Assurance to tell the Emperor, that he defied his most inveterate Enemies to charge him with having ever done or attempted any thing, that was not intirely agreeable to the Decrees of the Oecumenical Councils, and the Constitutions of the Apostolic See [l]. He wrote, at the same time, to the Patriarch *Mennas*, commending him for the Zeal he exerted, in Defence of the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, which he himself had lately condemned; and anathematizing, as detestable Heretics, those whom not long before he had admitted to his Communion, as united with him in one and the same Faith [m]. *The Pope, in his Letter to the Emperor, confesses the Faith, which he had anathematized in his Letter to the Empress.*

The following Year 540. nothing happened worthy of notice. But the Year 541. is remarkable for the Disturbances that began then, and produced, in the End, the Fifth General Council. They began on the following Occasion: Some Monks of *Palæstine*, offended at certain Propositions contained in the Works of *Origen*, applied to *Pelagius*, the Pope's *Apocrisarius* or Nuncio at the Court of *Constantinople*, and likewise to *Mennas* the Patriarch, begging they would cause the Works of that Writer to be condemned, together with his Memory, that People, looking upon him as a condemned Heretic, might be thenceforth deterred from perusing his *Some Monks of* Palæstine *apply to the Pope's Nuncio, and to* Mennas, *for the condemning of* Origen. Year of Christ 541.

[k] Bar. ad ann. 538. p. 299. [l] Vigil. ep. 4. [m] Idem, ep. 5.

But that Uncleanness the Pope can now wipe off, in virtue of his dispensing Power; and such Marriages, though for many Ages deemed incestuous and null, by the whole Church, and the Popes themselves, are now only looked upon in that Light, when contracted without a Dispensation, which his Holiness refuses to none, who are able to purchase it.

Year of Christ 541.

Writings, or at leaſt be on their Guard, when they peruſed them. This *Pelagius* and *Mennas* readily undertook, chiefly with a View, as *Liberatus* informs us [n], to confound the *Acephali*, who were all great Admirers of *Origen*, thinking he favoured their Doctrine, and, at the ſame time, avowed Enemies to *Mennas*, and the other Friends of *Rome*. As for the Errors of *Origen*, they had been condemned long before, and with them *Origen* himſelf [o]; ſo that there could be no Occaſion to condemn them anew. However, *Mennas* and *Pelagius* having preſented a Memorial to *Juſtinian*, containing ſome of the moſt remarkable Errors aſcribed to *Origen*, the Emperor, who embraced with great Joy every Opportunity of interfering in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, immediately iſſued, at their Requeſt, an Edict or Decree, condemning thoſe Errors, and together with them, *Origen* himſelf, and all who ſhould preſume to defend either him, or his *wicked, blaſphemous, and execrable Doctrine*. No Pope, no Council, could have defined, decided, and even anathematized, with more Authority than the Emperor aſſumes in that Edict. The Errors, which he condemns, and ſtrives to confute from the Scripture, and the Fathers, are; I. That, in the Trinity, the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son than the Holy Ghoſt. II. That the Souls of Men exiſted before the Bodies, and were confined to the Bodies by way of Puniſhment for the Sins they had committed, while ſeparated from them. III. That the Soul of Chriſt exiſted, like other Souls, and was united to the Word before the Incarnation. IV. That the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the other Stars, are all animated, nay, and indued with a rational Soul. V. That, after the Reſurrection, all human Bodies will be of a round Figure. VI. That the Torments of the Damned will have an End; and that as Chriſt has been crucified in this World, to ſave Mankind, ſo he is to be crucified in the next, to ſave the Devils. Each of theſe Opinions *Juſtinian* undertakes to confute; and, to do him Juſtice, he ſhews himſelf therein thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers, and well worthy of the high Commendations which the contemporary Writers have all beſtowed on him as a Divine. He paints *Origen* as a profane, heatheniſh, wicked, and blaſphemous Writer, as the firſt Author of all Hereſies, as the common Father of all Heretics, as one who attempted to ingraft

Who is condemned by the Emperor, together with his Doctrine.

The particular Propoſitions which were condemned.

[n] Liberat. c. 23. [o] See Vol. I. p. 280, et ſeq.

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the Chriſtian Religion on the Fables and Dreams of the Pagans. The Edict he addreſſed to *Mennas, the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople, *and Patriarch*; and ends it with commanding him to aſſemble forthwith all the Biſhops, who were then at *Conſtantinople*, and the Heads of the Monaſteries, to anathematize, jointly with them, *Origen*, his Doctrine, and his Followers, and to ſuffer no Biſhop to be thenceforth ordained, nor Abbot appointed, within the Limits of his Juriſdiction, who had not firſt publicly received, without Reſtriction or Limitation, the preſent Conſtitution [p]. The Patriarchs were all ſtrictly injoined to receive it; and for that Purpoſe Duplicates of it were ſent, by the Emperor's Order, to thoſe of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, of *Jeruſalem*, and likewiſe to *the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed Pope and Patriarch of* Old Rome, Vigilius. For the Emperor required the Pope to receive it, as well as the other Patriarchs; which, in Truth, was dictating to him, in Matters of Faith, as well as to the other Patriarchs.

Year of Chriſt 541.

He orders all the Patriarchs, and the Pope himſelf, to receive his Edict or Conſtitution.

Origen, and his Followers, being thus condemned, *Juſtinian*, out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, reſolved to proceed in the ſame manner againſt the *Acephali*; and oblige all Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtics in his Dominions, publicly to anathematize the Tenets of that Sect, and publicly receive the Decree of *Chalcedon*, eſtabliſhing Two Natures in Chriſt, on Pain of forfeiting their Sees, and every other Preferment they enjoyed in the Church. To ward that Blow, and, at the ſame time, to be revenged on *Pelagius*, on *Mennas*, and on the other Sticklers for the Council of *Chalcedon*, who had adviſed the Emperor to condemn *Origen*, *Theodorus*, Metropolitan of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who held that Writer in great Veneration, and was, in his Heart, a zealous *Eutychian*, repreſented to *Juſtinian*, that the Edict, which he deſigned to iſſue againſt the *Acephali*, would, in all Likelihood, be attended with great Diſturbances, whereas he could aſſure him, that the *Eutychians* were all to a Man diſpoſed to receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, upon certain Terms which none could ſcruple to grant, who had the leaſt Spark of Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church. The Terms, which, he ſaid, they required, were, Firſt, That *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, whom he ſtyled the Ma-

The Emperor reſolves to proceed in the ſame manner againſt the Acephali.

Year of Chriſt 542.

But is diverted from it by Theodorus *of* Cæſarea, *and adviſed to condemn certain Writings.*

[p] Apud Bar. ann. 538. p. 300—312.

Year of Chriſt 542.

ſter of *Neſtorius*, ſhould be anathematized, together with his Writings. 2dly, That the Books, which *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* had publiſhed againſt St. *Cyril*, ſhould be condemned. And, 3dly, That the Letter ſhould be condemned, which *Ibas* of *Edeſſa* had written to one *Maris* a *Perſian*, concerning the Council of *Epheſus*, and Condemnation of *Neſtorius*. Theſe Writings, ſaid *Theodorus*, give great Offence to the *Acephali*; and their imagining them to have been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, is what alone reſtrains them from receiving that Council.

What thoſe Writings were.

In the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, who was raiſed to that See in 394. were ſeveral Expreſſions that ſeemed to favour the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*. But, as he wrote before that Doctrine was condemned by the Council of *Epheſus*, the Council of *Chalcedon* would not condemn him as a Heretic, the rather, as in other Paſſages he ſeemed to acknowlege One Perſon and Two Natures in Chriſt. *Theodoret* was employed by *John* of *Antioch*, his Patriarch, to confute the *impious Doctrines* of *Cyril*, as the Patriarch ſtyled them [q]; and the Council of *Chalcedon*, ſatisfied with his condemning the Tenets of *Neſtorius*, did not oblige him to retract or condemn what he wrote on that Occaſion. *Ibas* ſucceeded *Rabulas* in the See of *Edeſſa*, about the Year 430. While he was yet Presbyter of that Church, he wrote to one *Maris*, a *Perſian*, and perhaps a Biſhop, in that Neighbourhood, acquainting him with the Quarrel between *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, and the Condemnation of the latter. In his Letter he charged the Fathers of *Epheſus* with Raſhneſs and Precipitation, in giving Sentence againſt *Neſtorius*; found great Fault with the Doctrine, and more with the Conduct, of *Cyril* on that Occaſion; and, reflecting, in the ſharpeſt Terms, on *Rabulas*, who had not long before anathematized *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, as the firſt Author of the *Neſtorian* Hereſy, beſtowed, in Oppoſition to him, the higheſt Encomiums on that Writer. This Letter was read in the Council of *Chalcedon*; and ſome of the Fathers of that Aſſembly, upon hearing it, and finding *Ibas* there acknowleged One Perſon and Two Natures in Chriſt, declared his Faith to be intirely Orthodox, without cenſuring the Commendations he beſtowed on the Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, or requiring him to retract what he had written againſt *Cyril* and *Rabulas* [r].

[q] See Vol. I. p. 392.

[r] Concil. t. 4. p. 680. Facund. l. 6. c. 1, 2.

As

As none of theſe Writers had been condemned, nor their Writings cenſured, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to cenſure or condemn them afterwards, was, in ſome degree, cenſuring and condemning that Council: And that the Metropolitan of *Cæſarea* had in View, in engaging the Emperor to condemn them. For *Juſtinian* readily fell in with the Propoſal, being fully ſatisfied, that he ſhould thereby gain over the *Acephali*, as had been ſuggeſted by *Theodorus*, and not aware, ſays *Liberatus* [s], of the Views of the Party, nor ſufficiently on his Guard againſt the Craft and Wiles of deſigning Men. An Edict was therefore immediately iſſued, condemning as *heretical*, as *impious*, *wicked*, and *blaſphemous*, the Three above-mentioned Pieces, which became afterwards ſo famous under the Name of *The Three Chapters*, a Name, ſays *Liberatus* [t], for our Sins, but too well known. The Edict was intituled, *The Emperor* Juſtinian's *Confeſſion of Faith, addreſſed to the Aſſembly of the Catholic and Apoſtolic Church.* It contains an Expoſition at large of the Catholic Faith, which the Emperor propoſes to the whole World, in order to unite all Chriſtians in one Belief. He begins with explaining the Catholic Faith concerning the Trinity; then paſſes to the Myſtery of the Incarnation; and, having anathematized the various Errors concerning that Myſtery, and thoſe who broached or maintained them, namely, *Arius*, *Eunomius*, *Macedonius*, *Apollinaris*, *Neſtorius*, and *Eutyches*, he adds to his other Anathemas one againſt *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, and his Writings; another againſt the Books which *Theodoret* wrote againſt *Cyril*; and the Third againſt the Letter of *Ibas* to *Maris* the *Perſian*. He pretends that the Writings which he condemns, were all condemned before by the Council of *Chalcedon*; which was certainly falſe. Not ſatisfied with condemning the Letter of *Ibas*, he anathematizes all who ſhould maintain it, or any Part of it, to be Orthodox, which, in the Opinion of *Facundus*, was evidently contradicting the Council of *Chalcedon*, ſince the Fathers of that Aſſembly had, according ro him, from that very Letter, concluded the Faith of *Ibas* to be Orthodox [u].

Year of Chriſt 542.

The Deſign of Theodorus *in adviſing the Emperor to condemn them.*

Juſtinian *condemns them under the Name of the* Three Chapters.

This Edict alarmed the Orthodox Party, and much more the poſitive Order ſent by the Emperor to all the Patriarchs, enjoining them to receive it. *Mennas* of *Conſtantinople*, *Zoilus* of *Alexandria*, *Ephrem* of *Antioch*, and *Peter* of *Jeruſalem*, remonſtrated againſt it in the ſtrongeſt Terms, as highly injurious to the Council of *Chal-*

Enjoins all Patriarchs to receive his Edict condemning them.

[s] Liberat. in Breviar. prope fin. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Facund. pro defenſ. cap. l. 1.

cedon,

Year of Christ 542.

cedon, and ſuggeſted by the *Acephali* with no other View, but to derogate from the Authority of that Council. But, finding the Emperor would hearken to no Remonſtrances, they complied in the End, and choſe rather to ſign the Edict, however injurious to the Council of *Chalcedon*, than to forfeit their Sees, and be driven into Exile; for the Emperor threatened with Depoſition and Exile all, without Diſtinction, who did not receive it. The Example of the Patriarchs was followed by the far greater Part of their Suffragans: ſo that the Edict was, in a very ſhort time, received, and the Three Chapters condemned, by almoſt all the Biſhops in the Eaſt. But in the Weſt it met with a no leſs vigorous than general Oppoſition. *Vigilius*, and the other Biſhops of *Italy*, as well as thoſe of *Gaul* and *Africa*, all declared unanimouſly againſt it, as evidently ſtriking at what they called the very Foundation of the Catholic Faith, the Authority of Councils. This Oppoſition the Emperor aſcribed chiefly to *Vigilius*; and therefore ſent him a peremptory Order to repair, without Delay, to *Conſtantinople*, not doubting but, having him once in his Power, he ſhould be able to prevail upon him, by ſome means or other, by Force or Perſuaſions, by Threats or by Promiſes, to acquieſce in the Edict; which, he thought, would put an End to all Oppoſition in the Weſt. In Compliance with this Order, the Pope ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, in the latter End of the preſent Year, much againſt his Will, ſays *Victor Tununenſis*, foreſeeing the Storm that threatened him, and apprehending the Diſpleaſure of the Emperor, if he did not yield, and the Reproaches of the Weſtern Biſhops, if he did.

The Three Chapters condemned by almoſt all the Eaſtern Biſhops.

The Imperial Edict is oppoſed by the Weſtern Biſhops.

The Pope ordered to repair to Conſtantinople.

The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that, at his Departure, the *Roman* People, highly incenſed againſt him on account of the Death of *Silverius*, and his unheard-of Cruelty (for he charges him with having killed his own Secretary in a Tranſport of Paſſion, and having cauſed his own Siſter's Son to be whipped to Death), purſued him with Curſes, and Showers of Stones, to the *Tiber*, where he embarked, crying out, *Hunger and Peſtilence go with thee! Evil haſt thou done to us, and may Evil overtake thee where-ever thou art*[w]! But the Authority of *Anaſtaſius* is not to be relied on; for he tells us in the ſame Place, that the Empreſs, to be revenged on *Vigilius* for not communicating with the *Acephali*, agreeably to his Promiſe, diſpatched one *Anthimus* with Orders to apprehend him, and bring him Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*; that he was accordingly ſeized in the

The Bibliothecarian's *Account of his Departure from* Rome.

[w] Anaſt. in Vigil.

Church

Church of *St. Cæcilia*, and, being put on board a Veſſel that lay in the *Tiber*, conveyed ſtrait into the Eaſt. But *Procopius* [x], *Victor Tununenſis* [y], and *Facundus* [z], who lived at that very time, aſcribe his Journey to a poſitive Order he received from the Emperor. Year of Chriſt 542.

As *Rome* was then cloſely beſieged by the brave *Totila* King of the *Goths*, and reduced to great Streights for want of Proviſions, the Pope, in his Way to *Conſtantinople*, landed in *Sicily*, with a Deſign to ſend from thence a Supply of Corn to the diſtreſſed City. He ſent accordingly a great Number of Veſſels, laden with Corn; but unluckily they fell all into the Enemy's Hands, and, with them, *Valentinus*, Biſhop of *Silva Candida*, now *Santa Ruffina*, in *Tuſcany*, whom *Vigilius* had appointed to govern the *Roman* Church in his Abſence, with the Character of his *Vicar*. The Biſhop was immediately carried to the King, who, having narrowly examined him, and found him in ſeveral Inſtances inconſiſtent with himſelf, ordered both his Hands to be cut off [a]. *He ſends from* Sicily *a Supply of Corn to* Rome, *which is intercepted by the Enemy.* Year of Chriſt 545.

While *Vigilius* was ſtill in *Sicily*, he received Advice from *Stephen*, who had ſucceeded *Pelagius* with the Character of Nuncio from the Apoſtolic See to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, that a Council had been held there, and the Three Chapters condemned by almoſt all the Biſhops, who were preſent. As it was to aſſiſt in Perſon at a Council, in which the Subject of the Diſpute concerning the Three Chapters, was, as the Emperor pretended, to be impartially examined, that the Pope had been ſummoned into the Eaſt, he was no leſs ſurpriſed than provoked to hear, that the Council had met, and taken ſuch a Step, without his Concurrence, or even his Knowlege. Upon the Firſt Notice, therefore, of what had paſſed, he wrote to the Emperor, begging, that whatever had been done in his Abſence, might be declared null; and at the ſame time to *Mennas*, who had preſided at the Council, and ſigned the Imperial Edict againſt the Three Chapters, threatening to cut him off from his Communion, if he did not withdraw his Subſcription. The Emperor, in Anſwer to his Letter, aſſured the Pope, that he had nothing in View but the Purity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church; that, as to the Affair of the Three Chapters, he did not at all queſtion, but, were his Holineſs preſent, it would, by his Means, be ſettled to the intire Satisfaction of both Parties; and therefore earneſtly intreated him to purſue, without farther Delays, his Journey to the Imperial City, where he had *He learns in* Sicily, *that a Council had been held at* Conſtantinople, *and the* Three Chapters *had been condemned by it without him.* *But is prevailed upon by the Emperor to purſue his Journey.* Year of Chriſt 546.

[x] Procop. bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 15. [y] Vict. Tun. ad ann. 544. [z] Facund. l. 4. c. 3. [a] Procop. bel. Goth. l. 3. c. 15.

been

Year of Christ 546.

been long expected by a great Number of holy Biſhops, and himſelf, all ready to concur with him in ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould be judged the moſt proper to put an End to the preſent, and prevent all future Diſputes.

Arrives at Conſtantinople.

Year of Chriſt 547.

The Pope, encouraged by the kind Expreſſions the Emperor uſed in his Letter, ſet out from *Sicily* in the latter End of the Year 546. and, arriving at *Conſtantinople* on the 25th of *January* 547. was there received with uncommon Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, both by *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, flattering themſelves, ſays *Theophanes*, that he might thus be gained over to their Meaſures. But he had yet been but a few Days in *Conſtantinople*, when he not only declared againſt the Imperial Edict, condemning the Three Chapters, as evidently derogating from the Authority of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, but excluded from his Communion *Mennas*, and, with him, all the Biſhops who had ſigned or received it. This Conduct in the Pope obliged the Emperor to change his. Having therefore ſent for *Vigilius* to the Imperial Palace, and there, in a private Conference, attempted, but in vain, to convince him, that the Condemnation of the Three Chapters was no-ways derogatory to the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, he told him at laſt, in plain Terms, that, ſince the impious Doctrine of *Neſtorius* was evidently contained in the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, of *Theodoret*, and *Ibas*, he muſt either join the other Patriarchs, who had all condemned them, or lay aſide all Thoughts of ever returning to *Rome* or *Italy*, where his Preſence would only ſerve to increaſe and maintain the Miſunderſtanding that began to prevail between the Eaſt and the Weſt. Of this Violence the Pope loudly complained, as more becoming a *Dioclefian* than a Chriſtian Prince; and at the ſame time let the Emperor know, that though he might diſpoſe of his Perſon as he thought fit, his Authority was not capable of Reſtraint or Controul; and that no Force or Violence ſhould ever induce him to proſtitute that Authority to the wicked Views and Deſigns of thoſe, who were alike Enemies to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholic Faith. But the Reſolution and Firmneſs, ſhewn by *Vigilius* on this Occaſion, ſoon forſook him; and a few Months after, the Deſire he had of returning to *Rome* prevailing over the Regard he pretended to have for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholic Faith, he not only readmitted to his Communion the Biſhops who had ſigned the Imperial Edict, but, the following Year, ſeeing nothing would ſatisfy the Emperor but a ſolemn Con-

He declares againſt the Imperial Edict, and excludes from his Communion all who received it.

But yields to the Menaces of the Emperor; and condemns the Three Chapters in a Council of 70 Biſhops, by a ſolemn Decree ſtyled Judicatum.

Year of Chriſt 548.

Condemnation of the Three Chapters, he ſolemnly condemned them in a Council conſiſting of Seventy Biſhops, aſſembled for that Purpoſe in *Conſtantinople*. It was on that Occaſion he iſſued the famous Decree ſtyled *Judicatum*, containing the Condemnation of the above-mentioned Articles, and, with it, a ſolemn Declaration, that he did not thereby intend to derogate in the leaſt from the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, tho' he had till then maintained the Condemnation of thoſe Articles to be evidently derogatory to the Authority of that Council. Year of Chriſt 548.

The *Judicatum* was a definitive Sentence pronounced by the Pope in a Council, and approved by the far greater Part of the Biſhops, who compoſed that Aſſembly. And yet, of the many Biſhops in the Weſt, who ſtood up in Defence of the Three Chapters condemned there by the Pope, not one acquieſced in that Sentence, but all declared loudly againſt it; nay, *Facundus*, of *Hermiana* in *Africa*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, taxed the Pope, to his Face, with Perfidiouſneſs, Venality, and Prevarication, with favouring the *Acephali*, and betraying underhand the Catholic Cauſe[y]. The Biſhops of *Illyricum* not only condemned the *Judicatum*, in a very numerous Synod aſſembled to examine that Decree; but depoſed *Benenatus*, Metropolitan of *Juſtiniana Prima*, for pretending to defend it in Oppoſition to the reſt of his Brethren[z]. The *African* Biſhops went ſtill farther: for they, not ſatisfied with rejecting the *Judicatum*, in a full Council, as tending to eſtabliſh the *Eutychian* Hereſy on the Ruins of the Catholic Faith, ſeparated themſelves, with one Conſent, from the Communion of the Pope, nay, and declared him unworthy of the Catholic Communion, unleſs, returning to himſelf, he repented, and repaired, ſo far as in him lay, the Miſchief he had done[a]. *Vigilius* was, on this Occaſion, abandoned, and warmly oppoſed, even by ſome of his own Eccleſiaſtics, whom he had brought with him in his Retinue to *Conſtantinople*, namely, by the Two Deacons *Ruſticus* and *Sebaſtianus*, by ſeveral Subdeacons, by the Defenders of the *Roman* Church, and by his own Secretary and Notaries. Theſe, ſeparating themſelves, with the Two Deacons at their Head, from the Communion of their Biſhop, wrote Letters, in Juſtification of their Conduct, to their Friends and Correſpondents in the different Provinces of the Weſt, eſpecially in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and

What Regard paid to that Decree in the Weſt.

Condemned by the Biſhops of Illyricum. Year of Chriſt 549.

Vigilius *excommunicated by the* African *Biſhops.* Year of Chriſt 550.

His own Eccleſiaſtics ſeparate themſelves from his Communion.

[y] Facund. contr. Mocian. ad ann. 550. [z] Vict. Tunun. ad ann. 549. [a] Vict. Tun.

Year of Chriſt 548.

Africa, acquainting them with the Fall, Prevarication, and, as they ſtyled it, Apoſtaſy, of *Vigilius*. At the ſame time the Deacon *Ruſticus*, who is ſaid to have been one of the moſt learned Men of the *Roman* Church, publiſhed a Treatiſe in Defence of the Three Chapters, filled with moſt bitter Reflections on *Vigilius*, whom he painted there as a ſecret Friend to the *Acephali*, as an Enemy to the Council of *Chalcedon*, as one who was ready to ſacrifice both the Church, and the Faith, to the Will of the Emperor [b].

Vigilius *repents what he had done.*

The Pope, alarmed at ſo general an Oppoſition, began to repent what he had done; and even to entertain ſome Thoughts of revoking the *Judicatum*, which had given ſo great Offence to his Collegues in the Weſt. But the Emperor, on the other hand, was unalterably bent on the Condemnation of the Three Chapters; had even written in Defence of the *Judicatum*, againſt the Biſhops of *Africa* and *Illyricum*; and had ſent thoſe among them into Exile, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt by their Warmth in oppoſing it. *Vigilius*, therefore, not doubting but he ſhould meet with the like, if not a more ſevere Treatment, were he to revoke a Decree, which the Emperor ſeemed determined, at all Events, to maintain, continued thundering Anathemas againſt all who did not receive it; tho' he was, at this very time, firmly reſolved, in his own Mind, to revoke it, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity of executing, without Danger, the Reſolution he had taken. To his Anathemas the Biſhops of the oppoſite Party paid no kind of Regard; but, retorting them upon him, ſeparated themſelves from his Communion, and from the Communion of all who did not anathematize both his *Judicatum* and him. Thus was the whole Church rent, to uſe the Expreſſion of *Juſtinian*, from Eaſt to Weſt; the Decree of the Pope, which the Emperor had flattered himſelf would have put an End to the Diſpute, ſerving only to increaſe the Animoſities that prevailed before, and render the Two Parties more averſe to each other, and more irreconcileable. This *Vigilius* himſelf, who wanted only a plauſible Pretence to recall his Decree, repreſented to the Emperor in the ſtrongeſt Terms, adding, that, ſince the *Judicatum* had been iſſued without the Conſent and Approbation, and even without the Knowlege, of the Weſtern Biſhops, they were not, after all, ſo greatly to blame for not receiving it. But, were the Three Chapters condemned in a General Council, none would dare to oppoſe the

He over-reaches the Emperor, and gets his Judicatum *revoked.*

[b] Concil. l. 1. n. 25. p. 1228.

Sentence

Sentence and Judgment of ſuch an Aſſembly. He therefore adviſed the Emperor to aſſemble one, as the only Means of compoſing the preſent unhappy Diviſions, to ſummon the Weſtern Biſhops to it, eſpecially thoſe of *Africa* and *Illyricum*; and in the mean time, leſt they ſhould think themſelves only ſummoned to approve or condemn what was already approved or condemned, to leave Matters in the Condition they were in before the Imperial Edict, and the *Judicatum*, were publiſhed. The Emperor, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt the Sincerity of *Vigilius*, conſented to the Propoſal as ſoon as it was offered; and it was agreed, that no Regard ſhould be had to any former Determination concerning the Points in Diſpute, but that the Whole ſhould be referred to the Deciſion of a Council, at which the Weſtern Biſhops ſhould be preſent, thoſe eſpecially of *Africa* and *Illyricum*, who had ſignalized themſelves above the reſt in the Defence of the Three Chapters. The Pope was well appriſed, that the Weſtern Biſhops would not be eaſily prevailed upon to aſſiſt at a Council held in *Conſtantinople*, where they could not but know, that they ſhould be obliged in the End to ſubmit to the Will of the Emperor; and it was only to gain Time, and for the ſake of a Pretence to get the *Judicatum*, in the mean while, revoked, that he propoſed the Aſſembling of a Council, at which the Biſhops both of the Eaſt and the Weſt ſhould aſſiſt. Of this *Juſtinian* was not aware, and therefore, acquieſcing in the Propoſal of *Vigilius*, ſummoned the Biſhops in the different Provinces of the Empire to meet, without Delay, at *Conſtantinople*, and there determine, by their unbyaſſed Suffrages, the preſent Diſpute. The Eaſtern Biſhops met at the appointed Time, and, with them, ſome from *Italy*, but Two only from *Africa*, and not one from *Illyricum*. The Emperor waited ſome time, with great Impatience, the Arrival of other Biſhops from the Weſt; but, finding they declined, under various Pretences, complying with his Summons, and at the ſame time apprehending he had been over-reached by the Pope, in agreeing to refer the Deciſion of the Controverſy to the Judgment of a Council, at which the Biſhops of *Africa* and *Illyricum* ſhould be preſent, ordered thoſe, who were then at *Conſtantinople*, and *Vigilius* among the reſt, to aſſemble without them. This occaſioned a warm Diſpute between the Pope and the Emperor, the Pope pretending, that, by the Terms of the Agreement, the Council was not to meet till the Arrival of the Weſtern Biſhops; and the Emperor, that he had fulfilled the Agreement by ſummoning them to

Year of Chriſt 550.

A General Council aſſembled by the Emperor, at the Requeſt of the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 551.

The Weſtern Biſhops decline aſſiſting at the Council.

Year of Christ 551.

the Council; that, since they had not thought fit to obey that Summons, it was not reasonable, that those, who had, should be kept any longer at a Distance from their Sees. The Pope declared, that, since the Number of Western Bishops at *Constantinople* was yet so very inconsiderable, he would neither assist at the Council, till others arrived, nor receive the Decisions of such an Assembly as the Decisions of a Council. His thus refusing to assist at the Council without the Western Bishops, when he knew they could not be prevailed upon to come to it, convinced the Emperor, that he designed to change Sides, and that he only wanted to gain Time, and had, with that View, proposed the Assembling of a General Council. *Justinian* therefore, not thinking himself bound to wait the Decision of a Council, pursuant to the late Agreement between him and the Pope, issued a new Edict, and caused it to be set up in the great Church, and other public Places of the Imperial City, condemning the Three Chapters in the strongest Terms, and anathematizing all, without Distinction, who should thenceforth presume to defend them. Against this Edict *Vigilius* loudly exclaimed, as an open Violation of the late Agreement, as highly injurious to the Authority of the Apostolic See, and of the Ecclesiastical Order in general, to whom alone it belonged, as he pretended, to define and decide in all Matters of Faith and Religion. Having therefore assembled both the *Latin* and *Greek* Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, in the Palace of *Placidia*, where he lodged during his Stay in that City, he there solemnly protested, in their Presence, against the Imperial Edict; earnestly intreated them to use what Interest they had with the Emperor to get it revoked, or, at least, suspended till the Meeting of the Council; and, lastly, exerting *the Authority of St.* Peter *vested in him*, declared all, who should sign, receive, or any-ways approve it, suspended, the Moment they did so, from the Communion of the Prime Apostle, and that of his See. At the same time *Dacius* of *Milan*, who was present at that Meeting, after inveighing with great Warmth and Liberty against the Edict, as calculated to shake the very Foundation of the Catholic Faith, the Authority of Oecumenical Councils [as if the Catholic Faith had no better Foundation], let his Collegues know, with great Noise and Bawling, *magna vociferatione*, that they must either condemn and reject that Edict, or renounce his Communion,

And likewise the Pope.

Justinian, *by a new Edict, condemns the* Three Chapters.

His Edict opposed by the Pope, and the Western Bishops.

Communion, and not his only, but that of all their Brethren in *Gaul*, *Burgundy*, *Spain*, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, and *Venetia* [c]. Year of Chriſt 551.

Of the many Eaſtern Biſhops, who were preſent, not one joined the Pope but *Zoilus* of *Alexandria*, who was thereupon depoſed the ſame Day by an Order from the Emperor. As for *Vigilius*, he privately withdrew, as ſoon as the Aſſembly broke up, from the Palace of *Placidia*, and, with *Dacius* of *Milan*, took Refuge in the Church of *St. Peter*. But the Emperor was too much provoked to pay any Regard to the Sacredneſs of the Place; and therefore ordered the Prætor, whoſe Province it was to apprehend Thieves, Robbers, Murderers, and ſuch-like Criminals, to ſeize on *Vigilius* even in the Church, and drag him, as a common Malefactor, from the Altar itſelf, ſhould he there take Sanctuary, to the public Gaol. In Compliance with this Order, the Prætor entered the Church at the Head of a numerous Band of his own Men, ſupported by a Body of regular Troops, to awe the Populace, and prevent the Diſturbances they might raiſe on ſuch an extraordinary Occaſion. The Prætor no ſooner appeared, than the Pope, who expected no ſuch Viſit, not thinking the Emperor would have come to ſuch Extremities, flew, in great Conſternation, to the Shrine of the Martyr St. *Sergius*, and, embraceing the Pillars that ſupported the Altar over the Shrine, continued there, while the Eccleſiaſtics, who attended him, ſtrove to divert the Prætor from ſo wicked an Attempt, from laying violent Hands on the Firſt Biſhop of the Catholic Church, at the very Shrine and Altar of ſo renowned a Martyr and Saint. But the Prætor, not hearkening to them, ordered his Men to ſeize the refractory Biſhop, who, ſeizing him accordingly, ſome by the Feet, others by the Hair, and ſome by the Beard, ſtrove to force him from his Sanctuary. But as the Pope, who was a Man of an uncommon Size, and of Strength in proportion to his Size, in ſpite of all their Efforts, ſtill kept his Hold, the Pillars gave Way, and the Altar fell down. In the mean time the Populace, who are commonly on the Side of thoſe who ſuffer, whether guilty or innocent, flocking to the Church at the Noiſe, and touched with Compaſſion in ſeeing a Biſhop ſo cruelly uſed, without any Regard to his Rank and Character, fell on the Prætor with ſuch Fury, that, not being duly ſupported by the Soldiery, he was glad to ſave himſelf by Flight, and leave the Pope ſafe

The Pope flies to a Sanctuary.

The Emperor orders him to be taken from thence.

But he is reſcued by the Populace.

[c] Vigil. ep. Encylii, & Cler. Ital. ad legat. Childeb.

in

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in his Aſylum [d]. This proved a great Diſappointment to the Emperor, who was reſolved to employ Arguments, which, he well knew, *Vigilius* was not a Man to have long withſtood, had he had him in his Power.

A ſolemn Deputation ſent him by the Emperor.

The Emperor, being informed of what had paſſed, ſent, the next Day, a ſolemn Deputation to the Pope, conſiſting of ſeveral Perſons of the Firſt Rank, among whom were *Beliſarius*, and *Juſtin*, the Emperor's own Nephew, and afterwards his Succeſſor in the Empire. Theſe were to perſuade the Pope to quit his Aſylum, and return to the Palace of *Placidia*; to promiſe, upon Oath, in the Emperor's Name, that, if he returned of his own accord, he ſhould meet with no ill Treatment; but to let him know, at the ſame time, that, if he did not return upon ſuch Aſſurance, neither the Church, where he had taken Shelter, nor the turbulent and rebellious Mob, in whom he ſeemed chiefly to confide, would ſcreen him from the Puniſhment due to his treaſonable Obſtinacy and Diſobedience.

He is prevailed upon to quit his Aſylum.

Vigilius thought it adviſeable to comply, nay, and to acquieſce in the Form of the Oath, which the Deputies were to take, as it was worded by the Emperor, though he was well appriſed, that it might be eaſily eluded, and ſcarce afforded him any kind of Safety (A). He had accordingly no ſooner

[d] Vigil. & Cler. Ital. ibid. Theoph. ad ann. 544. & 547.

(A) This Oath the Deputies took, in the Emperor's Name, touching the Keys of St. *Peter* (what Keys I know not), and a Croſs, in which was incloſed a Piece of the holy Croſs, and ſwearing by them (1). To ſwear by any Creature whatever, either in Heaven or on Earth, was looked upon, in the time of *Optatus*, that is, towards the latter End of the Fourth Century, as rank Idolatry. For that Writer charges the *Donatiſts* with Impiety, Sacrilege, and Idolatry, in ſwearing by *Donatus*, and the Martyrs of their Sect, whereas Men, ſays he, ought to ſwear by God alone; and to ſwear by a Creature, is transferring to a Creature the Worſhip which is due to none but to God (2). But what was deemed Impiety, Sacrilege, and Idolatry, in the time of *Optatus*, became afterwards the common Practice of the Church, Men ſwearing ſometimes only by Angels, and Saints, or the Reliques of Saints; and ſometimes by God and the Saints; but ſeldom or never by God alone. In one of *Juſtinian*'s Novels, we have the Form of the Oath which he obliged all Governors of Provinces to take, when they firſt entered upon their Office. It was as follows: "I ſwear by God Almighty, "and his only begotten Son our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, and the Holy Ghoſt, and "the moſt holy glorious Mother of God, "and ever Virgin *Mary*, and by the Four "Goſpels, which I hold in my Hand, and "by the holy Archangels *Michael* and "*Gabriel*, that I will keep a pure Conſcience, and pay faithful and true Allegiance to their moſt ſacred Majeſties

(1) Vigil. ep. 7. t. 1. Epiſt. Rom. Pont. l. 2. p. 58.

(2) Optat. l. 3. p. 65. 69. &

"*Juſtinian*,

ſooner quitted his Aſylum, than the Emperor began anew to inſiſt, with Threats and Menaces, on his receiving the Edict againſt the Three Chapters, or, at leaſt, admitting thoſe to his Communion who received it. *Vigilius* could not be prevailed upon to do either: and the Evils he ſuffered on that account, notwithſtanding the Oath which the Emperor had taken, were, as he informs us, quite inexpreſſible[e]. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that he was one Day dragged through the chief Streets of *Conſtantinople*, with a Rope about his Neck; that, another Day, one of the Emperor's Officers, ſtriking him on the Face, reproached him with the Murder of his Predeceſſor, and of the Son of a Widow, whom he beat, or cauſed to be beaten, to Death; that he himſelf was once beaten almoſt to Death by the Miniſters of the Emperor's Cruelty and Revenge, and carried, in that Condition, to the public Gaol, where he was kept for ſome time upon Bread and Water[f]. But with theſe Particulars the contemporary Writers ſeem to have been utterly unacquainted; though they all agree, that he was treated with great Severity: Inſomuch that the Emperor, apprehending he might be tempted, by the evil Treatment he met with, to return to his Aſylum, and there, as he had the Mob on his Side, bid him Defiance, ordered Centries to be placed round

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Is ill uſed by the Emperor, and in a manner kept Priſoner.

[e] Vigil. ep. 7. [f] Anaſt. & Platin. in Vigil.

" *Juſtinian*, and *Theodora* his Conſort, " who have put me into this Office. And " I ſwear by the ſame Oath, that I nei- " ther gave, nor will give, nor promiſed " to give, any thing whatever to any one, " for his Patronage and Intereſt in pro- " curing me this Adminiſtration; but as " I received it without Bribery, ſo I will " execute it with Purity, and be ſatisfied " with the public Salary that is appointed " me (3)." *Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God*, ſays *Moſes* (4), *and ſhalt ſerve him only, and ſwear by his Name. How ſhall I be favourable unto thee?* ſays God by the Prophet *Jeremiah* (5); *thy Children have forſaken me, and ſworn by thoſe who are no Gods.* To ſwear, therefore, *by thoſe who are no Gods*, by Saints, by Reliques, by the Croſs, is forſaking God, and beſtowing on Creatures the Worſhip that is due to him alone. However, Men are allowed, by the Catechiſm of *Trent* (6), to ſwear by the Croſs, and the Reliques of Saints; and in the Church of *Rome*, few Oaths are now adminiſtred in the Name of God alone. When the Emperors came to *Rome*, to take the Imperial Diadem at the Pope's Hands, the following Oath was tendered them, " I King of the *Romans* ſwear by " the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and " by the Wood of the Croſs, and by theſe " Reliques," *&c.* In this Oath the Wood of the Croſs, and the Reliques of Saints, are placed in the ſame Rank with the Trinity, and are conſequently honoured with the ſame divine Worſhip. This kind of Idolatry ſeems to have crept into the Church in the time of *Juſtinian*, the abovementioned Oath, which he obliged all Governors of Provinces to take, being the firſt of that Nature which I find to have been allowed by the Church.

(3) Juſtin. Novel. 9. (4) Deut. vi. 13. (5) Jer. v. 9. (6) In ſecund. Præcept. Decal. p. 267.

the

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the Palace where he lodged, and all the Avenues to it to be carefully guarded Night and Day by regular Troops. The Sight of the Troops alarmed the Pope to ſuch a degree, that, looking upon every Day as the laſt of his Life, he reſolved, at all Events, to attempt an Eſcape.

But makes his Eſcape, and gets ſafe to Chalcedon.

He attempted it ſoon after; and, climbing, by the Favour of a dark Night, over a Wall that was building, but was not yet raiſed to its due Height, got ſafe and unobſerved to the Sea-ſide. There he embarked on a ſmall Veſſel, and, croſſing over to *Chalcedon*, on the oppoſite Shore, took Sanctuary in the Church of the Martyr *St. Euphemia*, the moſt revered Aſylum of all the Eaſt g.

Is invited, by a ſolemn Deputation from the Emperor, to return to Conſtantinople.

The Emperor was greatly diſturbed at the Flight of *Vigilius*; the rather, as he could not doubt but the Pope, mindful of the ill Uſage he had met with, would be more upon his Guard, and be hardly prevailed upon to put himſelf again in his Power. However, he diſpatched to *Chalcedon* the ſame Perſons whom he had employed in the former Deputation, to treat with him about his Return to *Conſtantinople*, charging them to agree to the Terms, with reſpect to his Safety, which he himſelf ſhould require. But *Vigilius*, finding himſelf now in a Place where he could apprehend no Violence, becauſe it would not have been ſafe for the Emperor, or his Miniſters, to have uſed any; and, on the other hand, knowing, by Experience, how little he could depend on the Faith of the *Greeks*, told the Deputies, that they attempted in vain to entice him, with fair Words and Promiſes, from his Aſylum; that there he was ſafe, and there he was determined to continue, till the Scandal was removed, which had raiſed ſuch Diſturbances in the Church; that is, till the Imperial Edict condemning the Three Chapters was revoked, and the Deciſion of the Diſpute concerning them was left intire to the unbyaſſed Judgment of a General Council, purſuant to the former Agreement between him and the Emperor. *Juſtinian* thought it the Height of Inſolence in the Pope to require him to revoke an Edict which he had but lately iſſued, and cauſed to be ſet up, with great Solemnity, in all the public Places of the Imperial City. Hoever, as he was extremely deſirous, that the Council ſhould meet, not doubting but the Three Chapters would be condemned by the far greater Part of the Biſhops who compoſed it, he yielded at laſt; revoked the Edict; and, that no Pretence might be left for the Pope,

He returns, upon the Emperor's revoking his Edict.

g Vigil. ubi ſupra.

and the Weſtern Biſhops, to abſent themſelves from the Council, declared anew, void and null whatever had been done, till that time, for or againſt the Points in Diſpute g. Year of Chriſt 552.

With that Declaration the Pope pretended to be ſatisfied; and therefore leaving *Chalcedon* towards the Latter-end of the preſent Year 552. he returned at laſt to *Conſtantinople*. There he received, a few Days after his Arrival, a Letter from *Eutychius*, who had ſucceeded the Patriarch *Mennas*, deceaſed ſome Months before, containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, leſt his Orthodoxy ſhould be called in Queſtion, and, at the ſame time, earneſtly intreating the Pope, that ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Peace and Unity of the Church, that the preſent Controverſy concerning the Three Chapters ſhould be determined in an Aſſembly of Biſhops, his Holineſs would be pleaſed to concur with his Brethren in determining it, and thereby put a ſpeedy End to the fatal Diviſions that had already but too long prevailed among the Biſhops, who profeſſed the ſame Faith and Religion. That no room might be left for Diſputes about Place or Precedency, *Eutychius* generouſly yielded the Firſt Place to the Pope, telling him, in his Letter, that his Holineſs ſhould preſide; that the controverted Points ſhould be fairly and impartially examined; and that, the Four Holy Goſpels being placed in the midſt of the Aſſembly, nothing ſhould be determined but what was agreeable to the Definitions and Doctrine of the Four Oecumenical Councils; not of the Four Goſpels, which indeed were allowed a Place in all Councils, but were ſcarce ever conſulted, or opened. This Letter was addreſſed, by *Eutychius*, *to the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed* Vigilius, *his Fellow-Biſhop*; and ſigned by him, and Three other Patriarchs; *viz.* by *Apollinaris*, who had been intruded into the Sea of *Alexandria*, in the room of *Zoilus*, by *Domnus* of *Antioch*, and by *Elias* of *Theſſalonica*. *Is intreated by the Biſhops of* Conſtantinople *to aſſiſt at the Council.*

To that Propoſal *Vigilius* agreed, by a Letter dated the 8th of *January* 553. and addreſſed *to his well-beloved Brother* Eutychius, *and the Biſhops under his Juriſdiction.* But, at the ſame time, he repreſented to the Emperor, that were he to aſſiſt, and even to preſide, at a Council conſiſting chiefly of Eaſtern Biſhops, it was greatly to be apprehended, that his Brethren in the Weſt would not acquieſce in the Decrees and Deciſions of ſuch an Aſſembly. He there- Vigilius *conſents to the aſſembling of a Council, and promiſes to aſſiſt at it in Perſon.* Year of Chriſt 553.

g Vigil. ep. Encyclic. ep. 7.

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fore adviſed him, if he was truly deſirous of ſeeing the preſent Diſpute determined, to the intire Satisfaction of both Parties, to cauſe it to be determined by an equal Number of both. *Vigilius* was well appriſed, that the Weſtern Biſhops were no leſs unalterable in their Reſolution to defend, than the Eaſtern Biſhops were in theirs to condemn the Three Chapters; and, conſequently, that, were they both equal in Numbers, there would be a Majority on neither Side, and the Queſtion would remain ſtill undecided; Truth and the Holy Ghoſt being, in all Councils, ſuppoſed to be on the Side of the Majority, but not more on the one than on the other, ſo long as the Diviſion is equal (A). *Juſtinian*, ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached a Second time by the Pope, embraced his Advice; and it was agreed between them, that an equal Number of *Greek* and *Latin* Biſhops ſhould meet ſome time before *Eaſter*, which in 553. fell on the 20th of *April*; and that the Controverſy ſhould be finally decided by them alone [h].

He propoſes to the Emperor the deciding of the Controverſy by an equal Number of Greek *and* Latin *Biſhops, which the Emperor agrees to.*

The Eaſtern Biſhops refuſe to ſtand to that Agreement.

This Agreement was no ſooner notified to the Eaſtern Biſhops, than they all, to a Man, proteſted againſt it, remonſtrating, in a Memorial, which, on that Occaſion, they preſented to the Emperor,

[h] Vigil. ep. 8. et Coll. prima Quint. Synod.

(A) Had the Pope been really perſuaded, that whatever is defined by the Majority of a Council muſt be Truth, he would never have taken ſo much Pains, nor uſed ſo many Shifts, to avoid the Sentence of a Council conſiſting chiefly of *Greeks*. He ſaw, it is true, a Majority on the other Side; but that was only a Majority of private Judgments, which muſt have changed, if they were wrong, and the Council was infallible. The Succeſſors of *Vigilius* ſeem to have no more believed the Infallibility of Councils than he. For we find them ſtriving, in all Oecumenical Councils, to gain a Majority by ſuch means as leave no room to doubt of their ſuppoſing the Holy Ghoſt to be quite out of the Queſtion. Thus, for Inſtance, in the Council of *Trent*, a Council of the greateſt Authority in the Church of *Rome*, Care was taken, that the *Italian* Biſhops ſhould be ſent thither in ſuch Numbers as might carry every Queſtion againſt all the reſt. If any Acceſſion of Biſhops came from *France*, or other Places beyond the Mountains, others were ſent, on whom the Pope could depend, to ſecure a Majority ſtill on his Side. Thus were there, at laſt, in that Council 187 *Italians*, and only 83 of other Nations. The *Italians* all voted, as is well known, according to the Directions they received from *Rome*, not doubting but they ſhould receive there a ſuitable Reward for their good Behaviour; which gave Occaſion to the profane Saying, That *the Holy Ghoſt was ſent from* Rome *to* Trent *in a Budget*. Had the Popes really believed, that all private Opinions and Engagements would be overruled by the infallible Spirit of Councils, by the unerring Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſequently that the Biſhops, who compoſed thoſe Councils, could not, like *Balaam*, ſpeak any other Word, but what God put in their Mouths, whatever might have been promiſed or given them, their Holineſſes would have learned, from the Example of *Balak*, to be wiſer than to have thus waſted their Treaſures to ſo little Purpoſe, to receive, perhaps, a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing.

that

that Matters of Faith and Religion concerned all Biſhops alike, and, conſequently, that all alike had a Right to be conſulted in ſuch Matters, and to deliver their Opinion; that many of them were come, for that Purpoſe alone, from the moſt diſtant Provinces of the Empire; that, ſince the Weſtern Biſhops had been ſummoned, as well as they, it was highly unreaſonable, to ſay no more, in the Biſhop of *Rome*, to think of excluding from the Council his Fellow-Biſhops in the Eaſt, who had obeyed the Summons, becauſe his Brethren in the Weſt had not thought fit to obey it; that there was actually then at *Conſtantinople* a far greater Number of Weſtern Biſhops than had yet been preſent at any of the Four preceding Councils; that, at the Council of *Chalcedon*, conſiſting of 630 Biſhops, not one of the *Latins* was preſent, beſides the Legates of Pope *Leo*; that the Council of *Nice*, the moſt revered of all, was compoſed of *Greeks* alone (A); that the *Latins* being very few in Number, Fifteen in all, a Council conſiſting of them, and an equal Number of *Greeks*, would not deſerve the Name of an Oecumenical Council; and, laſtly, That were the Numbers on both Sides equal, the Controverſy would remain undecided, it being well known, that the *Latins* were unalterably determined to defend the Three Chapters, in Oppoſition to the *Greeks*, who condemned them [i]. Year of Chriſt 553.

Theſe Reaſons *Juſtinian* could not withſtand; and therefore, without any Regard to the Agreement between him and the Pope, he ordered all the Biſhops, who were then at *Conſtantinople*, to meet on the 5th of *May* (B), in the *Secretarium* (C) of the Patriarch. To *Vigilius* *The Emperor, without any regard to that Agreement, orders the Council to meet.*

[i] Vigil. in Conſtit. ad Juſtinian.

(A) The *Greeks* were therein certalnly miſtaken; for at the Council of *Nice* were preſent the Two *Roman* Presbyters *Vitus* and *Vincentius*, with the Character of the Pope's Legates; and, beſides them, the famous *Oſius* of *Cordova*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt (1), and is ſaid, by ſome, to have preſided at that Aſſembly; at leaſt, his Name is placed the firſt in the Subſcriptions, even before the Names of the Pope's Legates (2).

(B) The Council was appointed to meet, according to the printed Copies, *ad* IV. *Nonas Maii*; but, in Two antient Manuſcripts, we read, *Die* III. *Nonas Maias*, that is, on the 5th of *May*, which in 553. fell on a *Monday*. And truly *Monday* was, generally ſpeaking, the Day on which Councils were opened, and the Seſſions begun, the Biſhops, who were to compoſe them, having, with great Solemnity, performed Divine Service the preceding *Sunday*. Thus the Council of *Nice* began to ſit on the 14th of *June*; the Firſt of *Conſtantinople*, on the 24th of *May*; that of *Epheſus* on the 22d of *June*; and that of *Chalcedon* on the 8th of *October*; which, in the Years thoſe Councils were held, fell all on *Mondays* (3).

(C) The *Secretum* or *Secretarium* was

(1) Euſeb. vit. Conſtantin. l. 3. c. 8. (2) Concil. t. 2. p. 50. Socrat. l. 1. c. 13.
(3) Vide Garner. Diſſert. de Quint. Syn. General. c. 5.

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Vigilius he ſent ſome Perſons of the firſt Rank, to acquaint him with what was *unanſwerably objected*, by the *Greeks*, againſt his Propoſal; to convince his Holineſs of the Unreaſonableneſs of it; and to perſuade him to concur with the other Catholic Biſhops in reſtoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Church. But the Pope wanted only a Pretence to abſent himſelf from the Council, being well appriſed, that the Three Chapters would be condemned by a great Majority of the Biſhops who compoſed it. Deaf therefore to all Reaſon, he told the Deputies, without offering to anſwer the Objections of the *Greeks*, that he was ready to aſſiſt at the Council, on the Terms agreed to by him and the Emperor; that he neither would nor could, on any other; but ſhould, in due time, acquaint *Juſtinian* in particular with his real Sentiments concerning the Points in Diſpute [k].

The Council meets.

In the mean time the Day, fixed for the meeting of the Council, being come, the Eaſtern Biſhops met, purſuant to the Emperor's Order, at the appointed Place, in all 165; while thoſe from the Weſt aſſembled apart, with the Pope, in the Palace of *Placidia*. At the Council, the firſt Place was allotted to *Eutychius* of *Conſtantinople*, the Second to *Apollinaris* of *Alexandria*, the Third to *Domnus* of *Antioch*, the Fourth to the Deputies of the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; and the reſt were all ranked according to the Dignity of their Sees. When they were all ſeated, *Diodorus*, Archdeacon, and *Primicerius Notariorum*, or Chief of the Notaries (A), let the Fathers know, that *Theodorus* the *Silentiarius* (B), ſent by the Emperor to the

[k] Vigil. ibid. et Coll. prim. Quint. Synod.

a large and capacious Building, adjoining to the Church, where the Conſiſtory or Tribunal of the Church was kept. *Secretum* and *Secretarium* were known Names for the Courts of the Civil Magiſtrate, and borrowed, without all Doubt, of them, by the Eccleſiaſtics. We read of ſeveral Councils held in the *Secretarium* of ſuch a Church or Baſilic; and find the Seſſions ſometimes called *Secretaria*, from the Place where they were held.

(A) The chief Buſineſs of the Notaries was to write the Acts of the Councils, and ſet down the Heads of the Diſputes or Debates that happened during the Seſſions, as well as of the Speeches that were made on either Side. It was likewiſe their Province to recite all Inſtruments, Allegations, Petitions, and whatever elſe of the like Nature was offered or read in the Council.

(B) The *Silentiarii* were a Civil Magiſtrate, in the Emperor's Palace, whoſe Buſineſs it was to keep Peace there. They are joined, in the *Theodoſian* Code, with the *Decuriones* (1). Some think they were called *Silentiarii*, becauſe they were allowed to enter the Emperor's private Chamber, named *Silentium*; and that they anſwered to our Lords of the Bed-chamber.

(1) Cod. Theod. l. 6. tit. 23.

Council,

Council, attended at the Door. Hereupon *Eutychius* having ordered him to be admitted, he preſented a Letter from the Emperor, addreſſed to *the moſt Religious Biſhops, aſſembled in Council in the Royal City of* Conſtantinople, which was immediately read. The Letter begins thus: *It has ever been the Care and Study of pious and orthodox Emperors to cut off Hereſies, as they ſprung up, by aſſembling in Council the Catholic Biſhops, and to keep the Holy Church of God in Peace and Tranquillity, by cauſing the right Faith to be ſincerely preached by her Miniſters.* To prove this, he inſtances the Four General Councils, aſſembled by his religious Predeceſſors *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius the elder*, *Theodoſius the younger*, and *Marcian*. Not a Word here of the Pope; and no Wonder, ſince it was not known till many Ages after, till the Time of the *Lateran* Council, under *Leo* X. that *he alone had a Right to aſſemble, tranſlate, and diſſolve Councils at his Pleaſure*. That Council even defined it to be *evident*, that ſuch a Right was veſted in the Pope alone, *manifeſte conſtat* [l]; whereas it is undeniably evident, if Hiſtory may be relied on, that the firſt Six General Councils were all aſſembled by the Emperors; nay, *Baronius* himſelf owns, that the Second and the Fifth, *i. e.* the preſent Council, were aſſembled againſt the Will of the Popes *Damaſus* and *Vigilius* [m]. And indeed, that the preſent Council was aſſembled againſt the Will of the Pope, is manifeſt from what has been ſaid. In the next Place, the Emperor acquaints the Fathers of the Council with the Steps he has taken to check the Growth of the *Neſtorian* Hereſy, which, he ſays, ſome have lately attempted to introduce into the Church, not indeed under the Name of *Neſtorius*, which alone would have proved a ſufficient Antidote againſt his poiſonous Tenets, but as the Doctrine of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*; recommending, at the ſame time, and for the ſame Purpoſe, the Writings of *Theodoret* againſt St. *Cyril*, and the impious Letter of *Ibas* to *Maris* the *Perſian*, which they pretend to have been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*. He adds, that concerning theſe Three Chapters he had already conſulted an Aſſembly of Catholic Biſhops, who had all condemned them; but nevertheleſs, as they were ſtill obſtinately maintained by ſome, he had convened a greater Number of Prelates, that by them the Diſpute might at laſt be finally determined, and the Church ſuffered

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The Emperor's Letter to the Fathers aſſembled.

General Councils aſſembled only by the Emperor.

[l] Concil. Lateran. Seſſ. 11. [m] Bar. ad ann. 553.

to

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The Emperor complains of the Conduct of the Pope.

to enjoy that Peace, which he had ſo long been ſtriving to procure. With reſpect to *Vigilius*, the Emperor told the Council, that his Holineſs, having, on his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, examined, with great Attention, the above-mentioned Chapters, had ſolemnly condemned them, even in Writing; and relates the very Terms in which he condemned them, tranſcribed from his *Judicatum*. His Words are: *Since, in the Writings, that have been put into our Hands, under the Name of* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *many things are found repugnant to the true Faith, we, following the Advice of St.* Paul, *Prove all, hold faſt that which is good, do anathematize the ſaid* Theodorus, *who was Biſhop of* Mopſueſtia, *with all his Writings, and all who defend him. We likewiſe anathematize the impious Letter, which* Ibas *is ſaid to have written to* Maris *the* Perſian, *as inconſiſtent with the true Chriſtian Faith, and with it all who defend it, or maintain it to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. We anathematize too the Writings of* Theodoret *againſt thoſe of St.* Cyril. *Vigilius*, continues the Emperor, not ſatisfied with thus condemning the Three Chapters, in the moſt ſolemn manner, anathematized, excommunicated, and depoſed Two of his own Deacons, *Ruſticus* and *Sebaſtianus*, for preſuming to defend them. But his Holineſs, adds *Juſtinian*, has lately changed his Mind, and now he defends what he formerly condemned; the above-mentioned Writings were once, in his Opinion, repugnant, but are now intirely agreeable, to the Catholic Faith. He cloſes his Letter with exhorting the Biſhops aſſembled to examine thoſe Writings, and declaring, in a long Confeſſion of Faith, that he receives the Definitions of the Four preceding Councils, and with them the Doctrine that has been taught by the Fathers, the holy Doctors of the Church [n]. The Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Councils, was now the only Standard of the Chriſtian Faith.

The Pope invited to the Council by a moſt ſolemn Deputation.

The Emperor's Letter being read, *Theodorus* was ordered to withdraw; and then were read the Letter of *Eutychius* to the Pope, and his Anſwer, whereby he conſented to the Meeting of the Council, and promiſed to aſſiſt at it in Perſon. As he nevertheleſs did not appear, the Fathers agreed to acquaint him, by a ſolemn Deputation, that the Council was met, and, putting him in mind of his Promiſe, invite and even preſs him to concur with the reſt of his Bre-

[n] Syn. Quint. Coll. 1.

thren,

thren, in reſtoring the wiſhed for Tranquillity, both to the Church and the State. Purſuant to this Agreement, the Three Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, with Twenty Metropolitans, were appointed to attend the Pope, in the Palace of *Placidia*, and invite him to the Council; the moſt honourable and ſolemn Deputation that had ever before, or has ever ſince, been ſent to a Pope. The Biſhops flattered themſelves, that, by thus gratifying the Pride of the Pope, they ſhould more effectually induce him to comply with their Requeſt, than by any Arguments they could uſe or allege. But *Vigilius*, being, or pretending to be, indiſpoſed, told them, that he was not then in a Condition to aſſiſt at the Council; but ſhould let them know, the next Day, what he thought of their Aſſembly. Hereupon the Deputies returning to the Council, made their Report; and the Aſſembly was adjourned to the next Day [o].

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Who excuſes himſelf from aſſiſting at it.

The following Day, the 6th of *May*, the Council met again, when the ſame Deputies were ſent anew to the Pope, for his Anſwer; and the Anſwer he gave them was, That he did not chuſe to aſſiſt at a Council conſiſting of ſo many *Greeks*, and ſo ſmall a Number of *Latin* Biſhops. The Deputies replied, That it was he who firſt propoſed to the Emperor the aſſembling of a Council; that he had lately conſented to the aſſembling of one, and even promiſed, in Writing, to aſſiſt at it in Perſon; and it was to challenge that Promiſe they were ſent by the Council. As to the Number of the *Latin* Biſhops, they owned it to be ſmall, if compared with that of the *Greeks*; but added, that ſtill it exceeded the Number of the *Latin* Biſhops that had yet aſſiſted at any General Council. *Vigilius* anſwered, That the *Greeks* were all prejudiced againſt the Three Chapters, and reſolved to condemn them; that therefore the Numbers on both Sides ought to be equal; that the preſent Controverſy might be as well determined by a ſmall as by a great Number of Biſhops, by the Three Patriarchs, and a Fourth Biſhop of their Party on the one Side, and himſelf and Three *Latin* Biſhops on the other. Againſt that Propoſal the Deputies remonſtrated as above; *viz.* That thus the Diſpute would ſtill remain undecided; that an Aſſembly conſiſting of Eight Biſhops only, would not deſerve the Name of an Oecumenical Council; nor would their Deciſions be received as the Deciſions of an Oecumenical Council; that, as to the ſuppoſed Prejudice of the *Greeks* againſt the Three Chapters, the Followers of *Arius*, *Neſto-*

The Reaſons he alleged.

His Propoſal, and the Biſhops Anſwer.

[o] Synod. Quint. ibid.

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rius, and *Eutyches*, might, under the like Pretence, have declined aſſiſting at the Councils, that condemned their Doctrine, or refuſed to ſubmit to their Deciſions. To that the Pope made no Reply; but promiſed, in the Space of Twenty Days, to return a final Anſwer, and acquaint the Council with his real Sentiments concerning the controverted Articles. [P].

The Council examines the Points in Diſpute, without the Pope.

With this Anſwer the Deputies acquainted the Council, on the 8th of *May*, the Day on which they met the Third time; when it was unanimouſly reſolved by all, who were preſent, that ſince the Pope could by no means be prevailed upon to aſſiſt at their Aſſembly, and could therein have no other View but to prevent them from coming to any Determination, the Cauſe ſhould be determined without him (A). This Reſolution being approved by the Emperor, the Fathers, in the following Seſſions, held on the 9th, the 17th, and the 19th of *May*, examined, with great Attention, the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, of *Theodoret* againſt *Cyril*, and the Letter of *Ibas* to *Maris* the *Perſian*; and, with one Voice, declared them to contain the *impious* and *execrable* Doctrine of *Neſtorius*. In the mean time *Vigilius*, finding he attempted in vain to put a Stop to the Proceedings of the Council, by abſenting himſelf from it, reſolved to interpoſe his Authority, and, by openly undertaking the Defence of the Three Chapters, reſtrain the Eaſtern Biſhops from condemning them. Having therefore aſſembled all the Weſtern Biſhops, who were then at *Conſtantinople*, Sixteen beſides himſelf, with the Archdeacon, and Two Deacons of the *Roman* Church, he iſſued, in Conjunction with them, a *Conſtitution*, *Statute*, *Decree*, *Definition*, or *definitive Sentence*, for ſo he ſtyles it, declaring his and their Opinion concerning the preſent Controverſy. For this *Conſtitution*, which, in the Annals of *Baronius*, takes up no fewer than 28 Pages in Folio, we are indebted to that Writer, who copied it from a very antient Manuſcript, lodged in the *Vatican*. It is dated the 14th of *May* 553. and addreſſed by *Vigilius*, *Biſhop*, *to his moſt Glorious and moſt Clement Son* Juſtinian. The Pope begins it with

The Pope, in a Council of Weſtern Biſhops, iſſues his Conſtitution, in Defence of the Three Chapters.

[P] Synod. Quint. ibid.

(A) If the Pope, ſays Cardinal *Cuſanus* (1), being invited, does neither come nor ſend to a Synod; the Synod, in that Caſe, may and ought to provide for the Peace and Safety of the Church without him.

(1) Lib. 2. de Concil. ord. Cath. c. 2.

con-

confuting and condemning, as heretical, blaſphemous, and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Councils and the Fathers, Sixty Propoſitions, taken out of the Works of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, and condemned by the preſent Council, in their Fourth Seſſion. But as to the Perſon of *Theodorus*, *Vigilius* declares it unlawful to condemn any Man after his Death, who, not having been condemned in his Life-time, had died in the Communion of the Church. *As it is not lawful*, ſays the Pope, *to judge Perſons who are dead, and are found not to have been condemned while they lived, we dare not condemn* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *nor will we allow him to be condemned by others.* With reſpect to the Second Chapter, concerning the Writings of *Theodoret* againſt *Cyril*, *Vigilius* declares, that, ſeeing thoſe Writings had not been condemned either by *Cyril* himſelf, or by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to condemn them now would be *contrary and evidently repugnant to the Judgment of that Holy Council*; and therefore forbids any Doctrines or Opinions whatever to be cenſured or anathematized under the Name of *Theodoret*. Concerning the Third Chapter, the Letter of *Ibas*, the Pope expreſſes himſelf thus: *As the Fathers of* Chalcedon *pronounced the Letter of* Ibas *to be Orthodox, and thence concluded his Faith to be right, and truly Catholic, we, following in all things the Judgment of thoſe holy Fathers, do pronounce, declare, and define, by this our preſent Conſtitution, the ſaid Letter of the venerable* Ibas, *Biſhop of* Edeſſa, *to be truly Orthodox*; *and therefore will by no means condemn it ourſelves, or ſuffer it to be condemned by others.* This Conſtitution the Pope cloſes with the following remarkable Words: *Theſe things being thus ſettled by us, with all Care, Diligence, and Circumſpection, we ordain and decree*, ſtatuimus et decernimus, *that henceforth it ſhall be lawful for no Perſon in holy Orders, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, to write, ſpeak, or teach any thing touching theſe Three Chapters, contrary to what we have, by our preſent Conſtitution, taught and decreed; nor ſhall it be lawful for any one, after this our preſent Definition, to move any Queſtion about them. But if any thing relating to them be ſaid, done, or written, or ſhall henceforth be ſaid, done, or written, contrary to what we have here taught and decreed, we declare it null, by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, in which, by the Grace of God, we now preſide* [q].

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[q] Bar. ad ann. 553. p. 427—455.

Year of Christ 553.

The Conſtitution ſent by the Pope to the Emperor, and by the Emperor to the Council.

This was not a private Inſtruction, but, as I have obſerved above, a *Conſtitution*, a *Decree*, a *definitive Sentence*, or *Judgment*, delivered by the Pope, ſpeaking *ex cathedra*, as a public Direction, in Matters of Faith, to the whole Chriſtian World, *univerſo Orbi Catholico*; and as ſuch it was ſigned by the Pope himſelf, and by near as many other Biſhops as were preſent at ſome Seſſions of the Council of *Trent* (A). The Conſtitution, thus ſigned, was ſent by the Pope to the Emperor, and by the Emperor, as ſoon as he had peruſed it, to the Council. But *Juſtinian*, to oppoſe *Vigilius* to *Vigilius* himſelf, and prevent the Fathers of the Aſſembly from paying, as ſome perhaps might, any kind of Regard to his Judgment, however expreſs and definitive, took care to ſend, at the ſame time, a Copy of his *Judicatum*, wherein he approved the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, and condemned them himſelf, in the ſtrongeſt Terms; and with it Copies of Three other Pieces, to be all publicly read in the Council. Theſe were Copies, or rather Tranſlations into *Greek*, of the Sentence of Excommunication and Depoſition, which *Vigilius* had formerly pronounced againſt his Two Deacons *Ruſticus* and *Sebaſtianus*, for *preſuming to find fault with the* Judicatum, *and to defend the Three Chapters, condemned by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See*; and of the Two Letters, which he wrote on that Occaſion to *Valentinianus* of *Tomi*, and *Aurelianus* of *Arles*, to juſtify his Conduct, and convince thoſe Prelates, that, by condemning the Three Chapters, he had done nothing but what was intirely conſiſtent with the Doctrine, and no-ways derogatory to the Authority, of the Holy Council of *Chalcedon* [r]. Theſe Papers were all read in the Seventh Seſſion, held on the 26th of *May*; and, at the ſame time, were compared the Paſſages in the Pope's *Judicatum*, condemning the Three Chapters, with others in his

Read there, with ſeveral other Pieces.

His Judicatum *and Conſtitution compared.*

[r] Synod. Quint. Coll. 7.

(A) *Juvante Deo, et per ipſius gratiam, Vigilius Epiſcopus ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Urbis Romæ huic Conſtituto noſtro ſubſcripſi. Joannes Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ Marſorum huic Conſtituto conſentiens ſubſcripſi. Zachæus Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ Scyllacenæ huic Conſtituto conſentiens ſubſcripſi.* Thus ſigned all the other Biſhops, and the Three *Roman* Deacons. Among the Biſhops was *Valentinus* of *Silva Candida*, whoſe Hands *Totila* had ordered to be cut off; and for him ſigned *Zachæus* of *Scyllatium* or *Squillaci*, in the following Words: *Zachæus Epiſcopus rogatus a fratre Valentino Epiſcopo Silvæ Candidæ, ipſo præſente, et conſentiente, et mihi dictante, huic Conſtituto pro ipſo ſubſcripſi.*

Con-

Conſtitution, defending them; viz. *We anathematize* Theodorus, *who was Biſhop of* Mopſueſtia, *with all his Writings, and all who defend them; we dare not condemn* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *nor will we allow him to condemned by others: We anathematize the Writings of* Theodoret *againſt thoſe of St.* Cyril; *we forbid any Doctrines or Opinions whatever to be cenſured or anathematized under the Name of* Theodoret: *We anathematize the impious Letter, which* Ibas *is ſaid to have written to* Maris *the* Perſian, *as inconſiſtent with the true Chriſtian Faith, and with it all who defend it, or maintain it to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church; we pronounce, declare, and define, by this our preſent Conſtitution, the Letter of the venerable* Ibas, *Biſhop of* Edeſſa, *to be truly Orthodox; and therefore will by no means condemn it ourſelves, nor ſuffer it to be condemned by others.* Year of Chriſt 553.

Baluzius, in his *New Collection of Councils*, has publiſhed, from an antient Manuſcript, ſome other Pieces, which he ſuppoſes to have been likewiſe read in the preſent Seſſion. Theſe are Two Letters from *Vigilius* to *Juſtinian*, and to the Empreſs *Theodora*, wherein the Pope declared, that he neither was, nor ever had been, a Heretic, or a Favourer of Heretics; and that he therefore condemned and anathematized the impious Letter of *Ibas*, the Writings of *Theodoret* againſt *Cyril*, and the Perſon as well as the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*. In the manuſcript Copy of his Letter to the Empreſs were theſe Words: *And I believe there is in Chriſt but one Will, or one Operation* (A). Theſe Letters were written in 547. the Year *Vigilius*

Other Writings, ſhewing that Vigilius *had ſolemnly promiſed to condemn the Three Chapters.*

(A) When theſe Letters were read in the Sixth General Council, the Pope's Legates pretended the Words, *And I believe*, &c. to have been added by the *Monothelites*, maintaining, that there was in Chriſt but One Will, or One Operation. Hereupon the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies of the Fifth Council being called for, and carefully examined, the above-mentioned Letters were not found in the *Latin*; but it appeared, that they had been added by the Patriarch *Paul*, with the Words, *And I believe*, &c. to the *Greek* Copy, which was lodged in the Archives of the Patriarchal Church of *Conſtantinople*. *Baronius* will have both thoſe Letters to have been forged. But that they were not, is manifeſt from *Theophanes* (1), from *Facundus* (2), and from the Words of *Juſtinian*, in his Letter to the Three Patriarchs, and the other Biſhops of the Council (3). Beſides, the Pope's Legates, at the Sixth Council, allowed the Letters themſelves to be genuine; and only maintained the Words favouring the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, not to be his, but to have been afterwards added to his Letter. And truly I am inclined to think, that they were not his; but were added by *Paul* of *Conſtantinople*, to ſupport, by the Authority of *Vigilius*, the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he himſelf profeſſed, and zealouſly defended.

(1) Theoph. ubi ſupra. (2) Facund. ubi ſupra. (3) See below, Note B.

Year of Chriſt 553.

Vigilius arrived at *Conſtantinople* [s]. With them *Baluzius* has publiſhed, from the ſame Manuſcript, the Form of a ſolemn Oath, which *Vigilius* took in the Preſence of *Theodorus* of *Cæſarea*, and the Patrician *Cethegus*, binding himſelf by that Oath to anathematize the Three Chapters himſelf, and to engage, ſo far as in him lay, the other Biſhops to anathematize them, as repugnant to the Faith of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Oath, dated the 15th of *Auguſt* 550. is mentioned by *Theophanes* [t], by *Facundus* [u], and the Emperor, in a Letter, which he wrote, on the 14th of *July* 553. to the Three Patriarchs, and the other Biſhops, charging his Holineſs with a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Oath a Chriſtian could take (B).

The Council proceeds to a final Determination of the Diſpute.

On the 2d of *June* the Council met again, when, after a ſummary Repetition of every thing that had paſſed from their firſt Meeting, on the 5th of *May*, till that time, the Fathers unanimouſly agreed to proceed, without farther Delay, to a final Determination, or, as they ſtyled it, a definitive Sentence, that all Men might know what was truly agreeable, and what repugnant, in the preſent Diſpute, to the Faith of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. Having therefore premiſed a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring, that they received the Four preceding Councils, and condemned both the Errors and Perſons, whom thoſe Holy Councils had condemned, they firſt delivered their Judgment concerning the Three Chapters in general, and in the following Terms: *We anathematize the Three Chapters, the Defenders of the ſaid Three Chapters, and*

Their Judgment concerning the Three Chapters in general.

[s] Theoph. ad ann. Incarn. ſecund. Alexandrin. 539. Facund. l. contr. Mucian. Vide Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 1546. [t] Theoph. ibid. [u] Facund. ibid.

For to alter, falſify, and interpolate the Writings of the Antients, and make them ſay what they never dreamt, is a Practice that began to prevail, in the earlieſt Times, among the Catholics, as well as among thoſe whom they ſtyled Heretics. *Daillé*, in his excellent Treatiſe *on the right Uſe of the Fathers*, ſuppoſes the above-mentioned Letters of *Vigilius* to *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* to have been forged; becauſe they were not originally inſerted into the Acts of the Fifth Council (4). But from their not having originally had a Place there, we can only conclude, that they were not read in that Council.

(B) *Religioſiſſimus Papa antiquioris Romæ*, ſays *Juſtinian*, in that Letter, *cum hæc examinâſſet*, the Three Chapters, *et condemnavit, et ſatisfactionem in ſcriptis expoſuit tam nobis quam piæ recordationis tunc conjugi noſtræ. . . . Sed et ſacramenta terribilia in ſcriptis juravit, ut in eadem permaneret voluntate in condemnatione et anathemate prædictorum trium Capitulorum*, &c (1).

(4) Daillé du vrai uſage des Peres, c. 3. præfat. ad Acta Concil. v. II. 2. et p. 1544.

(1) Vide Baluz. Nova Coll. Concil. in

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all who have hitherto written, who now write, or ſhall write hereafter, in Defence of them, or preſume to ſay (as *Vigilius* did in his Conſtitution), *that the impious Doctrine they contain was approved and authorized by the holy Fathers, and the Council of* Chalcedon. Year of Chriſt 553.

After this general Sentence, the Council proceeds to condemn each of the Three Chapters ſeverally, and in particular, thus: *If any one defends the impious* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *and does not anathematize both him, and his impious Writings, let him be accurſed: If any one defends the Writings of* Theodoret *againſt* Cyril, *and does not anathematize the ſaid Writings, let him be accurſed. If any one defends the impious Epiſtle of* Ibas *to* Maris *the* Perſian, *which denies God to have been born of the Virgin* Mary, *which taxes* Cyril *with Hereſy, which condemns the holy Council of* Epheſus, *defends* Theodorus, *and his Diſciple* Neſtorius, *with their impious Writings; if any one does not anathematize that Epiſtle, thoſe who defend it, and all who maintain it, or any Part of it, to be right, let him be accurſed* [w]. Such was the Sentence of the Council; and, when it was read, the Fathers, to confirm it, joining all as one Man, cried out aloud; *Let* Theodorus *be accurſed; let him be accurſed, who does not accurſe* Theodorus; *we all accurſe* Theodorus, *and his Writings. Let the impious Writings of* Theodoret *againſt* Cyril *be accurſed; let him be accurſed, who does not accurſe them. We all accurſe the impious Epiſtle of* Ibas; *if any one defends that Epiſtle, or any Part of it, if any one does not accurſe it, and all who defend it, let him be accurſed* [x]. Thus did the Council not only reverſe, with one Conſent, the Judgment of the Pope, but anathematize and accurſe all who did not anathematize and accurſe what the Pope had defined, ſpeaking *ex cathedra*, and thence inſtructing the whole Chriſtian World.

Their Judgment concerning each of the Three Chapters in particular.

The Fathers of the Council, not ſatisfied with thus condemning the Three Chapters, in direct Oppoſition to the definitive Sentence of the Pope, undertook to confute, one by one, the Reaſons and Arguments on which his definitive Sentence was grounded. Theſe were, with reſpect to the Firſt Chapter, the Condemnation of *Theodorus:* I. That no Man ought to be condemned after his Death; the Power of *looſing and binding*, or abſolving and condemning, having been granted to the Chnrch only with reſpect to thoſe who are *on*

The Reaſons on which the Pope's Conſtitution was grounded, confuted by the Council.

[w] Synod. Quint. Coll. 8. [x] Synod. Quint. ibid.

Earth,

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Earth, or among the living, agreeably to the Words of our Saviour, *Whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth*, &c. II. *Theodorus* died in the Peace and Communion of the Church; and none, who thus die, ought to be condemned after their Death. III. *Theodorus* was not condemned by former Fathers and Councils; and therefore muſt not be condemned now [y]. In Anſwer to theſe Reaſons, the Council firſt declares, and defines, That *a Man may be lawfully condemned after his Death*; adding, *And thoſe who ſay he may not* (which *Vigilius* did in his Conſtitution), *ſhew no kind of Regard to the Word of God, to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, to the Tradition of the Fathers.* They then allege ſeveral Arguments, calculated to prove, from the Practice of the preceding Councils, and the Doctrine of the Fathers, the Definition of the Pope to be falſe and erroneous, and their own to be true; *viz.* I. Becauſe the Council of *Conſtantinople*, the Second Oecumenical Council, condemned and anathematized, by Name, *Arius* and *Macedonius*, though both dead long before: Pope *Damaſus*, and the Council of *Sardica*, anathematized the Biſhops who had departed from the Faith of *Nice*, whether *dead or alive:* the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned *Domnus* of *Antioch*, after his Death, becauſe he had ſpoken contemptuouſly of St. *Cyril*, and his Writings. Having thus proved the Definition of the Pope repugnant to the Practice, and conſequently to the Doctrine, of the univerſal Church, as repreſented by General Councils; they ſhew it, in the next Place, no leſs inconſiſtent with the Doctrine and Practice of ſome particular Churches, namely, of the *African*, and the *Roman* Church herſelf. To that Purpoſe they produce the Canon of an *African* Council, commanding thoſe who bequeathed their Eſtates to Heretics, to be anathematized *even after their Death*; and put his Holineſs in mind of the Sentence of Excommunication, which one of his Predeceſſors, *Boniface* II. had ſolemnly pronounced, but Twenty-three Years before, againſt *Dioſcorus*, his deceaſed Competitor, cauſing it to be ſigned by ſeveral Deacons, Presbyters, and Biſhops, and to be placed, thus ſigned, in the Archives of the *Roman* Church [z]: *And this*, ſay the Fathers of the Council, *all, who live at* Rome, *know to be true*; which was ſaying, that the Pope knew it to be true, though he had defined the contrary. To the Authority of the Councils they add that of the

Whether a Man may be anathematized after his Death.

[y] Conſtit. Vigil. apud Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 179.

[z] See above, p. 327, 328.

Fathers, eſpecially of St. *Auſtin*, ſaying of *Cæcilianus* of *Carthage*, dead an Hundred Years before, that were he found guilty of the Crimes, which the *Donatiſts* laid to his Charge, he would ſtill anathematize him [a]. As to the Words of our Saviour, alleged by *Vigilius* to prove, that the Church has the Power of binding and looſening thoſe only, who are *on Earth*, or among the Living, the Council explodes his Interpretation of that Paſſage; and will have the Words *on Earth* to refer to the Party that looſens or binds, not to the Party that is looſened or bound, thus; *Whatever ye ſhall bind or looſe, while you are on Earth*, &c (A). Year of Chriſt 553.

To the Second Reaſon of *Vigilius*, in Defence of *Theodorus*, viz. that he died in the Peace and Communion of the Church, the Fathers returned the following Anſwer: *It is ſaid by ſome, that* Theodorus *died in the Peace and Communion of the Church; but to ſay ſo, is a Lye and a Calumny againſt the Church*, mendacium eſt et calumnia adverſus eccleſiam; *for he alone dies in the Peace and Communion of the Church, who holds the Doctrine of the Church till his Death, which* Theodorus *certainly did not, as is evident from the Blaſphemies he uttered.* To confute the Third and laſt Reaſon of *Vigilius* againſt the condemning of *Theodorus*, viz. that he was not condemned by former Fathers and Councils, they quote ſeveral Paſſages from the Fathers, eſpecially from *Proclus* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Cyril*, ſpeaking of him as an avowed Heretic, as one whoſe Blaſphemies exceeded even thoſe of the *Jews* and the *Pagans*. As to Councils, they allege the Decree of the Firſt of *Epheſus*, condemning the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and all who had held, till that time, or ſhould thenceforth hold, the ſame Doctrine; which was condemning, though not by Name, *Theodorus*, who not only held, but was the firſt who taught that Doctrine (B). Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia *did not die in the Communion of the Church, as the Pope had aſſerted.*

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[a] Aug. ep. ad Bonif.

(A) The Council does not mean, that the Church can really bind or looſe a Man after his Death; that her Cenſures or Abſolution can render his Condition in the other World worſe or better; but only, that, upon any new Diſcovery of his Guilt or Innocence, he may be excluded from, or admitted to Communion, even after his Death; that is, his Name may be ſtruck out of the Diptychs, or placed in them, be omitted or mentioned in the Prayers and Oblations of the Church. *Let him be anathematized after Death, let not his Name be written or recorded among the Prieſts of God*, are the Words of the Decree, in the *African* Code, againſt a Biſhop who ſhould bequeath his Effects or Eſtate to a Heretic. This was the only Method of binding or looſening, condemning or abſolving, Men after Death, that was ever practiſed in the Church.

(B) *Vigilius* poſitively affirms, that *Theodorus* was not condemned by the Council of *Epheſus*. *I have peruſed*, ſays he, the

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Concerning the Second Chapter, the Writings of *Theodoret* againſt *Cyril*, the Pope would not condemn thoſe Writings himſelf, nor ſuffer them to be condemned by others, under the Name of *Theodoret*, *becauſe they were not his, but had been fathered upon him by his Enemies.* But that the Pope was therein groſly miſtaken, that the Writings againſt *Cyril*, under the Name of *Theodoret*, were truly his, was undeniably proved by the Fathers of the Council from the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the concurring Teſtimony of all the contemporary Writers, nay, and from the Teſtimony of *Theodoret* himſelf, owning thoſe Writings, in the ſeveral Letters he wrote on that Occaſion to the Friends of *Neſtorius*, and his own. The whole Aſſembly expreſſed the greateſt Surprize at the Pope's denying, or even queſtioning a Truth, that was ſo well known, and might ſo eaſily be made to appear. And indeed none had ever queſtioned it before him, nor has it ever been queſtioned ſince his time.

The Pope groſly miſtaken with reſpect to the Writings of Theodoret.

As for the Third and laſt Chapter, the Letter of *Ibas*, the Pope, in his Conſtitution, pronounced, declared, and defined that Letter to be Orthodox, *becauſe it was approved by the Council of* Chalcedon. On the other hand, the Fathers of the preſent Council pronounced, declared, and defined, in their Turn, that whole Letter, and every Part of it, to be heretical, to be blaſphemous, to be repugnant to the Definition of the Council of *Chalcedon*; *Tota epiſtola hæretica eſt, tota Epiſtola blaſphema eſt, contraria eſt per omnia definitioni*, &c [b]. Here they diſtinguiſh the private Judgment of ſome of the holy Biſhops, aſſembled in the City of *Chalcedon*, from the public Judgment of the whole Council, or of the greater Part of the venerable Prelates, who compoſed it. They own the Letter was approved by Two or Three Biſhops, who were preſent at that great and numerous Aſſembly; but, at the ſame time, take the Liberty to reprove his Holineſs, and in very ſharp Terms, as one who

Whether the Letter of Ibas *was approved by the Council of* Chalcedon.

[b] Synod. Quint. Collat. 6.

the Acts of that Council with the greateſt Care and Attention, diligentiſſima inveſtigatione; *but could find nothing there concerning the Condemnation of* Theodorus (1). But Pope *Pelagius*, choſen in 557. affirms, and no leſs poſitively, that *Theodorus* was condemned by the Council of *Epheſus*. *The holy* Epheſine *Synod*, ſays that Pope, *condemned* Theodorus *after his Death.* He adds, that an impious Creed, which he had compoſed, being read in that Council, the Fathers anathematized both the Creed and its Author (2).

(1) Vigil. Conſtit. ap. Bar. n. 173. (2) Pelag. ep. 7.

argued with all the Craft and Subtlety of an Heretic, *aſtutia hæretica*, in preſuming to paſs upon them the private Opinion of a few, for the public Definition or Judgment of a whole Council. And truly, that the Letter of *Ibas* was not approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as was boldly aſſerted by the Pope in his Conſtitution, ſufficiently appears from the Acts of that Council. When it was read there, *Eunomius* of *Nicomedia* found fault with ſome Expreſſions it contained, reflecting on the Conduct of *Cyril*, and the other Biſhops of the Council of *Epheſus*. But as *Ibas* ſeemed to acknowlege Two Natures, and One Perſon, in Chriſt, the Legates of Pope *Leo*, and with them *Maximus* of *Antioch*, declared that, in their Opinion, the very Letter of *Ibas* was a ſufficient Proof of the Orthodoxy of his Faith. *Juvenalis* of *Jeruſalem* ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe. The other Biſhops neither approved nor diſapproved that Letter; but only required *Ibas*, after it was read, to anathematize *Neſtorius*, and all who held the ſame Doctrine; which he readily did, and was thereupon reſtored to his See, from which he had been driven by *Dioſcorus*, in the Second Council of *Epheſus*. It cannot therefore be ſaid, as the Fathers of the preſent Council obſerve, that the Letter of *Ibas* was approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, but only that it was approved, in ſome Degree, by Two or Three of the Biſhops, who were preſent at that Council. Year of Chriſt 553.

The Three Chapters being thus condemned, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, by the unanimous Conſent of all the Biſhops who compoſed that Aſſembly, and the Arguments offered by the Pope, in Defence of the ſaid Chapters, unanſwerably confuted, the Emperor cauſed Copies of the Acts to be ſent to *Vigilius*; and, at the ſame time, let him know, that he muſt either agree with his Brethren, and condemn what they had condemned, or forfeit his See, and be ſent into Exile. The Pope anſwered, That the Emperor might diſpoſe of him as he thought fit; but, as he could not ſign the Acts and Decrees of ſuch an Aſſembly without renouncing the holy Faith of *Chalcedon*, he was ready to ſuffer, and ſuffer with Joy, both Exile and Death, in ſo good a Cauſe. This Anſwer was no ſooner known to the Emperor, than he cauſed the Pope to be ſeized, and conveyed, under a ſtrong Guard, to *Proconneſus*, an inhoſpitable Iſland in the *Propontis* [c]. The other Biſhops in the Weſt, who refuſed to ſign

The Pope refuſes, at firſt, to ſign the Decrees of the Council.

Is ſent into Exile.

[c] Anaſt. in Vigil. Liberat. Brev. c. 22.

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the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, and were Subjects of the Empire, met with no better Treatment than the Pope, being all driven, without Mercy, from their Sees, and sent into different Exiles. Among these the Two *African* Bishops, *Victor Tunnunensis*, and *Facundus* of *Hermiana*, distinguished themselves above the rest. *Victor* was first confined to an abandoned Place in *Egypt*, and thence sent for to *Constantinople*. But as he still continued, in spite of all the Threats and Promises the Emperor could use, to defend the Three Chapters, he was never suffered to return to his See, but shut up for Life in a Monastery. *Facundus* wrote no fewer than Twelve Books in Defence of the condemned Chapters, all interspersed with most bitter Invectives against *Justinian*, for presuming, though only a Layman, to interfere in Matters of Faith and Religion (A). However, by abandoning his See, and keeping himself concealed, he had the good Luck to escape the Punishment, with which he was, by the provoked Emperor, deservedly threatened. These Two, and, after their Example, for they were both leading Men, several other Bishops in the West, especially in *Africa*, stood up, to the last, in Defence of the Three Chapters, chusing rather to be driven from their Sees, to be stript of all their Effects, and to perish with Famine in the Deserts, than to condemn those Articles, or communicate with any who condemned them. But *Vigilius* was a Man of a very different Temper, and had already changed his Opinion Three times in the present Dispute. He first defended the controverted Points, as intirely agreeable to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*;

(A) In his Ninth Book is a remarkable Passage concerning the Eucharist, which has put all the *Roman* Catholic Divines to a Stand. *Facundus* undertakes there to explain, in a Catholic Sense, all the Propositions that, in the various and almost innumerable Works of *Theodorus* had been condemned as heretical, and this among the rest, *Christ was the adopted Son of God*. To prove that Proposition capable of a Catholic Meaning, he argues thus: *Christ received the Sacrament, or Sign of Adoption, which may be called the Adoption itself, as the Faithful, receiving the Sacrament, or the Signs of the Body and Blood of Christ, are said to receive his Body and his Blood; not that properly the Bread is his Body, and the Cup his Blood, but because they contain in themselves the Mysteries of both* (1). Would *Facundus* have ever argued thus, had it been then believed by the Church, that the Faithful received in the Eucharist the true and real Body of Christ, his true and real Blood; or had the Fathers, saying, *We receive the Body and Blood of Christ*, been then understood by the Church, as the Church of *Rome* now understands them? That Writer shews here in what Sense the Body and Blood of Christ are said to be received by the Faithful. And who ever undertook to shew in what Sense a thing is said to be received, which is really and truly received?

(1) Facund. in defen. Trium Cap. l. 9.

then

then condemned them as intirely repugnant to that Doctrine; and again, after examining them *with all poſſible Care and Attention, omni undique cautela atque diligentia*, he declared them anew, nay, and defined them *ex cathedra*, intirely agreeable to the ſame Doctine. No Wonder therefore, if, in the preſent Circumſtances, he changed his Opinion once more. He ſoon grew ſick of his Abode in the Iſland of *Proconneſus*; the Emperor had not only cauſed his Name to be ſtruck out of the Diptychs, as the Name of a condemned and depoſed Heretic, but was actually ſoliciting the *Roman* People and Clergy to chuſe another Pope in his room: he knew the Emperor was not to be moved, and that nothing but an intire Compliance with his Will could redeem him from ſo painful an Exile. As for his Brethren in the Weſt, he had already forfeited their good Opinion, and with them brought into the utmoſt Contempt, by his former Changes, both himſelf and his See. In theſe Circumſtances he firſt wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter to the Patriarch *Eutychius*, owning that, in oppoſing, as he had hitherto done, the reſt of his Brethren, he had been guilty of a Breach of that Union and Concord which ought to prevail among all the true Followers of Chriſt, eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtics and Biſhops. He adds, that as, upon examining the Three Chapters with more Care and Attention (he had already examined them *with all poſſible Care and Attention*), he was fully convinced, that they had been deſervedly condemned, ſo he was not aſhamed openly to acknowlege it, and own, that he had done wrong to defend them, imitating therein the Example of St. *Auſtin*, who was not aſhamed, when he diſcovered the Truth, to condemn and retract whatever he had written againſt it. He then relates the chief Errors, which, with the Help of the Air of *Proconneſus*, he had lately diſcovered in the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, of *Theodoret*, and *Ibas*; and concludes thus: *We make it known to the whole Catholic Church, that we condemn and anathematize all Hereſies and Heretics, namely,* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *and his impious Writings; the Writings of* Theodoret *againſt St.* Cyril, *and the Council of* Epheſus; *and the Letter to* Maris *the* Perſian, *which is ſaid to have been written by* Ibas. *We likewiſe anathematize all who ſhall preſume to defend the ſaid Three Chapters, or ſhall think them capable of being maintained or defended. We acknowlege for our Collegues and Brethren, thoſe who have condemned them; and by theſe Preſents annul whatever has been done,*

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He changes his Opinion the Fourth time, concerning the Three Chapters.

He condemns the Three Chapters, in his Letter to the Patriarch.

Year of Christ 553.

ſaid, or written, by us, or by others, to defend them [d]. This Letter is dated from the Iſland of *Proconneſus*, the 8th of *December* of the preſent Year; ſo that the Pope had ſcarce been Five Months there when he wrote it, having, in ſo ſhort a time, more plainly diſcovered the Truth in that Iſland, than he had done in Seven whole Years at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*; for ſo long had the preſent Controverſy laſted.

And afterwards by a ſolemn Conſtitution.

The Emperor was not ſatisfied with that Letter; but inſiſted on the Pope's condemning the Three Chapters, as repugnant to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, no leſs ſolemnly than he had approved them before, as agreeable to that Doctrine. This *Vigilius* at firſt ſtrove to decline; but, finding the Emperor unalterably bent on his condemning thoſe Articles by a ſolemn Conſtitution, as he had by a ſolemn Conſtitution formerly approved them, he iſſued one ſoon after, that is, on the 23d of *February* 554. which was ſo well received both by the Emperor and the Patriarch, that he was immediately releaſed from his Exile, and recalled to *Conſtantinople*. In that Conſtitution he points out, and confutes, the many execrable Blaſphemies, as he ſtyles them, contained in the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, of *Theodoret*, and in the Letter which is ſaid to have been written by *Ibas* (A); alleges a great many Reaſons to prove,

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[d] Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 595.

(A) In the preſent Conſtitution *Vigilius* will not allow *Ibas* to have been the Author of that Letter, though in his former Conſtitution he had approved it as written by him; and indeed it is agreed to have been his by all but the Annaliſt, who, finding his High Pontiff had thus contradicted himſelf, thought, perhaps, that he could not do leſs than contradict himſelf too. For, having poſitively affirmed, I believe in more than Twenty Places, that *Ibas* was, without all Doubt, the Author of that Letter; that it is manifeſt, from the Tenth Seſſion of the Council of *Chalcedon*, that *Ibas* wrote the controverted Letter; that *Ibas* himſelf, who of all Men knew beſt whether it was his or no, owned it (1); after having thus, I ſay, poſitively affirmed that Letter to have been written by *Ibas*, while the Pope thought ſo; he no leſs poſitively affirms, when the Pope thought otherwiſe, the diſputed Letter not to have been written by *Ibas*; nay, that it was found by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as is manifeſt from the public Acts of that Council, not to be his (2). Upon the Whole, when the Pope thought *Ibas* was the Author of that Epiſtle, it was certainly written by him; it was manifeſt from the Acts of the Council, that it was his: when the Pope thought *Ibas* was not the Author of that Letter, it certainly was not written by him; it was manifeſt from the Acts of the Council, that it was not his. There was no Occaſion either for the Pope or the Cardinal to trouble themſelves about the Author of that Piece, ſince the Diſpute was not about its Author, but the Doctrine it contained.

(1) Bar. ad Ann. 448. n. 71. 77. et ad ann. 553. n. 191, 192, 193. 196, 197, &c.
(2) Idem ad ann. 432. n. 71.

that

that the Letter of *Ibas* was condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as heretical and blaſphemous, the very Letter, which, in his former Conſtitution, he had declared and maintained to have been approved, by that Council, as Catholic and Orthodox; anſwers one by one the Arguments, which, in his other Conſtitution, he had offered in Defence of that Letter; and concludes thus: *We therefore anathematize and condemn the Three above-mentioned impious Chapters*; viz. *The Letter, which* Ibas *is ſaid to have written to* Maris *the* Perſian, *as containing the execrable Blaſphemies, which I have above pointed out; the impious* Theodorus *of* Mopſueſtia, *with his deteſtable Writings; and what* Theodoret *impiouſly wrote againſt St.* Cyril *and the Council of* Epheſus. *As for what we or others may, at any time, have ſaid or written in Defence of the ſaid Three impious Chapters, we declare the Whole, by the Authority of this our preſent Conſtitution, abſolutely null* [e]. This was the Fourth and laſt Change of *Vigilius*, in the famous Diſpute concerning the Three Chapters. And now the Emperor, ſatisfied with his Conduct, not only received him with extraordinary Marks of Honour, on his Return to *Conſtantinople*, but granted him, at laſt, the ſo much and ſo long wiſhed for Liberty of returning to *Rome*. Year of Chriſt 554.

I cannot diſmiſs this Subject without ſome Obſervations, which naturally ariſe from it, and may probably have occurred to every Reader. And, firſt, It is to be obſerved, that the preſent Council was not convened by the Pope, but by the Emperor, againſt the Will of the Pope; that the Pope neither aſſiſted at it in Perſon, nor by his Legates. And yet this very Council was received by the whole Catholic Church; has been approved by all the Popes, who have governed the *Roman* Church ſince the Time of *Vigilius* to the preſent; and is ranked, by all the *Roman* Catholic Divines, among the lawful and Oecumenical Councils. Hence it evidently follows, that a Council may be lawful and Oecumenical, may determine and define, cenſure and condemn, without the Conſent or Concurrence of the Pope. But the preſent Council, ſays *Baronius* [f], was neither lawful nor Oecumenical; it did not even deſerve the Name of a private Synod [g]; it was no Council at all, till *Vigilius* approved it; *A Council may be lawful and Oecumenical, without the Preſence or Approbation of the Pope.*

[e] Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 1551. Evagr. l. 4. c. 38. Phot. ep. ad Mich. Bulg. Princ. Zonar. l. 4. Cedren. ad ann. 25. Juſtin. Euthym. Panopl. part. 2. tit. 24. in append. Niceph. l. 17. c. 27. Liberat. c. 22.

[f] Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 224.

[g] Idem ibid. n. 219.

it

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it was his Approbation, his laſt Conſtitution, that raiſed it to the Rank of a lawful and Oecumenical Council [h]: which is as much as to ſay, that while it was in being, it was no Council at all; but, when it was no more, it then became a Council, a lawful and Oecumenical Council; for it was not approved by the Pope till Five Months after it was diſſolved, and the Biſhops, who had compoſed it, were all returned to their Sees. The ſurpriſing Virtue of Papal Power, to change thus the Nature of things, and make them be when they have no Being, what they never were while they had a Being!

If the Pope is infallible, both Parts of a Contradiction may be true.

2dly, The Pope defined, as we have ſeen, the controverted Articles to be, and defined them not to be, repugnant to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; and both he defined *ex cathedra*. If therefore the Pope is infallible, if what he defines *ex cathedra* is infallibly true, Two contradictory Propoſitions may be infallibly true. That the Pope erred on this Occaſion, is owned even by the moſt ſanguine Sticklers for his Infallibility. But he did not err, ſay they, in Matters of Faith, ſince the Diſpute was not concerning Matters of Faith. It is certain, ſays *Baronius*, it is evident, it is demonſtrable, that the Controverſy concerning the Three Chapters was no Controverſy concerning the Faith [i]. The chief Controverſy was, whether the Doctrine contained in the Works of the Three often-mentioned Writers was Orthodox or heretical, was agreeable or repugnant to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, and the Belief of the Church. If that was not, I ſhould be glad to know what other ever was, or could be truly called, a Controverſy concerning the Faith. *Baronius* himſelf owned it was a Controverſy concerning the Faith, when he was not yet appriſed, that he could by no other Means defend the chimerical Prerogative of Infallibility, but by denying it was a Controverſy concerning the Faith. For, ſpeaking of the Imperial Edict condemning the Three Chapters, he inveighs againſt the Emperor, and in a moſt abuſive Dialect, for taking upon him to iſſue Edicts, to make Laws, and to dictate to the Biſhops, *in Matters of Faith and Religion* [k]; and that Edict he conſtantly ſtyles a *Decree of Faith*, *Decretum Fidei* [l]. If the Emperor's Decree was a *Decree of Faith*, or about *Matters of Faith and Religion*, the Pope's Decree was ſurely ſo too; and conſequently,

[h] Idem ibid. [i] Bar. ad ann. 547. n. 30. et ad ann. 553. n. 231. [k] Idem ad ann. 546. n. 41. 43. 50. [l] Id. loc. cit. et alibi.

if

if the Pope erred, and that he did err is as certain as that both Parts of a Contradiction cannot be true, he erred, even according to *Baronius*, in Matters of Faith and Religion. Year of Christ 554.

3dly, The whole Church was, at this Time, *rent*, as *Justinian* expressed it, *from East to West*; that is, was divided into Two opposite Parties, the one condemning, and the other defending, the Three Chapters. But by neither was the Pope acknowleged for an infallible Judge in the Dispute, that occasioned this Division: not by the former; for they continued to condemn those Chapters, when the Pope defended them: not by the latter; for they continued to defend the same Chapters, when the Pope condemned them; nay, and separated themselves from his Communion, because he condemned them. I defy the Popish Writers to name a single Bishop, either in the East or the West, who changed Opinion upon the Pope's changing his; that is, a single Bishop who, so late as the Middle of the Sixth Century, owned the Pope for an infallible Judge in Matters of Faith. *The Pope's Infallibility not known in the 6th Century.*

4thly, In the present Dispute, *Vigilius* contradicted himself, again and again, as we have seen. Now, as the same Pope may contradict himself in Matters of Faith, why may not one Pope contradict another? Why may not one Pope retract the Sentence of another, as well as the same Pope his own? If he may, how can a Man, in common Sense, receive the Decrees of any particular Pope as infallibly true, till he is sure, which he never can be, that no other Pope will ever retract them? *One Pope may contradict another in Matters of Faith.*

But to return to *Vigilius*: Released from his Exile, and recalled to *Constantinople*, he was impatient, as we may well imagine, to quit the East, where he had made so contemptible a Figure, notwithstanding the extraordinary Honours that were paid him there upon his Recantation. However, as he was, at the same time, sensible, that his last Change would greatly disoblige the People and Clergy of *Rome*, all zealous Defenders of the Three Chapters, he did not leave *Constantinople* till he had obtained of the Emperor a Constitution, with several Grants, Privileges, and Exemptions, not for the *Romans* only, but for the Inhabitants of *Italy* in general, that Country being then reduced to a most deplorable Condition, by the War between the *Goths* and the *Greeks*, which had been carried on, without Intermission, from the Year 535. to the present 554. when the Reduction of *Italy* was completed by *Narses*. With that Constitution, *He obtains of the Emperor several Privileges for the People of* Italy.

Year of Christ 554. dated the 13th of *Auguſt*, *Vigilius* embarked, after a Seven Years Abſence, on his Return to *Rome*, not doubting but the ample Privileges, which he had procured for the People of *Italy*, would ſufficiently atone with them for his late Conduct. But he had not the ſo much wiſhed for Satisfaction of ſeeing *Rome* or *Italy* again. For, being taken in the Voyage with a violent Fit of the Stone, a Complaint to which he had been long ſubject, he put in at *Syracuſe*; and not being able ever after to bear the leaſt Motion, he continued there to his Death, which happened not long after; that is, ſome time before the 11th of *April* of the following Year 555. for on that Day his Succeſſor, *Pelagius* I. was ordained, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. As to the Month, or the Day of the Month, in which he died, neither is mentioned by the contemporary Writers. The Bibliothecarian ſuppoſes him to have governed the *Roman* Church 17 Years, 6 Months, and 26 Days [a]. But as *Vigilius* was ordained on the 22d of *November* 537. his Computation muſt be certainly falſe. The Body of the deceaſed Pope was conveyed from *Syracuſe* to *Rome*, and there interred in the Church of St. *Marcellus*, on the *Salarian* Way.

Vigilius *dies*. Year of Christ 555.

His Character, while Antipope, by Baronius.

Of *Vigilius* I find, in *Baronius*, Two different Characters; the one of the Antipope *Vigilius*, the other of Pope *Vigilius*; for he was Antipope, as we have ſeen, before he was Pope. While Antipope, he was not only ambitious beyond all Meaſure, ſays the Annaliſt, but quite mad with Ambition; a ſecond *Lucifer*, ſtriving to aſcend into Heaven, and exalt his Throne above the Stars; but by the Weight of his enormous Sacrileges, and heinous Crimes, brought down to Hell; a Schiſmatic, a Simoniac, a Murderer, not the Succeſſor of *Simon Peter*, but of *Simon Magus*, not the Vicar of Chriſt, but an Antichriſt, an Idol ſet up in the Temple of God, the Abomination of Deſolation ſtanding in the Holy Place, a Wolf, a Thief, a Robber [b]; but yet a good Catholic, *Homo revera Catholicus* [c], and known for ſuch to the People and Clergy of *Rome*, who therefore raiſed him, *by divine Inſpiration*, to the Pontifical Throne, *Divinitus inſpirato Conſilio evehunt ipſum in Pontificium Thronum* [d]. *Baronius* ſpeaks here of the Election, which he ſuppoſes to have happened upon the Death of *Silverius*, and which he elſewhere [e] aſcribes,

[a] Anaſt. in Vigil. [b] Bar. ad ann. 538. n. 9. 17, 18, 19, 20. [c] Idem ad ann. 540. n. 8. [d] Idem ad ann. 540. n. 7, 8. [e] Idem ad ann. 540. n. 5.

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aſcribes, not to the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, but to the powerful Influence of the Empreſs *Theodora*, and her Servant *Beliſarius*. For, ſpeaking there of this imaginary Election, he tells us, that *Vigilius* reſigned the Papal Dignity, not with a Deſign to quit it, but to act, as it were, a Part in a Comedy, and to make the World believe, that he really did what he never intended to do. The crafty Man, ſays he, came down from the Throne, but was firſt well aſſured, that by means of *Beliſarius*, he ſhould ſoon reaſcend it. The Electors did not chuſe him on Account of his Piety, his Virtue, or any Epicopal Qualifications, which they diſcovered in him; for he was quite deſtitute of all Merit and Virtue, and ſullied with the blackeſt Crimes [f].

His Character, by the ſame Writer, when, according to him, lawful Pope.

Such was *Vigilius* while yet an Intruder, and an Antipope. But no ſooner was he placed, by what the Annaliſt calls a *lawful Election* (A), on the Throne of St. *Peter*, than God gave him another Heart, and he was turned, at once, into another Man, having nothing in View, nothing at Heart, but the Welfare of the Catholic Church, and the Purity of the Catholic Faith. However profligate and abandoned before his Election, he was ſuddenly after it indued with every Virtue, that could be required in the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, in the Vicar of Chriſt upon Earth; it being the peculiar Privilege of the Apoſtolic See, to change even wicked Men, who are raiſed to it, immediately into Saints, *Quos iniquos accepit, ſolet mox reddere ſanctos* [g]. A valuable Privilege indeed! but, very unfortunately, the quite contrary has happened; for ſome who had good Characters when raiſed to that See, have become very bad Men after their Exaltation, by a natural Effect of the Pride and Ambition attending great Power. Among the other eminent Virtues of Pope *Vigilius*, the Annaliſt admires and extols his Firmneſs and Conſtancy,

[f] Idem ibid. n. 7. [g] Idem ad ann. 540. n. 15.

(A) *Baronius* tells us elſewhere, that *Vigilius* was, by the ſacred Laws of the Church, incapable of being ever preferred to the Epiſcopal Dignity; and that, when he was propoſed by *Beliſarius* to the People and Clergy of *Rome*, they could not think, without Horror, of placing on the Throne of St. *Peter* a Man ſullied with ſo many Crimes, anathematized by his holy Predeceſſor, and excluded by the Canons from every Preferment in the Church (1). If ſo, how could his Election ever be lawful, an Election made in Defiance of the ſacred Laws and Canons of the Church? And how could *Baronius* pretend it was made by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt?

(1) Bar. ad ann. 540. n. 7.

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even in the Diſpute about the Three Chapters; which, if ſaid by any but a *Baronius* or a *Bellarmine*, would be juſtly looked upon as a Satire or Irony. It is true, ſays *Baronius*, in that Diſpute, he changed his Opinion, he condemned what he had approved, and approved what he had condemned; but that was no more a Mark of Inconſtancy in him, than the like Change was in St. *Paul*, who condemned Circumciſion, and yet circumciſed *Timothy* [h]. *Baronius* could not but ſee the wide Difference there is between an immutable Doctrine of Faith, which muſt ever be true, and a mutable Ceremony, which in ſome Circumſtances may be expedient, and not in others. The Annaliſt adds, that *Vigilius*, though now a Saint, was nevertheleſs puniſhed by Heaven for his former Crimes; for, having haſtened the Death of his holy Predeceſſor, by confining him to an Iſland, he died himſelf [i], by a juſt Judgment of God, in an Iſland; as if it were a Judgment upon a Man to die in an Iſland.

Baronius gives him elſewhere a very different Character.

But how can we reconcile what that Writer ſays of the ſudden and miraculous Change of *Vigilius*, with what he tells us elſewhere? *viz.* That it never more evidently appeared, than in the Time of *Vigilius*, that the Boat of St. *Peter* was immediately ſteered either by that Apoſtle, or by him, whoſe Vicar he was; ſince he, who then ſate at the Helm, was either aſleep, though the Wind was boiſterous, or, if he watched, it was only to conſult his own Safety, without any Concern about that of the Veſſel [k]. And indeed, that ſuch was his true Character, ſufficiently appears from his whole Conduct. However, in Proceſs of Time, a Place was allowed him in ſome Martyrologies [l]; and he was once honoured by ſeveral Churches as a Saint, and a Martyr. But he has been long ſince unſainted; and *Baronius* himſelf has not thought him worthy of a Place in the *Roman* Calendar.

He is ſainted and unſainted.

[h] Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 235.
[i] Bar. ad ann. 555. n. 1.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Calend. Vet. Trevir. 31. Januar.

JUSTINIAN. Year of Christ 555.

PELAGIUS,

Fifty-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

VIGILIUS was ſucceeded by *Pelagius*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *John*, formerly Vicar to the *Præfectus Prætorio* [a]. He was firſt employed by *Silverius*, and ſent by that Pope to *Conſtantinople*, with the Character of his *Apocriſarius*, or Nuncio; but betraying him, in the manner we have related above [b], he ſeconded the wicked Attempts of *Vigilius*, the Uſurper of his See. In the famous Diſpute concerning the *Three Chapters*, he adhered to *Vigilius* in all his Changes, condemning or approving thoſe Articles as the Pope condemned or approved them. With him he was baniſhed, for rejecting the Fifth Council; but recanting, when the Pope recanted, he was with him releaſed from his Exile, and recalled to *Conſtantinople*. He attended *Vigilius* on his Return from the Imperial City; and, the Pope dying in the Iſland of *Sicily*, he haſtened to *Rome*, the Emperor having promiſed to raiſe him to that See, if he ſurvived *Vigilius*, upon his engaging to cauſe the Fifth Council to be univerſally received in the Weſt. But, arriving at *Rome*, he found both the People and Clergy incenſed againſt him, to ſuch a Degree, on Account of his having approved the laſt Conſtitution of *Vigilius*, that, inſtead of chuſing him for their Biſhop, they all ſeparated themſelves, with one Conſent, from his Communion. *Pelagius*, however, knowing he had the Emperor on his Side, reſolved to cauſe himſelf to be ordained in Defiance of the Canons, as well as the Electors (A).

The Conduct of Pelagius, *while Nuncio to* Silverius, *and to* Vigilius, *at the Court of* Conſtantinople.

The Emperor promiſes to raiſe him to the Papal Dignity.

The People, inſtead of chuſing him, ſeparate themſelves from his Communion.

Having therefore applied to the Biſhops, without conſulting either the People or the Clergy, he prevailed upon Two, *John* of *Peruſia*, and *Bonus* of *Ferentinum*, to perform the Function: but, to the everlaſting Glory of the *Italian* Prelates, a Third could not be found in all *Italy*, who would be any-ways concerned in ſo illegal an Ordination. In his room therefore was ſubſtituted, by a new Breach of

[a] Lib. Pont. [b] See above, p. 366. Note B.

(A) The Canons of ſeveral Councils forbid a Biſhop to be obtruded on the People, againſt their Conſent.

Year of Christ 555.

the Canons (B), one *Andrew*, a Presbyter of *Oſtia* (C): and by the above-mentioned Biſhops, and that Presbyter, was *Pelagius* ordained Biſhop of *Rome* [c] (D).

He is illegally choſen, and ordained.

But, the People of *Rome*, highly provoked at his thus obtruding himſelf upon them, to ſhew their Reſentment, ſeparated themſelves anew from his Communion, declaring, that, as he was not elected by them, but had, by an open Breach of the Canons, and againſt their Conſent, ſeized on the See, they would never acknowlege him for their lawful Biſhop. In theſe Circumſtances *Pelagius* had no other Reſource but to recur to the Emperor; and to him he applied, without Delay, acquainting him with his unhappy Situation, and aſcribing the Hatred, which the *Romans* bore him, to his having approved the late Council, and joined the Eaſtern Biſhops in condemning the *Three Chapters*. He renewed, on that Occaſion, the Promiſe he had made of cauſing the Fifth Council to be univerſally received in the Weſt: and there wanted no more to engage the Emperor in his Favour, who not only confirmed him, without any farther Inquiry, but wrote to *Narſes*; who, having completed the Reduction of *Italy*, governed that Country with an abſolute Sway,

He recurs to the Emperor, who ſupports him in his Uſurpation.

[c] Lib. Pont. Anaſt. Biblioth.

(B) The Council of *Nice* requires all the Biſhops of the Province to aſſiſt at the Ordination of a new Biſhop. But adds, if they cannot all conveniently attend, Three ſhall be ſufficient, provided the Metropolitan, and the reſt, ſend their Conſent in Writing (1). Ordination performed by fewer than Three was always deemed illegal; nay, the Firſt Council of *Orange* commands both the ordaining Biſhop, and the Ordained, to be depoſed (2): and the Council of *Riez* actually depoſed *Armentarius*, becauſe he had not been ordained by Three Biſhops (3). The Fathers of that Aſſembly even ſeem to have looked upon ſuch an Ordination as null: *Ordinationem*, ſay they, *quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque vacuandam eſſe cenſuimus; in qua, prætermiſſa trium præſentia, &c. prorſus nihil, quod Epiſcopum faceret, oſtenſum eſt* (4). But it muſt be allowed, that Ordination, tho' performed by Two Biſhops only, or even by one, was never deemed null by the Church.

(C) The Biſhop of *Rome* was, from the earlieſt Times, as he ſtill is, conſecrated by the Biſhop of *Oſtia*. But the preſent Biſhop of that City declining to conſecrate one, who thus obtruded himſelf on the People, contrary to the known Laws of the Church, it was thought expedient to bring a Presbyter, at leaſt, from *Oſtia*; and from thence was brought accordingly the above-mentioned Presbyter.

(D) It appears from his Epitaph (5), and is agreed on all Hands, that he was ordained on the 11th of *April*. As to the Year, concerning which there has been ſome Diſpute, it is manifeſt, from his Letter to the Biſhops of *Tuſcany*, dated the 15th of *February* 556. that he was then Pope; and conſequently, that if he was ordained on the 11th of *April*, it was on the 11th of *April* of the preceding Year 555.

(1) Con. Nicen. can. 4. (2) Con. 1. Arauſiac. can. 21. (3) Con. Reien. can. 1. (4) Con. Reien. ibid. (5) Apud Bar. ann. 559. p. 494.

com-

commanding him to ſupport the new Pope with all his Intereſt and Power. In Compliance with the Emperor's Command, *Narſes* ſpared no Pains to reconcile the People of *Rome* with their Biſhop; and ſucceeded therein ſo far as to gain over, in a very ſhort time, the greater Part of the Nobility and Clergy. Their acknowleging *Pelagius* for their lawful Biſhop was urged againſt thoſe, who did not, as a lawful Election; ſo that, *Narſes* interpoſing his Authority, they were, in the End, all prevailed upon to acquieſce [d].

Year of Chriſt 555.

Narſes *prevails on the Nobility and Clergy to acknowlege him for their Biſhop.*

Pelagius, finding himſelf now in the quiet Poſſeſſion of his See, undertook, with great Zeal, the Work which the Emperor, to whom alone he was indebted for his Dignity, had ſo much at Heart. As the Biſhops of *Tuſcany* were the neareſt to *Rome*, and the moſt of all incenſed againſt the Pope, on Account of his receiving the Fifth Council, having, on that Score, even eraſed his Name out of the Diptychs; to them he wrote, in the firſt Place, alleging ſeveral Arguments to convince them, that the Conſtitution of *Vigilius*, condemning the *Three Chapters*, was no-ways derogatory to the Decrees or Faith of *Chalcedon*. He adds, That the Apoſtolic Sees had all received that Conſtitution; and, conſequently, that ſuch as did not receive it, ought to be deemed Schiſmatics; the Church being founded, according to St. *Auſtin*, on the Apoſtolic Sees, and the Unity, ſo much recommended by the Fathers, conſiſting in the Union of the other Churches with them [e]. *Pelagius* does not pretend, as we may obſerve here by the way, the Church to have been founded on the See of *Rome* alone; nor that See alone to be the Centre of Unity. He cloſes his Letter with a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring, that he receives the Four firſt Councils, with the Doctrine contained in the Letter of *Leo*; and, laying before them the Evils attending a Schiſm, or Miſunderſtanding, among the Prelates of the Church, he adviſes them, if they ſtill queſtion the Orthodoxy of his Faith, to ſend ſome of their Brethren to *Rome*, aſſuring them, they will be thus fully ſatisfied, that his Faith and theirs is one and the ſame [f]. The Anſwer of the *Tuſcan* Biſhops to this Letter, if they returned any, has not reached our Times. But from Hiſtory it appears, that, apprehending the Decree of the Fifth Council, condemning the *Three Chapters*, to be inconſiſtent with the Faith of *Chalcedon*, they continued for many Years ſeparated from the Biſhops of *Rome*, who received it.

He writes to the Biſhops of Tuſcany, *in favour of the Council.*

Year of Chriſt 556.

[d] Lib. Pont. [e] Pelag. ep. 6. [f] Idem ibid.

It

Year of Christ 556.

The Fifth Council rejected by almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops.

It was not only by the Biſhops of *Tuſcany* that the Fifth Council was rejected, though approved by the *Roman* Church, and the Pope. Thoſe too of *Liguria* and *Venetia* in *Italy*, the Biſhops of *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and even of *Ireland*, declared loudly againſt the Decree of that Aſſembly; nay, the *Italian* Biſhops, and likewiſe the *Iriſh*, cenſuring the Conduct of the Pope, in the ſharpeſt Terms, as if he had betrayed the Faith, to engage the Emperor in his Favour, in caſe of a Vacancy, ſeparated themſelves from his Communion [g]. As for the Biſhops of *Africa*, they had, with one Conſent, renounced the Communion of *Rome*, ever ſince the Year 550. when they excommunicated *Vigilius*, for condemning the *Three Chapters*, by his famous *Judicatum* [h].

Pelagius *writes a circular Letter, addreſſed to the whole Church.*

Pelagius, finding himſelf thus abandoned by almoſt all the Biſhops in the Weſt, as if he had condemned Doctrines, which the Council of *Chalcedon* had defined, to remove that Suſpicion, wrote a circular Letter, addreſſed to the whole Church, ſolemnly declaring, that he approved the Four firſt Oecumenical Councils; that he held the Doctrine which they had defined; anathematized all, who had been anathematized by them; and received thoſe whom they had received; namely, the Two Catholic Biſhops *Theodoret* and *Ibas* [i]. But this Declaration, however ſolemn, did not ſatisfy the diſſenting Biſhops. They ſtill continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, anathematizing, as Betrayers of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, all who preſumed, or ſhould ever preſume, to condemn them. The Pope, therefore, finding he could by no other means overcome the Obſtinacy of the refractory and ſchiſmatic Biſhops, as he ſtyled them, reſolved, in the End, to recur to the ſecular Power; and accordingly wrote ſeveral very preſſing Letters to *Narſes*, recommending to that General the Unity of the Church, and exhorting him to reſtrain, by his Authority, thoſe whom the Authority of St. *Peter*, and his See, could not reſtrain, or bring to a Senſe of their Duty. *Narſes*, tho' a great Warrior, was a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, of great Moderation, and, in Matters of Religion, utterly averſe to Perſecution and Violence. Unwilling therefore to exert his Authority, he ſtrove, by gentle Methods, by Intreaties and Perſuaſion, to gain over the *Italian* Biſhops, who were Subjects of the Empire. This Method of acting was agreeable to the Temper of the General, but not of the

He ſtrives to ſtir up Narſes *againſt the diſſenting Biſhops.*

The great Moderation of that General.

[g] Greg. Mag. l. 2. epiſt. c. 36. [h] See above, p. 385. [i] Pelag. ep. 7.

Biſhop;

Biſhop; who, finding it was not attended with the wiſhed for Succeſs, wrote anew to *Narſes*, encouraging him to change his Conduct, and employ ſome more effectual Means than Intreaties and Perſuaſion, to bring to Reaſon the public Diſturbers of the Tranquillity of the Empire. Year of Chriſt 556.

"Be not alarmed, ſays he, at the idle Talk of ſome, crying "out againſt Perſecution, and reproaching the Church, as if ſhe de- "lighted in Cruelty, when ſhe puniſhes Evil with wholſome Seve- "rities, or procures the Salvation of Souls. He alone perſecutes, "who forces to Evil: but to reſtrain Men from doing Evil, or to "puniſh them becauſe they have done it, is not Perſecution, or "Cruelty, but Love of Mankind. Now that Schiſm, or a Separation "from the Apoſtolic Sees, is an Evil, no Man can deny; and that "Schiſmatics may and ought to be puniſhed, even by the ſecular "Power, is manifeſt both from the Canons of the Church, and the "Scripture." In what Part of the Scripture it is ſaid, that thoſe, who ſeparate themſelves from the Apoſtolic Sees, may and ought to be puniſhed by the ſecular Power, the Pope did not think fit to let us know. He cloſes his Letter with exhorting *Narſes* to cauſe the Heads of the Schiſm to be apprehended, and ſent, under a ſtrong Guard, to *Conſtantinople*; aſſuring him, that he need not ſcruple to uſe Violence, if it may be ſo called, in the preſent Caſe, ſeeing the Civil Power is allowed, nay, and required by the Canons, not only to apprehend, but to ſend into Exile, and confine to painful Priſons, thoſe who, diſſenting from their Brethren, diſturb the Tranquillity of the Church [k]. Might not the *Arians*, the *Neſtorians*, and the *Eutychians*, have juſtified, by the ſame Principles, and Method of Reaſoning, uſed here by the Pope, all the Cruelties they practiſed on the Catholics, when they prevailed, and had the Civil Power on their Side? *The Pope exhorts him anew to uſe Force and Violence.*

Narſes was no leſs deſirous than the Pope, of ſeeing an End put to the Schiſm, being well appriſed, that *Juſtinian* had nothing more at Heart, and that his effecting it would rivet him for ever in the Emperor's Favour. However, inſtead of hearkening to the Suggeſtions of the Pope, he ſtill purſued his former Conduct; acting therein more like a Biſhop than a Soldier, while the Biſhop acted more like a Soldier than a Biſhop. Some Biſhops of *Tuſcany*, and ſome of *Liguria*, were, in the End, prevailed upon by *Narſes* to renew their Commu- *But in vain.*

[k] Pelag. ep. 3.

Year of Christ 556.

Some Bishops persuaded by Narses *to renew their Communion with* Rome.

The Bishops of Istria *separate themselves from the Communion of the Pope, and excommunicate* Narses.

Year of Christ 557.

The Pope takes thence an Opportunity of stirring him up anew against them.

nion with *Rome*; but could by no means be persuaded to receive the Vth Council, and condemn the *Three Chapters*, condemned, as they said, by the Predecessor of *Pelagius*, and *Pelagius* himself, merely to gratify the Emperor, and redeem themselves from Exile, and the Hardships they suffered. As for the Bishops of *Istria*, having assembled about this time a Council in *Aquilea*, at which presided *Paulinus* Bishop of that City, they declared all to a Man in Favour of the *Three Chapters*, rejected the Council which had condemned them, separated themselves from the Communion of the Pope, and, at the same time, excommunicated *Narses* for concurring with him, and striving to establish a Faith different from that, which was established at *Chalcedon*. Of this *Pelagius* was no sooner informed, than he wrote anew to *Narses*, exhorting him to revenge the Affront, which the Schismatics had offered to him, and, in him, to the Emperor, whom he represented. To deter others from Attempts of the like Nature, and teach them the Respect, that is due to the See of the prime Apostle, and the Majesty of the Empire, he advises *Narses* to send *Paulinus* Prisoner to *Constantinople*, to drive all the rest from their Sees, and banish them the Province. He complains of *Paulinus* in particular, not only as a Schismatic, but as one, who, having been unduly ordained, ought not to be looked upon, nor ought to be treated, as a lawful Bishop, but as an Intruder. "By a Custom, says "he, which has long obtained, the Bishops of *Aquilea* and *Milan* "ordained each other: but the Ceremony was to be performed in "the Church of the Ordained, that no room might be left for the "Ordainer to claim any Superiority or Jurisdiction over the other; "and, at the same time, he might be well assured, that the Person, "whom he ordained, was acceptable to the People. This Custom, "continues the Pope, was not observed in the Ordination of *Pau-*"*linus*, the pretended Bishop of *Aquilea*. He was not ordained in "his own Church, but in that of *Milan*; and therefore must not be "looked upon as a lawful Bishop, but only as an Intruder, and an "Usurper[1]." What the Pope urges here against the Ordination of *Paulinus*, might have been unanswerably urged against his own. If the Bishop of *Aquilea* was to be looked upon only as an Intruder, and an Usurper, because the above-mentioned Custom was not observed in his Ordination, ought not *Pelagius* himself, with much more Rea-

[1] Pelag. ep. 5.

son,

ſon, to have been looked upon as an Intruder, and an Uſurper, ſeeing he had been ordained contrary to a more antient Cuſtom, a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed, and ſtrictly injoined, by an expreſs Canon of the moſt revered Council, that ever was held in the Church [m]; nay, and againſt the Conſent, and declared Will, of the whole People? But, not remembering his own illegal Ordination, or thinking *Narſes* did not remember it, he had even the Aſſurance to tell that General, it was incumbent upon him to ſee, that the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Church were as punctually complied with as thoſe of the Empire, and to puniſh all, who preſumed to tranſgreſs them within the Bounds of his Juriſdiction: that the Biſhops of *Aquilea* and *Milan* were both guilty of a notorious Tranſgreſſion of the ſaid Laws; which he cannot connive at, without betraying the Truſt repoſed in him by the moſt religious Emperor; nor, in ſo flagrant a Caſe, do leſs than remove both Biſhops from their Sees, and ſend them Priſoners to *Conſtantinople* [n]. Thus *Pelagius*; but yet the Two Biſhops kept Poſſeſſion of their Sees to the Day of their Death. And truly, had *Narſes* been perſuaded by the Pope, that it was incumbent upon him to proceed, with ſo much Severity, againſt thoſe who preſumed to tranſgreſs the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Church within the Bounds of his Juriſdiction, he muſt have begun with his Holineſs himſelf, whom he well knew to be the moſt notorious Tranſgreſſor of all.

Year of Chriſt 557.

In the mean time a Report being ſpread all over *Gaul*, that the Pope, by approving the Vth Council, condemned the Doctrine, which had been defined and eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, diſpatched one *Ruffinus* to *Rome*, to acquaint *Pelagius* with that Report, and, at the ſame time, to require a Confeſſion of his Faith. Were an Embaſſador now ſent to *Rome* on ſuch an Errand, he would there meet with a very indifferent Reception: but, as the Popes had not yet begun to think themſelves infallible, *Pelagius*, tho' a Man of no meek Spirit, inſtead of reſenting it in the King, that he ſhould have thus queſtioned the Orthodoxy of his Faith, received his Embaſſador with uncommon Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem; and, in Compliance with his Demand, drew up, ſigned, and ſent into *Gaul*, an ample Confeſſion of his Faith, ſolemnly declaring, that he not only received, but was ready to defend, even at the Expence of his Life, the holy Faith of *Chalcedon*; that he

Childebert *King of the* Franks *ſuſpects the Faith of the Pope.*

Who ſends to the King an ample Confeſſion of his Faith.

[m] See above, Note (A) [n] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 557

anathematized all, who did not hold the ſame Faith, as well as the Doctrine contained in the Letter of *Leo*; and that nothing had been defined in the Vth Council, but what was intirely agreeable to that Faith and Doctrine [o]. This Confeſſion the King immediately communicated to the *Gallican* Biſhops. But they, not ſatisfied with it, ſtill continued, in ſpite of the Pope's repeated Proteſtations, to defend the *Three Chapters*; and it was not till many Years after that the Vth Council was univerſally received in *Gaul*.

Several other Letters written in different Years by Pelagius.

Several other Letters, or Fragments of Letters, have reached our Times, written, in different Years, by *Pelagius* to *Narſes*, to *Childebert*, to *Sabaudus* of *Arles*, and others. In one to *Sabaudus*, he appoints that Prelate his Vicar, veſting him with the Metropolitan Juriſdiction, not only over the Provinces that were ſubject to *Childebert*, but all *Gaul* [p]. In his Letters to *Narſes*, he complains of ſeveral Biſhops, whom he charges with Inceſt, with Murder, with Adultery, and other heinous Crimes, which, he ſays, it is the Duty of the Civil Magiſtrate to puniſh, ſince the Church could not, with all the Severity ſuch Enormities deſerved [q]. In another Letter he acquaints the Perſon, to whom he writes, that the People of *Syracuſe*, which See was immediately ſubject to that of *Rome*, having choſen one for their Biſhop, who was married, and had Children, he had refuſed to ordain him; but finding the People, after they had been a whole Year without a Biſhop, were ſtill determined to chuſe no other, he had, in the End, thought it adviſeable to ordain the Perſon, whom they had choſen; but it was upon Condition that he ſhould not miſapply the Goods of the Church, nor bequeath the leaſt Share of them, at his Death, to his Wife, or his Children [r].

Pelagius *dies*. Year of Christ 560.

This Letter, and another concerning the Building of new Churches, which the Pope will not allow to be built on Ground where any Perſon whatever has been buried, ſeem to have been written in 558. and moſt Authors ſuppoſe *Pelagius* to have died the following Year. But from his Epitaph it appears, that he governed the *Roman* Church 4 Years, 10 Months, and 18 Days [s]; and, conſequently, as he was ordained on the Eleventh of *April* 555 [t]. that his Death muſt have happened on the Firſt of *March* 560. He had the Mortification to ſee the Authority of the *Roman* Church univerſally diſregarded, and brought to

[o] Pelag. ep. 10. [p] Idem, ep. 15. [q] Idem, epiſt. 4. [r] Idem, ep. 11. et frag. 1. tom. 5. Concil. p. 805. [s] Apud Bar. ad Ann. 559. p. 494. [t] See above, p. 420, Note (D).

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the loweſt Ebb, even in the Weſt, the Biſhops of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Ireland*, and *Italy*, continuing, in ſpite of all his Efforts, of his repeated Proteſtations, and Deciſions, to condemn and reject a Council, which he had approved and received; nay, and to ſuſpect the Orthodoxy of his Faith, becauſe he received it [t] (E). *Pelagius* is ſaid, in the Pontificals, to have died when he had juſt laid the Foundation of the famous Church in *Rome*, dedicated to the Two Apoſtles St. *Philip* and St. *James*. Year of Chriſt 560.

JUSTINIAN, **JOHN III.** JUSTIN *the younger*.

Sixtieth BISHOP *of* Rome.

PELAGIUS being dead, *John*, the Third of that Name, the Son of *Anaſtaſius*, a Perſon of no ſmall Diſtinction in *Rome*, was choſen to ſucceed him, and ordained on the 18th of *July*, which, in 560. fell on a *Sunday*, after the See had been vacant Four Months, and Seventeen Days [u]. Theſe long Vacancies are aſcribed, by ſome, to the Intrigues of the Candidates, or Pretenders to the Papal Dignity. But what ſeems chiefly to have occaſioned them, was, that the Elect, by what Number ſoever elected, could not be ordained till his Election was approved and confirmed by the Emperor; ſo that the Emperor was to be acquainted with the Election, was to iſſue a Decree confirming it, and that Decree was to be ſent to the Exarch of *Ravenna* (F), and notified by him to the *Roman* People; which, in thoſe times,

John III. *choſen, after a Vacancy of Four Months.*

What occaſioned theſe long Vacancies.

[t] Lib. Pontif. [u] Lib. Pontif.

(E) Did thoſe Biſhops believe him infallible? It is evident they did not; nor, indeed, did he himſelf: elſe he would not have failed, as we may well ſuppoſe, to plead that Prerogative, or at leaſt, to mention it, on ſo urgent an Occaſion.

(F) The Provinces of *Italy* had, ever ſince the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, been governed by *Conſulares*, *Correctores*, and *Præſides*, no Alteration in the Government having been made either by the Emperors who ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, or by the Kings of the *Goths*. But the *Goths* being driven out by *Narſes*, and all *Italy* united anew to the Empire, *Longinus*, who was ſent to ſucceed that General, ſuppreſſed the antient Magiſtrates; and, in their room, placed, in each City of Note, a Governor, whom he diſtinguiſhed with the Title of Duke. For himſelf, he aſſumed the Title of *Exarch*, which was given by the *Greeks* to thoſe who preſided over a Dioceſe, and, conſequently, over the many Provinces of which the Dioceſe was compoſed. The ſame Title was adopted by the Succeſſors of *Longinus*, who, reſiding, as he had done, at *Ravenna*, were thence ſtyled *Exarchs of* Ravenna. They governed *Italy* with an abſolute Authority, placing and diſplacing the Dukes at their Plea-

Year of Christ 560.

times, could ſeldom be done till ſeveral Months after the Election, on account of the Irruptions of the Barbarians, and the Wars in *Italy*. In the mean time the Archprieſt, the Archdeacon, and the *Primicerius*, or Chief of the Notaries, ſupplying the room of the Pope, tranſacted all Buſineſs, and diſpoſed of the Revenues of the See, as they thought fit. It was their Province to acquaint the Emperor, the Exarch, the Judges, and likewiſe the Biſhop of *Ravenna*, with the Deceaſe of the Pope, as ſoon as it happened, and afterwards with the Election of his Succeſſor; nor did they reſign their Charge, till they received the Imperial Decree confirming the Election. Their thus waiting till the Will of the Emperor was known, often occaſioned a conſiderable Delay in the Ordination or Conſecration of the Pope. But how long ſoever the Delay was, the Elect did not, in the mean time, exerciſe any Authority as true and lawful Pope, nor was he looked upon as ſuch, but ſtill yielded the Firſt Place in the Church to the Archprieſt (K). Hence it appears, that the Papal Dignity, whatever Power or Juriſdiction it imports, was not then thought to be conferred by Election alone, but by Election and Conſecration. It was on this Conſideration that the antient Writers have not allowed a Place, in the Catalogue of the Popes, to *Stephen*, who was choſen in 782. but died before he could be conſecrated. But in the Year 1059. *Nicolas* II. decreed, That if the Pope could not be conſecrated, he ſhould nevertheleſs exerciſe his Authority as true and lawful Pope, in governing the *Roman* Church, and diſpoſing of the Goods of the Holy See [w]. However it was ſtill diſputed in the 13th Century, whether the Pope had a Power to iſſue Bulls before his Conſecration; and many maintained, that he had no ſuch Power. But *Clement* V. put an End to the Diſpute in 1306. by a Bull, forbid-

Whether the Papal Dignity be conferred by Election alone.

[w] Gratian. diſt. 23. can. *in nomine Domini.*

Pleaſure; and to them the People had recourſe in all Matters of Moment. They maintained the Power and Authority of the Emperors in *Italy* for the Space of 183 Years, that is, from the Year 568. when *Longinus* was ſent into that Country, to the Year 751. when *Eutychius*, the laſt Exarch, was driven out, and *Ravenna* was taken by *Aſtulphus* King of the *Lombards*, as we ſhall have Occaſion to relate hereafter.

(K) Thus *John* IV. being elected Pope, while he was Archdeacon, ſigned nevertheleſs, in the Second place, and after the Archprieſt, the Letter, which the *Roman* Clergy wrote to the *Scots* before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, ſtyling himſelf only Deacon, with the Addition of *Elect*, *Joannes Diaconus*, *et in nomine Dei electus* (1).

(1) Bed. l. 2. c. 19. Epiſt. 15. Martini Pap. et Lib. diurn. Rom. Pont. tit. 1.

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ding, on Pain of Excommunication, any ſuch Queſtion to be brought into Debate [x]; and it is now a ſettled Point in the Schools, that the Pope receives all Papal Authority from his Election alone (A). Year of Chriſt 560.

But to return to the preſent Pope: He held the See Thirteen Years, wanting a few Days; and yet I find nothing recorded of him by the contemporary Writers, that is worthy of Notice. In the Weſt Affairs, continued in the ſame Situation, in which his Predeceſſor had left them, ſome Biſhops there receiving, but the far greater Part continuing ſtill to condemn, the Fifth Council, and all who received it. What Pains the Pope took to heal theſe Diviſions, to unite the Biſhops among themſelves, and with his See, we know not, nor indeed whether he took any; for of the ſeveral Letters that are aſcribed to him, not one is allowed, by the Learned, to be genuine. *Nothing recorded of this Pope worthy of Notice.*

In the Eaſt the Fifth Council was univerſally received; but yet the Eccleſiaſtics were there too at Variance among themſelves, with reſpect to another Point, and no leſs divided than their Brethren in the Weſt. The State enjoyed often a ſettled Peace, but the Church ſcarce ever. The Point at preſent in Diſpute was, *Whether the Body of Chriſt was, before he roſe from the Dead, Corruptible or Incorruptible.* This important Queſtion had occaſioned, ſome Years before, great Diſſenſions and Diviſions among the *Eutychians*, and even a Schiſm in that Party, ſome of them obſtinately maintaining, that the Body of Chriſt was, and others, no leſs obſtinately, that it was not, ſubject to Corruption. The Queſtion was firſt moved, about the Year 531. by ſome Monks of *Egypt*, a Set of Men, who, indulging themſelves, for want of a better Employment, in Speculations of that Nature, took particular Delight in communicating them to the World, and ſeeing the Eccleſiaſtics as well as the Laity engaged in Diſputes and Quarrels about them. For ſuch was the Humour, ſuch the Temper of Men in thoſe Days, more eſpecially of the Eccleſiaſtics, that every Conceit, however abſurd, however im- *The Eaſtern Biſhops at Variance about the* Corruptibility *and* Incorruptibility *of the Body of Chriſt.*

[x] Extravag. com. l. 5. c. 4. tit. 10.

(A) This Opinion the modern Writers are all bound to maintain, and conſequently to place the above-mentioned *Stephen*, though never conſecrated, in the Catalogue of the Popes; which has occaſioned a Diſagreement between them and the Antients, in the Number of the *Stephens*, and the manner of numbering them. For thus *Stephen* ſtyled the *Second* by the Antients, is reckoned the Third by the Moderns; the *Third* is called the *Fourth*; and, in the ſame manner, the reſt to the *Ninth*, whom the Moderns call the *Tenth*; with great Confuſion in Hiſtory, and Contradiction among Writers.

pertinent

Year of Christ 560.

pertinent and idle, was looked upon by them, on Account of ſome far-fetched Deductions and Conſequences, as a Matter of the utmoſt Importance to the Faith, as the Subject of a ſerious Diſpute and Inquiry. And indeed what elſe but idle Conceits, but trifling, abſurd, and impertinent Speculations, calculated only to confound our Belief, and, by multiplying Myſteries, render the Chriſtian Religion quite unintelligible, was the Subject of moſt of the Diſputes; for the determining of which, after they had long rent the Church into irreconcilable Parties and Factions, Biſhops were ſummoned, as we have often ſeen, from all Parts of the Chriſtian World, and General Councils aſſembled?

The firſt Riſe and Progreſs of this Diſpute.

Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent Controverſy, the contemporary Writers deliver us the following Account: A Monk of *Egypt*, repairing to *Severus*[y], the famous *Eutychian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who had been obliged to quit the See he had uſurped, and take Refuge in *Alexandria*, asked him, Whether he thought the Body of Chriſt was *Corruptible* or *Incorruptible* before his Reſurrection. *Severus* anſwered, after a ſhort Pauſe, That the Fathers had all believed it *Corruptible*; and that his Faith was the ſame with theirs. The Monk, not ſatisfied with that Anſwer, being perhaps himſelf of a different Opinion, or wanting to divide the leading Men of that Party among themſelves, for the Good of the Church, went ſtrait from *Severus* to *Julian*, the *Eutychian* Biſhop of *Halicarnaſſus*, who had been likewiſe forced to abandon his See, and fly into *Egypt*, and asked him the ſame Queſtion. *Julian* returned Anſwer, That the Fathers had all believed the Body of Chriſt to have been, from its Conception, *Incorruptible*, and that he durſt not hold a Doctrine that was not held by them. Neither Biſhop recurred to, or ever once thought of the Scripture, as if there had been no ſuch Book, or they had never heard of it. It was now become quite unfaſhionable to quote it. The Fathers held the Place of the inſpired Writers with the Heterodox as well as the Catholics, and were alone conſulted by both, in all Doubts and Diſputes about the Faith.

The Eutychians *divided among themſelves about it.*

The Monk had acquainted *Julian* with the Anſwer of *Severus*, and now, returning to *Severus*, acquainted him with the Anſwer of *Julian*; and there wanted no more to ſet the Two Chiefs at Vari-

[y] See above, p. 293.

ance,

ance, and kindle a War in that Party. Both Biſhops were zealous Defenders of the Doctrine of *Eutyches*; and having, on that Account, been driven from their Sees, they had hitherto lived, as Fellow-ſufferers for the ſame Cauſe, in the greateſt Friendſhip and Intimacy. But *Severus*, who was a Man of a moſt haughty and imperious Temper, impatient of all Contradiction, and highly conceited of himſelf and his Talents, no ſooner underſtood, that *Julian* had preſumed to contradict him, than, looking upon him no longer as a Friend, but as his Antagoniſt, he publiſhed a Writing to prove, that the Fathers had all believed the Body of Chriſt to have been *Corruptible*; and that nothing but the groſſeſt Ignorance could excuſe thoſe from Hereſy who maintained the contrary Opinion. This Writing was immediately anſwered by *Julian* with another, to prove, that the Fathers had all believed the Body of Chriſt to have been *Incorruptible*; and that it was not only rank Hereſy, but downright Blaſphemy, to maintain the contrary Opinion (A). War being thus declared, the whole Party were divided at once into Two oppoſite Factions, ſome ſiding with *Severus*, and ſome with *Julian*. The Opinion of *Severus* was warmly eſpouſed by *Timotheus*, then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and a moſt zealous *Eutychian*; and the Opinion of *Julian* by a Deacon of the ſame Church, named *Themiſtius*, who

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(A) The Diſpute was not concerning the Mortality or Immortality of the Body of Chriſt; nor whether it could be reſolved into the Principles, of which it was originally compoſed? but whether it required Nouriſhment, like other Bodies, and could not naturally ſubſiſt without Food, Drink, and Sleep? Whether Chriſt ſuffered Hunger and Thirſt *by Nature*, or only becauſe he *choſe* to ſuffer them? The Defenders of the *Corruptibility* maintained Chriſt to have been, by his Nature, hungry, thirſty, wearied, *&c.* to have ſlept, and uſed Nouriſhment, to ſatisfy thoſe natural Appetites, and to have diveſted himſelf of that *Corruptibility* at his Reſurrection. On the other hand, the Aſſerters of the *Incorruptibility* would not allow Chriſt to have uſed any kind of Nouriſhment, or to have reſted, becauſe he was *by Nature* hungry, thirſty, or tired, but becauſe he choſe to be ſo, eating before his Paſſion, in the ſame manner as he did after his Reſurrection, not becauſe he wanted Food, but only to ſhew, that he was a true and real Man. That Chriſt really and truly ſuffered Hunger, Thirſt, Wearineſs, *&c.* both Parties allowed; and only diſagreed with reſpect to the manner in which he ſuffered them; the one maintaining, that he ſuffered them in the ſame manner as we do, by the natural Conſtitution of his Body; and the other, that he ſuffered them only by Choice; inſomuch that had he abſtained from all Food, yet he had not been hungry, unleſs he had choſen to be ſo. Theſe were ſtyled *Incorrupticolæ* or *Aphthartodocitæ*, *Phantaſiaſtæ*, and *Gaianitæ* from one *Gaianus*, whom they choſe for Biſhop of *Alexandria*, their Antagoniſts being diſtinguiſhed with the Names of *Corrupticolæ*, and *Theodoſiani*, from one *Theodoſius*, choſen by them, in Oppoſition to *Gaianus* (1), as the Reader will find in the following Page.

(1) Liberat. Brev. c. 19. Leont. de ſectis, act. 5. Niceph. l. 17. c. 29.

like-

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likewise professed the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and had no less distinguished himself by his Zeal in defending it, than by his Parts, and his Learning. The leading Men being thus divided, from them the Division soon passed to the rest of the Clergy, and from the Clergy to the Laity; nay, and to the riotous Multitude; which occasioned endless Disturbances, and threw the whole City into the utmost Confusion. In the mean time *Timotheus* died; and the Two Parties not agreeing about the Election of his Successor, *Theodosius*, who maintained the *Corruptibility*, was chosen by the one, and *Gaianus*, who denied it, by the other. Thus were their Animosities heightened to such a Degree, that had not the Civil Power interposed, a bloody War had been kindled in the Bowels of the City. For the Populace on either Side had already begun to look upon each other as declared Heretics, as *avowed Enemies to the human Nature of Christ*; and some Battles were fought, not only in the Streets and the Squares, but in the Churches themselves. This Schism or Division among the *Eutychians* was not confined to *Alexandria* or *Egypt* alone, but soon extended to *Constantinople*, to *Antioch*, and to all the other Cities in the East *y*.

Justinian issues an Edict in favour of the Incorruptibility.

Year of Christ 565.

As for the Catholics, they at first wisely declined engaging in the Dispute, and would, in all likelihood, have continued neuter, had not *Justinian*, who took particular Delight in Disputes of that Nature, drawn them into the Quarrel. For the Emperor, not satisfied with declaring for the *Incorruptibility*, and warmly espousing the Cause of those who maintained it, undertook this Year to have that Opinion universally approved and received by the Church. With that View he published an Edict, declaring the Body of Christ to have been *Incorruptible*, agreeably to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and requiring all to teach, hold, and believe, what they had taught, held, and believed. As this Edict was peremptory, and no room was now left for the Neutrality, which the Catholic Bishops had hitherto observed, the Division, which had so miserably rent the *Eutychian* Party, was at once introduced among them; some of them readily complying, while others could by no means be prevailed upon to comply, with the Commands of the Emperor. Among the latter were the Two Patriarchs, *Eutychius* of *Constantinople*, and *Anastasius* of *Antioch*, who, boldly opposing the Imperial Definition, or Edict, as utterly

Which is opposed by the greater Part of the Catholic Bishops.

y Liberat. Breviar. c. 19. Leont. de sect. act. 5. Niceph. l. 17. c. 29.

incon-

inconſiſtent with the Faith of the Church and the Fathers, drew after them the far greater Part of the Catholic Biſhops. Theſe, well apprized of the Diſſenſions and Diviſions which ſuch an Edict would inevitably raiſe in the Church, jointly applied to the Emperor, earneſtly intreating him to revoke it, and refer the Deciſion of the Diſpute to the Judgment of a Council. But *Juſtinian*, inſtead of hearkening to their Remonſtrances, or the Reaſons they alleged to convince him, that the Doctrine of the *Incorruptibility* was repugnant to the Belief of the Church, iſſued a new Edict, confirming the former, and commanding all Biſhops to receive it, on Pain of forfeiting their Sees, and being driven into Exile. This laſt Edict was no ſooner publiſhed than ſeveral Biſhops, ready to teach any Doctrine rather than to part with their Sees, ſhifting Sides, began publicly to defend the Opinion, which they had hitherto anathematized, and anathematize that which they had hitherto defended. Thus, in a very ſhort time, would the Imperial Decree have been univerſally received, and the Doctrine of the *Incorruptibility* eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt, had not the Two Patriarchs withſtood the Emperor with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy; and by the Writings they daily publiſhed, encouraged ſome of their Brethren to follow their Example, even at the Expence of their Sees. On them therefore *Juſtinian* reſolved to wreak his Vengeance; and, beginning with *Eutychius*, he ordered him to be apprehended by a Band of Soldiers; and he was apprehended accordingly, even in the Imperial Palace, after he had performed Divine Service in a Chapel, which the Emperor had lately built there. From the Palace he was conveyed, under a ſtrong Guard, as a public Malefactor, to a Monaſtery in the Neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, and there kept Eight Days, ſtrictly guarded, and moſt cruelly uſed by the Soldiery. In the mean time the Emperor, looking upon him as a Heretic, and conſequently as one who had forfeited the Epiſcopal Dignity, appointed in his room *Joannes Exſcholaſticus*, a zealous Stickler for the *Incorruptibility*, and then *Apocriſarius* or Nuncio, at the Imperial Court, from the Biſhop of *Antioch*. By the new Patriarch was aſſembled, in great Haſte, purſuant to the Emperor's Order, a Council at *Conſtantinople*, to judge *Eutychius* late Biſhop of that City. He was accordingly ſummoned to appear before that Aſſembly, and clear himſelf from the Crimes which they pretended to have been laid to his Charge. But with that Summons *Eutychius* was ſo far from complying, that he excommunicated on the Spot both thoſe

Year of Chriſt 565.

Eutychius *of* Conſtantinople *ſeized, and depoſed by the Emperor, for oppoſing his Edict.*

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Tried by a Council, and sent into Exile.

who came with it, and those who sent them. The Council therefore, having summoned him Three times, agreeably to the Canons, declared him, upon his not obeying their Third Summons, guilty of the Crimes with which he was charged; and he was immediately delivered up to the Soldiery, and carried by them to an Island in the *Propontis*, known by the Name of *The Prince's Island*. There he passed Three Weeks, treated the whole time with the utmost Barbarity, by the Soldiers appointed to guard him. From thence he was conveyed to *Amasea*, the Metropolis of *Helenopontus*, where he was confined for Life to the Monastery, in which he had been educated, and was afterwards Archimandrita or Abbot [z] (A).

He resolves to proceed in the same manner against Anastasius *of* Antioch.

One of the chief and most zealous Defenders of the *Corruptibility* being thus removed, the Emperor, in the next Place, resolved to proceed, with the same Severity, against the other, *Anastasius* of *Antioch*, a Prelate no less conspicuous for his Piety than his Learning. Having therefore first attempted anew, but attempted in vain, to bring the Patriarch over to his Opinion by fair means, he at last let him know, that if he did not, within a limited time, sign the Edict establishing the Catholic Doctrine of *Incorruptibility*, he must expect no better Treatment than his Brother of *Constantinople* had met with. *Anastasius*, well apprised of the Inflexibility of the Emperor, who was never known to have quitted an Opinion, which he had once taken up, began to prepare for Exile; and on that Occasion wrote an exhortatory Discourse, or Oration, to the *Antiochians*, encouraging them to maintain, even at the Expence of their Lives, the Catholic Doctrine of *Corruptibility*. His Zeal had cost him dear, had *Justinian* only lived a few Days longer. But Providence interposed, says *Evagrius* [a], and at the same time a Period was put to the Life of the Emperor, and to his wicked Attempts on the Servants of God, and the Catholic Church. *Justinian* died on the 14th of *November* 565. in the 83d Year of his Age, having reigned 38

But is prevented by Death.

[z] Eustath. in vit. Eutych. c. 5. Theoph. ad ann. 564. Cedren. ad ann. Justiniani 38.
[a] Evagr. l. 4. c. 40.

(A) However, upon the Death of *Joannes Scholasticus*, or *Exscholasticus*, which happened in 577. he was recalled to *Constantinople*, by the Emperors *Justinus the younger*, and *Tiberius Constantinus*, and restored to his See, which he held to his Death, that is, to the Year 582 (1). He is now honoured as a Saint, both by the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; and the Reader will find, in *Baronius*, a very particular Account of the many Miracles he is supposed to have wrought (2).

(1) Theophan. ad ann. Alex. 569.

(2) Apud Bar. ad ann. 564. p. 525—527.

Years,

Years, 7 Months, and 13 Days (A). Of all the Emperors he concerned himſelf the moſt in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, as appears from his *Novellæ*, Year of Chriſt 565.

(A) *Zonaras* gives him the following Character: "He was eaſy of Acceſs; and "no leſs ready to hear Informers than to "puniſh Offenders. He coveted Money, but "ſpent it as idly, as he had acquired it un-"juſtly. As he was thus ever indigent, the "ſureſt Means of earning his Favour was to "ſuggeſt new Methods of acquiring new "Wealth." He is highly commended by all the contemporary Writers, even by thoſe who, in other reſpects, ſeem to have been prejudiced againſt him, for his uncommon Parts, and extraordinary Knowlege, eſpecially in Divinity, in Philoſophy, in Juriſprudence, in Architecture, and even in Muſic, a Hymn, which he compoſed, and ſet to Muſic, being ſung to this Day in the *Greek* Churches (1). However, *Baronius* will have him to have been quite illiterate, and often inveighs againſt him for preſuming to dictate in Matters of Religion, though he could not ſo much as read the Title of the Bible. Into this groſs Miſtake the Annaliſt was led by an incorrect Copy of the Lexicon of *Suidas*, printed at *Milan*, which alone he ſeems to have peruſed. For in that Copy the name of *Juſtinian* is put, by an Error of the Preſs, inſtead of the Name of *Juſtin*, who was quite illiterate, as I have elſewhere obſerved from *Procopius* (2). Had *Baronius* conſulted any of the ſeveral manuſcript Copies of *Suidas*, lodged in the *Vatican* Library, he had found in them the Name of *Juſtin*, where we read that of *Juſtinian* in the *Milan* Edition.

In Points of Religion, however uncertain and diſputable, he was no leſs poſitive, obſtinate, and peremptory, than the Popes themſelves, treating all as Heretics, the Pope himſelf not excepted, who differed from him, without hearkening to any Reaſons or Arguments againſt the Opinion, which he had once embraced. He was a Match for the Popes; and though the reſt of the World often yielded to them for the ſake of Peace, *Juſtinian* never would; nay, we have ſeen one of the Popes obliged to yield to him, and condemn the Opinion which he had once maintained (3).

Juſtinian was engaged in War with ſome Nation or other, during the greateſt Part of his Reign. But his Wars he managed abroad by his Lieutenants, eſpecially by the Two renowned Commanders *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, while he employed his whole time at home, in diſputing about Matters of Religion, or in Building. Of his religious Diſputes we have ſpoken already; and as to his Buildings, they were almoſt without Number; for he is ſaid to have reſtored no fewer than 150 Cities, which he found intirely ruined, or very much decayed, to have erected Caſtles in every Province of the Empire, and to have filled with Churches and Hoſpitals not only *Conſtantinople*, but all the Eaſt. But of all the Churches he built, that called *Sancta Sophia* and *Magna* was by far the moſt expenſive and magnificent. It was begun by *Conſtantine the Great*, and finiſhed 34 Years after, by his Son *Conſtantius*, but burnt down, and intirely conſumed in 532. the Sixth Year of the Reign of *Juſtinian*, who the ſame Year undertook to rebuild it, or rather to build another far more magnificent in its room. The Foundation of the new Church was laid on the 23d of *February* 532. and the whole Edifice completed and dedicated on the 28th of *December* 537. It is celebrated by all the Writers, who ſpeak of the Buildings of *Juſtinian*, as the Glory and Wonder of the World; inſomuch that the Emperor himſelf, when he had finiſhed it, was heard to ſay, νενίκηκά σε, Σολομών, *I have outdone thee*, Solomon. In this Church particular Notice is taken by the Antients of the Holy Table, compoſed, according to *Cedrenus* (4), of Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Metals, and all Sorts of Materials, which either the Earth or the Sea could afford, melted and mixed together. Round it was the following Inſcription, written by *Ju-*

(1) Vide Aleman. in notis ad hiſt. Arcan. Procop. c. 18. (2) See above, p. 291. in Note B. (3) See above, p. 411, 412. (4) Cedren. hiſt. compend. ad ann. 32.

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He acted, during the whole time of his Reign, as the ſupreme Head and Governor of the Church.

vellæ, which contain ſo many Edicts relating to the Diſcipline of the Church, that he is reckoned among the Eccleſiaſtical Writers. He enacted ſeveral Laws concerning the Ordination of Biſhops, their Age, Qualifications, Reſidence, Privileges, *&c.* He regulated the Convocation of Councils, and preſcribed their Time; iſſued ſeveral Orders concerning the Manners and Conduct of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the ſacred Virgins; enforced the Obſervance of the Canons; eſtabliſhed the Penalties, no leſs than Depoſition and Degradation, to be inflicted on the Metropolitans, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould tranſgreſs them; and finally reſtrained the Biſhops, no Biſhop excepted, from excommunicating, without a juſt Cauſe, that is, without a Cauſe ſpecified in the Canons, and till the Crime was fully proved [b]. In ſhort, he acted, in every reſpect, as the ſupreme Head and Governor of the Church; and the Laws he enacted as ſuch, were received both in the Eaſt and the Weſt, by the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* as well as by thoſe of *Rome*, without the leaſt Oppoſition or Complaint, as appears from *Gregory the Great* [c], from *Hincmarus* [d], and others (B).

In

[b] Novel. 5, 6, 7. 22. 120. 123, &c. [c] Greg. l. 2. ep. 54. [d] Hincmar. opuſc. c. 17.

ſtinian himſelf: *We thy Servants*, Juſtinian *and* Theodora, *offer unto thee thy own Gifts, which we beſeech thee favourably to accept, O Son and Word of God, who waſt made Fleſh, and crucified, for our ſake. Keep us in the true Orthodox Faith; and this Empire, which thou haſt committed to our Truſt, augment and preſerve to thy own Glory, by the Interceſſion of the Holy Mother of God and Virgin* Mary. It appears from the laſt Words of this Inſcription, that, in the 6th Century, the Prayers of Saints were thought available, though we meet with very few Inſtances, even in that Age, of any addreſſed to them. Of the wonderful Works and Buildings of *Juſtinian* the Reader will find a very minute and particular Account in *Evagrius* (5), *Procopius* (6), and *Agathias* (7). I ſhall only obſerve here, that he neither hoarded up, nor applied to the Gratification of any unlawful Inclination, the exorbitant Sums, which he levied on his Subjects, but employed them either in carrying on his great Works, or in paying his numerous Forces; ſo that they may be ſaid to have returned to the public. *Juſtinian* may deſervedly be called the laſt *Roman* Emperor; for in him the Majeſty of the Empire ſeemed to revive; but it ſoon vaniſhed again, and fell to Decay.

(B) *Juſtinian* is greatly commended, even by ſome of the Popes, notwithſtanding the little Regard he paid to the Deciſions and Judgment of their See. Pope *Gregory the Great* conſtantly ſtyles him an Emperor of pious or bleſſed Memory (8); and Pope *Agatho*, in the Two Letters he wrote to the Emperors *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, prefers him to *Theodoſius the Great*, to *Marcian*, and all the Emperors who reigned before him, for his true Piety, for his Zeal in maintaining the Purity of the

(5) Evagr. l. 4. c. 31. (6) Procop. de Ædific. Juſtin. l. 1. c. 1. (7) Agath. l. 5. (8) Greg. l. 2. ep. 10. l. 3. ep. 4. l. 7. ep. 126.

Catholic

In the room of *Juſtinian* was proclaimed, and crowned, on the 14th of *November*, by the Patriarch *Joannes Exſcholaſticus*, *Juſtin the younger*, the Son of *Dulciſſimus*, by *Vigilantia*, the deceaſed Emperor's Siſter. As the Biſhops and Clergy were, at the time of his Acceſſion, every-where at Variance in the Eaſt, about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* of the Body of Chriſt, in the Weſt, about the *Three Chapters*, and the Church was reduced, by their Diſagreement and Feuds, to a moſt deplorable Condition, the Paſtors being more intent on curſing each other than inſtructing their Flocks, the firſt Care of the new Emperor was, to reconcile them, if poſſible, and, baniſhing all Diſcord, eſtabliſh that Peace in its room, which Chriſt left to his Diſciples, as his laſt Legacy, before he returned to his Father. *Juſtin* was well appriſed, that the Points which occaſioned ſuch warm Diſputes, which thus divided the Chriſtian Prelates, and rent the Church into Parties and Factions, were no Articles of the Catholic Faith, but impertinent Speculations of idle Men, which every Chriſtian might receive or reject, believe or disbelieve, without deſerving the Name of Heretic, or being in the leaſt ſuſpected of Hereſy. Inſtead therefore of declaring for either of the contending Parties, or perſecuting either, as his Predeceſſor had unadviſedly done, he iſſued an Edict, containing and explaining the indiſputable Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and anathematizing, as Heretics, all who did not receive them; but, at the ſame time, declaring every Man free, with reſpect to the diſputable Artices, to hold and profeſs that Opinion, or Doctrine, which ſhould appear to him to be the beſt grounded. The Emperor, after exhorting all Chriſtians to Peace and Concord, obſerves, in the End of his Edict, that it was about Words only they frequently quarrelled, nay, that a ſingle Syllable had ſet them at Variance, and given Occaſion to long Diſputes. He probably alluded to the Syllables *of* and *in* [e], about which the Diſpute had laſted, in

Year of Chriſt 565. *He is ſucceeded by* Juſtin the younger.

The wiſe Meaſures he took to reſtore Peace to the Church.

With that View he publiſhes an Edict.

Year of Chriſt 566.

[e] See above, p. 62.

Catholic Faith, and his Care of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; and adds, that his Memory ought ever to be revered by all the Narions of the Chriſtian World (2). However, *Evagrius* gravely tells us, that he was damned, *ad ſupplicia juſto Dei judicio apud inferos luenda profectus eſt* (3); and *Baronius* ſeems ſtrongly inclined to believe him, becauſe that Writer lived in the time of *Juſtinian* (4); whereas thoſe, who commend him, lived after; and conſequently could not be ſo well informed, as he, of what happened to the Emperor in the other World.

(2) Extant in Synod. ſexta, Act. 4. ann. 565. p. 531.

(3) Evagr. l. 3. c. 1.

(4) Bar. ad

his

Year of Christ 566.

his time, above One hundred Years, and was not yet ended, nor likely to end. *Juſtin* cloſes his Edict with ſtrictly forbidding all Diſputes of that Nature, thoſe eſpecially concerning the *Corruptibility* or *Incorruptibility* of the Body of Chriſt, and the *Three Chapters*, the Church being divided in the Eaſt by the one, and in the Weſt by the other[f].

The Emperor, not ſatisfied with iſſuing that Edict, diſpatched *Photinus*, the Son-in-law of *Beliſarius*, into *Egypt*, where the Diſpute about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* had firſt begun, and was carried on with moſt Warmth, charging him to ſettle, if by any means he could, thoſe Churches in Peace; and veſting him, for that Purpoſe, with an unlimited Power, ſays *Theophanes*, over all Perſons and Things[g]. But that Power *Photinus* had no Occaſion to exert; the Imperial Edict was received, without the leaſt Oppoſition, not in *Egypt* only, but in all the Provinces of the Eaſt, and thereby an End put at once to all further Diſputes, both Parties being, in their Hearts, deſirous of Peace, as *Theophanes* obſerves, tho' neither could ever be prevailed upon to yield to the other.

Peace reſtored in the Eaſt by his Edict.

The Diſpute about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* was, it ſeems, intirely confined to the Eaſt: for I do not find, that either the Pope, or any of the Weſtern Biſhops, were ever concerned in that Controverſy, or were ever conſulted by the contending Parties, about it. An undeniable Proof, that the Pope was not looked upon, by either Party, as an unerring Judge in Matters of Faith and Religion. Of the preſent Pope not the leaſt Mention is made, by the antient Writers, from the time of his Election till the Year 570. the Eleventh of his Pontificate, when he is ſaid to have reſtored Two *Gallican* Biſhops depoſed by a Council. Theſe were *Salonius* and *Sagittarius*, Two Brothers, the former Biſhop of *Ebredunum*, or *Ambrun*, the latter of *Vapuncum*, or *Gap*. They were accuſed by one of their Brethren, *Victor* Biſhop of *Auguſta Tricaſtinorum*, now *St. Paul de Trois Chateaux*, of ſeveral moſt enormous Crimes, of Murders, Adulteries, Robberies, *&c.* having even attacked that Prelate, at the Head of a Band of Ruffians, on his Birth-day, which he deſigned to have paſſed in innocent Mirth with his Friends, and uſed him in a moſt barbarous manner, beaten his Domeſtics, plundered his Houſe, and carried off the Utenſils, as well as the Proviſions, which the good Biſhop had prepared for the Entertainment. Theſe Crimes being proved, by a

Two Gallican *Biſhops, depoſed by a Council, recur to the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 570.

Their Crimes.

[f] Evagr. l. 5. c. 4. et Card. Noriſ. in Diſſert. de Syn. quinta, paragr. 2. [g] Theophan. ad ann. 1. Juſtini.

great Number of Witneſſes, before a Council, which King *Guntram* ordered to meet at *Lyons*, to try the Two Criminals, they were both declared guilty, and both depoſed, by the unanimous Suffrages of all the Biſhops who compoſed that Aſſembly. From that Sentence they begged Leave of the King to appeal to the Pope; and, having obtained it, they both repaired immediately to *Rome*, not doubting but the Merit of appealing to the Apoſtolic See would ſufficiently atone, in the Eyes of his Holineſs, for all the Crimes with which they were charged. Nor indeed were they miſtaken: the Pope not only received them kindly, but declared them, upon their own Teſtimony, without further Inquiry, unjuſtly depoſed; and wrote to the King, deſiring they might be reſtored to their Sees. The King knew they were guilty, and had added, to their other Crimes, that of impoſing on the Pope himſelf; but nevertheleſs, to gratify his Holineſs, he reſtored them, after a ſharp and ſevere Reprimand, to their former Rank. The *Gallican* Biſhops were not ſo complaiſant as the King: for they, without the leaſt Regard to the Judgment of the Pope, or his See, not only excluded the Two Biſhops from their Communion, ſince they could not exclude them from their Sees, but proceeded, with the ſame Severity, againſt *Victor* their Accuſer, who, upon their Return from *Rome*, had readmitted them to his Communion, without the Conſent and Approbation of his Brethren [h]. *It is the Prerogative of the* Roman *Church only*, ſays *Baronius*, *to reſtore a Biſhop depoſed by a Synod, without the Concurrence and Conſent of a more numerous Synod* [i]. But what Synod has hitherto acknowleged ſuch a Prerogative? What Synod has hitherto acquieſced in the Judgment of the *Roman* Church, or the Pope, abſolving or reſtoring thoſe, whom they had condemned or depoſed? That ſuch a Prerogative was not, at this time, that is, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, yet acknowleged even in the Weſt, the Caſe before us ſufficiently ſhews.

Year of Chriſt 570.

Well received at Rome, *and there declared innocent, and reſtored by the King.*

The Conduct of the Pope, how reſented by the Gallican *Biſhops.*

The Two Biſhops, depending on the Protection and Favour of the Pope, inſtead of reforming their Lives, abandoned themſelves, on their Return from *Rome*, to all manner of Wickedneſs, without Reſtraint or Controul, ſpending their whole Time in riotous Banquets and Revels with the debauched Youth, and lewd Women; nay, quitting the Croſs, and taking the Sword and the Helmet in its room,

The Two Biſhops, guilty of new Crimes, are condemned again, and depoſed.

[h] Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Franc. l. 5. c. 20. [i] Bar. ad ann. 449.

they

Year of Christ 572.

they ſerved in the War between the *Burgundians* and *Lombards*; and, in a Battle, killed ſeveral of the latter with their own Hands. This Conduct their Brethren could no longer bear: and therefore, aſſembling at *Châlon*, they condemned them anew, and confined them for Life to a Monaſtery there [k], to prevent their recurring again to *Rome*, and being patronized by the Pope in their Wickedneſs.

John III. *dies.* Year of Chriſt 573.

Of this Pope no farther Mention is made till the time of his Death, which happened in 573. after he had preſided in the *Roman* Church Twelve Years, Eleven Months, and Twenty-ſix Days. He was buried, according to the Bibliothecarian, in the Baſilic of *St. Peter*. The Letter ſaid to have been written by him to the Biſhops of *Gaul* and *Germany*, and quoted as genuine by *Turrianus* [l] and *Bellarmine* [m], is now rejected by all, even by *Baronius* [n], as a mere Forgery.

JUSTIN *the younger*, TIBERIUS CONSTANTINUS.

BENEDICT,

ALBOINUS, *King of the* Lombards *in* Italy.

Sixty-firſt BISHOP *of* Rome.

Benedict *choſen.* Year of Chriſt 574.

IN the room of the deceaſed Pope was choſen, and ordained on the Third of *June* 574. after a Vacancy of Ten Months, and Twenty-one Days, *Benedict*, known to the *Greeks* by the Name of *Bonoſus*, a *Roman* by Birth, and the Son of one *Boniface* [o]; which is all we know of him. The long Vacancy, that preceded his Election, was, no doubt, owing to the diſtracted State of *Italy*, invaded at that time, and moſt miſerably haraſſed, by a new Northern Nation, that of the *Longobards*, or *Lombards* (A). As we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak of that People, their Hiſtory being, ſo long as they continued in *Italy*, that is, for the Space of 200 Years and upwards, inſeparably interwoven with the Hiſtory of the Popes, it

[k] Idem ibid. l. 4. c. 36. et l. 5. c. 27. [l] Turrian. pro ep. Pont. l. 2. c. 20. [m] Bellar. de Cler. l. 1. c. 17. [n] Bar. ad ann. 572. p. 575. [o] Lib. Pontif.

(A) They were ſo called from their long Beards, as *Paulus Diaconus* informs us (1), who was himſelf originally a *Lombard*, but born in *Italy*. He was Deacon of the Church of *Aquilea*, and is thence called *Paulus Diaconus*, but his true Name was *Paul Warnefrid*. He flouriſhed in the Latter-end of the Eighth Century.

(1) Paul. Diac. l. 1. c. 9.

will

will be neceſſary to premiſe a brief Account of their Origin, of their firſt Arrival in *Italy*, and the ſurpriſing Succeſs of their Arms there. Year of Chriſt 574.

The *Lombards* were, as is agreed on all hands, a *Gothic* Nation [p]; and, conſequently, came originally from the Peninſula of *Scandinavia* (B), a Country rightly ſtyled, by *Jornandes*, *Officina Gentium*, and *Vagina Nationum* [q]: for thence iſſued thoſe numerous Swarms of People, who, for want of room at home, overſpread, and ſtocked with Inhabitants, the moſt remote as well as the neighbouring Kingdoms. The *Lombards*, having, after they left *Scandinavia*, long wandered in queſt of new Seats, and often ſhifted them [r], ſettled at laſt in *Noricum* and *Pannonia* (C), under *Audohinus* their Tenth King, thoſe Provinces being granted them by the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in the Year 527. the Firſt of his Reign [s]. *Procopius* adds, that the Emperor preſented them, at the ſame time, with a very conſiderable Sum of Money [t], no doubt to keep them quiet. They continued in their new Settlements for the Space of Forty-two Years, that is, from the Year 527. to 568. when they were perſuaded by the famous *Narſes* to quit *Pannonia*, and, marching into *Italy*, attempt the Conqueſt of that more fruitful Country. This memorable Event is thus related by the Hiſtorians, who lived the neareſt to thoſe Times. The Emperor *Juſtinian*, to reward, in the beſt manner he could, the eminent Services of *Narſes*, to whoſe Valour and Conduct he owed the Recovery of *Italy*, appointed him to govern that Country, as a Province of the Eaſtern Empire, with an abſolute Power. That Truſt *Narſes* diſcharged to the general Satisfaction of all good Men, employing the Power, with which he was veſted, to promote the Welfare and Happineſs of the People committed to his Care. Under him the Laws were again duly executed, Agriculture was encouraged, Trade revived, and the Cities, after an 18 Years uninterrupted War,

The Origin of the Lombards.

Juſtinian *invites them to ſettle in* Pannonia.

They are invited by Narſes *into* Italy.

[p] Paul. Diac. l. 1. c. 2. et Grot. in Proleg. in Hiſt. Goth. [q] Jornand. Rer. Goth. p. 83. [r] See Paul. Diac. de Geſt. Longob. l. 1, et 2. [s] Idem de Geſt. Lomb. l. 1. c. 22. [t] Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 32.

(B) *Scandinavia*, or, as *Iſaac Voſſius* will have it, *Scandinovia* (1), compriſed the preſent *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finnmark*. It was thought by the Antients to be an Iſland; but it is now well known to be a Peninſula.

(C) *Pannonia* compriſed then Part of *Hungary*, of *Auſtria*, of *Stiria*, and of *Carniola*; and *Noricum* all *Carinthia*, with Part of *Auſtria*, of *Stiria*, of *Carniola*, of *Tirol*, and of *Bavaria*.

(1) Iſaac Voſſ. in Mel. l. 3. c. 6.

Year of Chriſt 574.

What provoked Narſes *to invite them.*

reſtored, in a very ſhort time, to their former Splendor. But what can ſecure even the beſt of Men againſt Slander and Obloquy? *Narſes*, though he governed by Law, though he never invaded any Man's Property, was nevertheleſs painted to the new Emperor *Juſtin*, by ſome who envied his Power, and probably wanted to ſucceed him, as an arbitrary and lawleſs Tyrant, as one who abuſed his Authority to oppreſs the People, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of the plundered Provinces. To theſe Suggeſtions the Emperor hearkened, and, without giving himſelf the Trouble of inquiring whether ſo heavy a Charge was well or ill grounded, recalled *Narſes*, after he had governed *Italy*, with great Reputation, for the Space of 16 Years, and appointed *Longinus* to govern it, with the ſame Power, in his room (D). Had *Narſes* thought his Enemies would have ſtopped here, he would, in all Likelihood, have diſſembled the Injuſtice that was done him, and, quietly retiring, enjoyed, with his Friends, the great Wealth which he had lawfully acquired. But apprehending, from the Malice of his Enemies, as well as from a late Inſtance of *Juſtin*'s Cruelty to a Man of an unblemiſhed Character, and extraordinary Merit (E), both his Life and his Fortune to be in Danger, he reſolved to ſecure the one and the other, at the Expence of the Emperor, and the whole Empire. With this View, inſtead of return-

(D) As *Narſes* was an Eunnch, the Empreſs *Sophia* is ſaid to have ſent him word, on this Occaſion, that his Employment at *Conſtantinople* ſhould be to diſtribute, in the Apartment of her Women, the Portion of Wool, which each of them was to ſpin. To which inſulting Meſſage *Narſes* is reported to have returned Anſwer, *That he would weave a Web, which it would never be in her Power to undo* (1).

(E) This was *Juſtin*, Couſin to the preſent Emperor, and one who had ſignalized himſelf in War, and diſcharged, with great Reputation, the firſt Employments of the Empire. While it was yet uncertain which of his Two Nephews *Juſtinian* might appoint to ſucceed him, they agreed, that he, whom the Emperor judged the leſs worthy of that Honour, ſhould acquieſce in his Judgment, and the other ſhould, on that Conſideration, treat him as the firſt Perſon of the Empire after himſelf. This Agreement was faithfully complied with by *Juſtin*; but the Emperor, jealous of the eminent Virtues, and great Popularity, of one, who, by his Birth, had as good a Claim to the Empire as himſelf, inſtead of fulfilling the Engagement on his Side, cauſed the innocent *Juſtin*, after repeated Proteſtations of Kindneſs and Friendſhip, to be barbarouſly aſſaſſinated in his Bed. The Hiſtorian adds, that the groundleſs Fears of the Emperor, and his Wife *Sophia*, were not quite removed, till the Head of the unhappy *Juſtin* was brought from *Alexandria*, where he was murdered, to *Conſtantinople*; and that, when it was ſhewn to them there, they both ſpurned it, in a moſt barbarous and inſulting manner, on the Ground (2). *Narſes* therefore acted wiſely in not repairing to *Conſtantinople* where he might have met with the like Treatment.

(1) Paul. Diac. de Geſt. Longobard. l. 1. c. 5. (2) Evagr. l. 5. c. 2.

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ing to *Conſtantinople*, he withdrew to *Naples*, where he was greatly beloved and eſteemed, and from thence privately diſpatched ſome truſty Meſſengers to *Alboinus* King of the *Lombards*, with whom he was well acquainted, inviting him into *Italy*, and aſſuring him, that he would find the Paſſes into that Country all open and unguarded (E). The *Lombard* King, tranſported with Joy at ſuch an Invitation, and the Opportunity it offered of invading a Country ſo much preferable, in every reſpect, to his own, began to prepare, without Loſs of Time, for the intended Expedition. In the Firſt place he perſuaded the *Saxons*, his old Allies, to join and aſſiſt him with a Body of 20,000 Men, promiſing to ſhare with them his future Conqueſts. He applied next to the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Sueves*, and other Nations, receiving from each of them powerful Supplies of Men, all

Year of Chriſt 574.

They quit Pannonia, *and ſet out for* Italy.

(E) This Account, though vouched by all the Hiſtorians who ſpeak of the Irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, *Baronius* rejects as a mere Fable (1), pretending, that *Narſes* was recalled by *Juſtinian*; and that, in the Reign of *Juſtin*, he continued at Court in great Reputation and Favour. To prove this, the Annaliſt alleges the Authority of a contemporary Writer, an *African* Poet, named *Corippus*, who was actually at *Conſtantinople* when *Juſtin* was crowned; and there ſaw *Narſes* attending him, in great State, on that Occaſion; and likewiſe on another, when he gave Audience to the Embaſſadors of the *Avares*. But that it was another *Narſes*, and not the Betrayer of *Italy*, whom *Corippus* ſaw in the Emperor's Retinue, on the Two above-mentioned Occaſions, and who, it ſeems, was a chief Part of the Shew, no Man can diſpute, who attends the leaſt to the Words of the Poet. His Words are:

Armiger interea, domini veſtigia luſtrans,
Eminet excelſus ſuper omnia vertice Narſes
Agmina, et auguſtam cultu præfulgurat aulam,
Comptus cæſarie, formaque inſignis et ore, &c (2).

How could *Baronius* think, that the Perſon, whom the Poet deſcribes here and elſewhere (3) as a tall, ſtrong, comely young Man, with fine Hair nicely dreſſed, *&c.* was an old Eunuch! The Eunuch *Narſes* was at leaſt Threeſcore in the Beginning of *Juſtin*'s Reign; and would then, I believe, have thought it a very abſurd Compliment from a Poet, who, after his ſo many warlike Exploits, had only commended him for his tall Stature, his comely Countenance, his graceful Perſon, and his fine Locks, if he had any. There was, at this very time, another *Narſes*, Captain of the Guards, and one of the Emperor *Juſtin*'s chief Favourites; and him, no doubt, *Corippus* deſcribed in the Lines quoted above. He was young, and being probably handſome, and vain of his Perſon, the Poet made that the Subject of his Panegyric, for want of a better. However, he ſignalized himſelf afterwards in War above all the Commanders of his Time, eſpecially in the War which the Emperor *Mauricius* waged with the *Perſians*. To that Nation his Name became ſo formidable, that it was commonly uſed, if *Theophylactus* is to be credited, all over *Perſia*, to frighten the Children into a Compliance with the Will of their Mothers and Nurſes (4).

(1) Bar. ad ann. 567. p. 555. (2) Coripp. in laud. Juſtin. l. 3. (3) Lib. 4. prope fin. (4) Theophyl. in Hiſt. Maurician.

Year of Christ 574.

determined to lose their Lives, or better their Fortunes. Having thus assembled a very numerous and formidable Army, he concluded an Agreement with his Neighbours the *Hunns*, in virtue of which they were to hold *Pannonia*, should he succeed in his Attempt upon *Italy*; but to restore it, if he miscarried, The Treaty being signed by the chief Men of both Nations, the *Hunns* entered *Pannonia*, which, from them, to this Day, is called *Hungary*, and, at the same time, the *Lombards* marched out with their Wives, their Children, and all their Effects, bending their Route towards *Italy*. They began their March in the Month of *April*, the Day after *Easter*, which fell that Year on the First Day of that Month, in the 4th Year of the Emperor *Justin the younger*, the 9th of *John* III. Bishop of *Rome*, and of the Christian Æra the 568th. They marched through *Istria*; and finding, as they arrived on the Borders of *Italy*, the Passes unguarded, they entered that Country without the least Opposition, and, without the least Opposition, made themselves Masters of the Two important Places *Aquilea*, and *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, most of the Inhabitants taking Refuge, as they had no regular Troops to support them, in the neighbouring Islands of the *Adriatic*. In these Two Cities, and their Territories, the *Lombards* passed the first Winter after their Arrival in *Italy*, *Alboinus* not thinking it advisable, as his Troops were not a little fatigued with their long March, to advance that Year farther into the Country. The following Year 569. they began early to move forward; and, the Imperial Troops not daring to face them, they reduced, that Summer, the following Cities and Towns; *Trivigi*, *Oderzo*, *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*. The Third Campaign proved no less successful than the Two former; for, entering *Liguria*, upon the Return of the Spring, they brought under Subjection the far greater Part of that Country, with the Cities of *Bresscia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and *Milan* itself, the Metropolis of *Liguria*. Upon the Reduction of that City, *Alboinus* was, with loud Acclamations, proclaimed King of *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and the whole Army; and from that Year, the Year 570. Historians date the Beginning of the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in that Country. Thus far of a People, whom I shall have frequent Occasion to mention in the Sequel of this History, and with whom it was therefore necessary the Reader should, in some Degree, be acquainted. The Account I have

They enter that Country without Opposition, and make themselves Masters of Aquilea *and* Friuli.

Several other Places reduced, and Alboinus *their King proclaimed King of* Italy.

have here delivered of them is vouched by the beſt and moſt unexceptionable Writers [u]. Year of Chriſt 574.

And now to return to the preſent Pope; he died on the 30th of *July* 578. having governed the *Roman* Church Four Years, One Month, and Twenty-eight Days [w]. He is ſaid by the *Bibliothecarian* to have died of Grief in ſeeing the Succeſs of the *Lombards*, and the dreadful Ravages they committed in *Italy* [x]. The Letter on *the Myſtery of the Trinity*, to one *David* a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, aſcribed to this Pope, is now, by all but *Baronius*, allowed to be ſpurious, being dated, beſides many other Marks of Forgery [y], under Conſuls, when there were no more Conſuls. In the ſame Year, on the 5th of *October*, died the Emperor *Juſtin*, and was ſucceeded by *Tiberius*, a Native of *Thrace*, but a Perſon of extraordinary Merit.

Benedict dies. Year of Chriſt 578.

A Letter falſly aſcribed to him.

TIBERIUS CONSTANTINUS, MAURICIUS.

PELAGIUS II.

ALBOINUS, CLEPHAS, AUTHARIS, } Kings of the *Lombards*.

Sixty-ſecond BISHOP *of* Rome.

BENEDICT was ſucceeded, after a Vacaney of Four Months, by *Pelagius*, the Second of that Name, the Son of *Winigild*, and a Native of *Rome*, but of *Gothic* Extraction [z]. As the *Lombards* were, at this time, Maſters of the far greater Part of *Italy*, and kept *Rome* itſelf cloſely beſieged, the Elect was ordained before his Election could be confirmed by the Emperor. But the Siege was no ſooner raiſed, than the new Pope diſpatched *Gregory*, then Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards his Succeſſor in that See, to excuſe to the Emperor what had been done, and beg he would confirm what the unhappy State of the City, at that Juncture, had made neceſſary [a].

Pelagius II. *choſen.*

He diſpatches one to Conſtantinople, *to excuſe to the Emperor his having been ordained without his Conſent.*

Pelagius had the Misfortune to govern the Church in the moſt calamitous Times *Italy* had yet ſeen. The *Lombards* committed every-where ſuch dreadful Ravages, ſpread every-where ſuch Deſola-

[u] Paul. Dial. de Geſt. Longobard. l. 2. c. 1. 5, 6, 7. Fredegar. in Epit. c. 65. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 33. Sigebert. Marian. Scot. Hermannus Contractus, Grotius Hiſtor. ignot. Monachi Caſſinen. apud Camil. Pel. Hiſt. Princ. Longobard. [w] Orderic. l. 2. Regino. Luitprandus, &c. et paſſim. Catal. Rom. Pont. [x] Bibliothec. in Benedict. [y] See Pagi ad ann. 577. n. 2. [z] Lib. Pont. Anaſt. Plat. &c. [a] Paul. Diacon. l. 3. c. 2.

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Year of Christ 578.

tion and Terror, that they were generally looked upon, by the holy Men of thoſe Days, as the Inſtruments of divine Vengeance employed by provoked Juſtice to depopulate *Italy*, and there extirpate the whole Race of Mankind; nay, it was revealed to ſome Saints, if they or Pope *Gregory* may be credited, that the *Lombards* were the Fore-runners of the laſt Day, and that the End of the World was at hand [b]. *Gregory* himſelf ſaw Swords, and Spears, and Armies, and Battles, in the Air, and the whole Heaven ſtreaming with human Blood [c]. By theſe Dreams and Viſions of Saints, the credulous Multitude were terrified to ſuch a degree, that, inſtead of uniting againſt the common Enemy, in their mutual Defence, they abandoned themſelves to Deſpair, and let the Barbarians plunder, burn, and deſtroy, without Reſtraint or Controul.

The Lombards *commit dreadful Ravages in* Italy.

Such was, at this time, the State of the Empire in the Weſt; and that of the Church was not much better. The old Diviſion or Schiſm about the *Three Chapters* ſtill prevailed, ſome Biſhops condemning thoſe Chapters, and receiving the Council that condemned them; while the far greater Part of their Brethren in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Spain*, in *Africa*, and in *Ireland*, continued to defend them, and to reject that Council. Pope *Vigilius*, in whoſe Time the Diſpute was unhappily moved [d], firſt defended the controverted Articles, and then condemned them, defended them anew, and anew condemned them, as has been related above [e]. His Succeſſor *Pelagius* I. changed his Mind, before he was Pope, as often as he [f]: but being afterwards raiſed to the Papal Dignity by the Emperor *Juſtinian*, upon his engaging to cauſe the Vth Council, condemning the *Three Chapters*, to be univerſally received in the Weſt, he left nothing unattempted to make good his Engagement, recurring, for that Purpoſe, even to the ſecular Power [g]. But he had the Mortification to ſee his Authority contemned in *Italy* itſelf, and all his Endeavours prove unſucceſsful. Of the Two ſucceeding Popes, *John* III. and *Benedict* I. we know very little: if they attempted, as perhaps they might, to unite the Biſhops among themſelves, and with their See, their Authority was no more regarded than that of their Two Predeceſſors; for they left Matters in the ſame Condition they found them. However, the preſent Pope, not in the leaſt diſcouraged by the unſucceſsful Attempts

The Church ſtill divided about the Three Chapters.

[b] Greg. Homil. 1. in Evang. et Dial. l. 3. c. 38. [c] Idem ibid. [d] See above, p. 379. [e] See p. 382, et ſeq. [f] See above, p. 419. [g] See above, p. 421.

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of his Predeceſſors, undertook, with great Zeal, *to unite all Catholic Paſtors in one Mind, and eſtabliſh by their Union, a laſting Peace in the Church*; that is, in other Words, to perſuade all Catholic Paſtors to acquieſce, with one Mind, in the Judgment of his See; for upon what other Terms has any, however trifling, Diſpute been yet ended, and Peace eſtabliſhed in the Church? Year of Chriſt 578.

Pelagius had yet taken no Steps towards uniting the Catholic Paſtors among themſelves, or with his See, when a favourable Opportunity offered, and he readily embraced it, of obliging one of the moſt zealous Defenders of the *Three Chapters* in all *Italy*, *Elias* Metropolitan, or, as he was commonly ſtyled, Patriarch of *Aquilea*. He was, as his Two immediate Predeceſſors had been before him, at the Head of the Biſhops in thoſe Parts, who defended the *Three Chapters*, and condemned the Fifth Council. However he thought it adviſeable to recur to the Pope on the following Occaſion: *Paulinus*, who held the See of *Aquilea*, when the *Lombards* broke firſt into *Italy*, leaving that City at the Approach of ſo formidable an Army, took Refuge in the neighbouring Iſland of *Grado*, carrying with him the moſt valuable Ornaments, and all the ſacred Utenſils of his Church. There he continued to reſide, and after him his Two Succeſſors *Probinus* and *Elias*, not thinking themſelves ſafe among the new Comers, who were yet either *Pagans* or *Arians*, and expecting to ſee the Church ſoon delivered, as well as the State, from ſo cruel a Bondage. But the abandoned Condition of *Italy*, and the great Advantages daily gained by the Enemy, leaving no farther room to hope for a Change, *Elias* reſolved to transfer, with the Conſent of his Suffragans, the Metropolitan or Patriarchal See from *Aquilea* to *Grado*, where he had built a Church to the Honour of the Martyr *Euphemia*. But apprehending the Pope might reſent his taking ſuch a Step without firſt imparting it to him, and ſuing for the Approbation of his See, to prevent all Diſputes, he wrote to *Pelagius*, acquainting him with his Deſign, and begging his Holineſs to approve and confirm it with the Authority of the Apoſtolic See. The Pope immediately complied with his Requeſt, and in the moſt obliging manner; hoping by that means to render him leſs averſe to a Reconciliation between the Two Sees. Beſides, *Pelagius* wiſely conſidered, that the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, living under the Empire, might be more eaſily prevailed upon, or even forced, to ſubmit to *Rome*, than if he were ſubject to the *Lombards*, who,

Elias *of* Aquilea *a zealous Stickler for the* Three Chapters.

The Pope, to gain him approves his transferring his See from that City to Grado. Year of Chriſt 579.

Year of Christ 579.

as they were not Catholics, but either *Pagans* or *Arians*, would hardly ſuffer any Force or Compulſion to be uſed in Matters of Religion. *Elias* no ſooner received the Pope's Anſwer, than he aſſembled his Suffragans in the Iſland of *Grado*; and there a Decree was, with one Conſent, iſſued by them, transferring the Patriarchal See from *Aquilea* to the Town of *Grado*, in the Iſland of that Name. In that Council *Laurentius*, a *Roman* Presbyter, whom *Pelagius* had ſent to aſſiſt at it in his Name, produced a Letter, whereby the Pope confirmed for ever, to the Town of *Grado*, the Dignity and Rank of a Metropolis, with reſpect to the Provinces of *Iſtria* and *Venetia*, and all the Churches then ſubject to the See of *Aquilea* [h].

The Pope's Legate propoſes an Agreement between the Two Sees.

As the Patriarch as well as his Suffragans expreſſed great Satisfaction at the obliging Behaviour of the Pope on that Occaſion, the Legate *Laurentius* took thence an Opportunity, purſuant to his Inſtructions, of propoſing an Agreement between the Two Sees. Having therefore endeavoured to perſuade the Fathers of that Aſſembly, that the Diſpute was only about Perſons, and, in no reſpect, about Matters of Faith, he warmly exhorted them, as they tendered the Welfare and the Peace of the Church, to ſubmit their Judgment to that of the Firſt See, rather than to foment and maintain, by an inexcuſeable Obſtinacy, ſo ſcandalous a Diviſion among the Catholic Prelates. What Anſwer the Council returned to the Legate we know not; nor indeed whether they returned any; but certain it is, that, far from ſubmitting their Judgment to that of the Firſt See, they confirmed, with one Voice, the Decree they had iſſued in 557. approving the *Three Chapters*, and condemning the Fifth Council [i]; ſo that the Pope gained nothing in the End by his Complaiſance.

Which is rejected.

The Lombards *purſue, with great Succeſs, the Conqueſt of* Italy.

From this Time to the Year 584. the deplorable Situation of the Affairs of the State allowed the Pope no Leiſure to attend to thoſe of the Church. The *Lombards* purſued the Conqueſt of *Italy* without Interruption, the Exarch *Longinus* not daring, with the few Troops he had, to face them in the Field. They had reduced the ſtrong and important City of *Ticinum* or *Pavia* (A), after a Three Years Siege; and, having made it the Metropolis of their new King-

[h] Vide Card. Noris in Chron. Aquileienſ. Dand. hiſt. Venet. & Ughell. tom. 5. Ital. Sacræ. [i] Vide Card. Noris, &c. ubi ſupra, et p. 424.

(A) *Alboinus*, finding the City of *Pavia* well gariſoned, and ſupplied with great Plenty of Proviſions, had left Part of his Army before it, to carry on the Siege, while he purſued the Conqueſt of *Italy* with the reſt.

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dom, had from thence extended their Conquests over the Provinces of *Venetia*, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, and threatened *Rome* itself with a second Visit. The Pope therefore expecting daily to see them again at the Gates of the City, dispatched, in great Haste, to *Constantinople*, *Sebastianus*, his Fellow-Bishop, as he styles him, and *Honoratus*, a Notary, to lay before the Emperor *Tiberius*, jointly with *Gregory*, Nuncio from the Apostolic See to that Court, the defenceless State of *Italy*, most miserably harassed by the worst of Barbarians, and to solicit an immediate Supply of Men and of Money, without which *Rome* itself would, in a very short time, be inevitably lost [k]. The Emperor heard their Complaints, expressed great Concern at the Evils his good Subjects suffered in *Italy*, and wished it were in his Power to relieve them; but added, that for the present he had neither Men nor Money to spare, but rather wanted both to carry on, with Success, the War, in which he was engaged with the *Persians*.

Year of Christ 580.

The Pope applies to the Emperor for Relief, but in vain.

Pelagius, finding *Italy* thus abandoned by the Emperor, and, in a manner, given up to the *Lombards*, resolved to try whether he might not prevail on some other Prince to undertake the Defence of that Country. At this time reigned in *Burgundy Guntram*, a Prince no less famous for his Religion and Piety, than his known Attachment to the Bishops of *Rome*, and their See. To him therefore *Pelagius* resolved to apply; and wrote accordingly, not immediately to the King, but to *Aunacharius* Bishop of *Auxerre*, in whom the King reposed an intire Confidence, exhorting and earnestly intreating him to persuade, by all means, the most pious and religious Prince to renounce the Alliance, which, it seems, he had lately concluded with the *Lombards*, and, turning his Arms against them, divert that wicked and perfidious Nation from completing the Ruin of *Italy*, and Destruction of *Rome* [l]. What was the Issue of this Application is no-where recorded; but as the *Lombards* pursued undisturbed the Conquest of *Italy*, we may well conclude, that it proved ineffectual. The good King perhaps was of Opinion, that Faith was to be kept even with Pagans and Heretics; and consequently could not be persuaded, either by the Pope or the Bishop, to make War, unprovoked, on a People, with whom he had but very lately pawned his Royal Word to live in Friendship and Amity.

And likewise to Guntram, *King of* Burgundy.

Year of Christ 581.

But could not prevail on him to make War on the Lombards.

[k] Pelag. ep. 5. [l] Pelag. ep. 4.

Year of Christ 582.

The following Year died the Emperor *Tiberius*; and in his room was raiſed to the Empire *Mauricius*, who had married his Daughter *Conſtantia*. The Death of the one, and Promotion of the other, were no ſooner known in *Italy*, than *Pelagius*, wholly intent on preſerving *Rome* from falling into the Hands of the Enemy, wrote again, without Loſs of Time, to his Nuncio *Gregory*, charging him to repreſent to the new Emperor, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the lamentable State of Affairs in *Italy*, and appriſe him, that nothing but an immediate Supply of Men and Money could ſave that unhappy Country, and *Rome* itſelf, from utter Deſtruction. *Mauricius* hearkened to the Remonſtrances of the Pope, and his Nuncio; and an Order was immediately iſſued, diſcharging the Exarch *Longinus*, who was not thought equal to ſo great a Truſt, and appointing *Zamaragdus*, a Perſon well skilled in military Affairs, to command in his room. With the new Exarch was ſent into *Italy* a conſiderable Reinforcement of choſen Troops, and a large Supply of Money to defray the Charges of the War. *Mauricius* was ſenſible, that the Exarch was not, with thoſe Troops alone, the only that could be ſpared from the *Perſian* War, by any means, in a Condition to withſtand the numerous Forces of the Enemy; and therefore, to make a Diverſion, and oblige the *Lombards* to divide their Strength, he diſpatched Embaſſadors into *Gaul*, to engage, with the Offer of a conſiderable Sum, *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, to join in the War againſt the *Lombards*, and fall upon them on the one Side, while the Exarch attacked them on the other. The King was pleaſed with the Propoſal; and, having received the promiſed Sum, 50000 *Solidi*, he began to make great Preparations for the intended Expedition into *Italy*. The Preparations he made alarmed the *Lombards*; but *Autharis*, their King, apprehending that as *Childebert* had been prevailed upon with Money to make War, he might, in like manner, be prevailed upon to make Peace, diſpatched Embaſſadors into *Gaul*, to let him know, that if, in the preſent War, he would only engage to ſtand neuter, which could be attended with no Expence, the King of *Italy* was ready to pay him the ſame Sum, which the Emperor had paid him, to engage in an expenſive War. There wanted no more to make the faithleſs King abandon his new Friends: he agreed, at once, to the Propoſal; promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality; received the Money; disbanded his Army; and left his *Greek* Allies to ſhift for themſelves. He afterwards received,

Tiberius *dies, and* Mauricius *is raiſed to the Empire in his room.*

Year of Christ 582.

Who, at the Requeſt of the Pope, ſends into Italy *a Supply of Men and Money.*

Year of Chriſt 583.

The faithleſs Conduct of Childebert, *King of the* Franks, *on this Occaſion.*

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in the moſt unpolite and diſobliging manner, the Embaſſadors ſent by the Emperor to urge the Performance of the Promiſe he had made, or the Reſtitution of the Money he had received; and diſmiſſed them without ſo much as deigning to return them an Anſwer [m]. This proved a great Diſappointment to the Exarch, who thereupon reſolved, as he had not a ſufficient Force to carry on the War by himſelf, to try whether he might not amuſe the Enemy with a Pretence of Negotiation, till farther Supplies could be ſent him from the Eaſt. With this View he propoſed a Ceſſation of Arms: and the Propoſal was no ſooner made than agreed to by the King [n], who, like a wiſe Prince, wanted to ſettle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſh Peace and good Order in the Countries he had conquered, before he engaged in any new Conqueſts.

Year of Chriſt 583.

A Truce between the Greeks *and the* Lombards.

Year of Chriſt 584.

And now Hoſtilities being, on both Sides, for a while ſuſpended, and a free Intercourſe allowed between the Cities that were, and thoſe that were not, ſubject to the *Lombards*, the Pope, without Loſs of time, laid hold of that Opportunity to attempt anew a Reconciliation between the Sees of *Aquilea* and *Rome*. He diſpatched accordingly, as ſoon as the Paſſes were opened, *Redemptus* Biſhop of *Ferentino*, and *Quodvultdeus*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, in *Rome*, with a Letter to *Elias* of *Aquilea* or *Grado*, and the other Biſhops of *Iſtria*: Pelagius *Biſhop of the holy Catholic Church of the City of* Rome, *to his beloved Brethren* Elias, *and the other Biſhops of* Iſtria, was the Addreſs of the Letter. As for the Contents, it was chiefly made up of ſuch Paſſages of Scripture as ſeemed moſt to recommend Concord and Unity, and moſt to diſcountenance all Strife and Contention. The Pope there warmly exhorts them, with the Apoſtle St. *Paul, not to ſtrive about Words to no Profit; to ſhun profane and vain Babblings; to avoid fooliſh and unlearned Queſtions*, &c. [o]; which was plainly declaring, that, in his Opinion, the preſent Diſpute, the Diſpute about the *Three Chapters* (for the determining of which a General Council had been convened; and about which the Biſhops had now quarrelled for the Space of 42 Years, notwithſtanding the Determination of that Council), was, after all, but an idle, fooliſh, impertinent Queſtion.

The Pope attempts anew a Reconciliation between the Sees of Aquilea *and* Rome.

His Letter to the Biſhops of Iſtria.

But what, in the preſent Letter, deſerves more particularly to be obſerved, is, that the Pope there, to ſatisfy the *Iſtrian* Biſhops, that

[m] Greg. Turon. l. 6. c. 42. Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 17. [n] Pelag. ep. 1. ad Epiſc. Iſtriæ. [o] 2 Tim. ii. 14. 16. 23.

Year of Christ 584.

The Pope's Method of Reasoning, to prove, that he had not erred in condemning the Three Chapters.

he had not erred from the Faith in condemning the *Three Chapters*, alleges several Passages of Scripture, shewing, that St. *Peter* could not err; that the Faith of St. *Peter* was never to fail, never to be shaken or changed. *Consider*, says he, *that, as Truth cannot lye, the Faith of St.* Peter *can never be shaken, can never be changed. Upon him did our Saviour promise to build his Church; and against the Church built upon him the Gates of Hell were never to prevail. When Satan desired to have the Apostles, that he might sift them as Wheat, our Saviour prayed for St.* Peter *alone, that his Faith might not fail, but that he might be converted, and might strengthen his Brethren.* From St. *Peter* the Pope passes to himself; adding, as if all that is said in Scripture of the Faith of St. *Peter* had been said of his own, *And yet some, at the Instigation of the Devil, have presumed to question the Orthodoxy of* MY *Belief; and think, that* MY *Faith has failed. But the Enemy will continue sowing Tares among the Wheat to the End of the World*, &c.

Here the Pope supposes Two Things; 1st, That, in the above-mentioned Texts, was contained a Promise to St. *Peter*, that his Faith should never fail, or that he should never err in Matters of Faith: and, 2dly, That the Promise made to St. *Peter* extended to all who were to succeed that Apostle in the See of *Rome*, to the End of the World; else what Connection between the Faith of St. *Peter*, and the Faith of a Pope, who lived so many Ages after St. *Peter?* That St. *Peter* was not to err in Matters of Faith, or, in other Words, that he was *infallible*, I am willing to grant; though that might not, perhaps, be so easily made to appear from the Passages here quoted by the Pope for that Purpose. But what Proof or Argument of the *Infallibility* of the Pope is the *Infallibility* of St. *Peter?* The other Apostles were all, at least, as *infallible* as St. *Peter*; and yet it is not pretended, that they, or any of them, were succeeded by *infallible* Bishops in the Sees they founded. In them *Infallibility* was, like the Gift of Tongues, and Miracles, and Prophecy, a personal Prerogative, that died with them. And what Proof from Scripture, that it did not die with St. *Peter*, as it did with them? That it was granted to St. *Peter* and his Successors for ever, his Successors in the See of *Rome*, and not in the See of *Antioch*, though acknowleged by all for the elder Sister (A)?

To

(A) The Texts quoted here by the Pope, *Thou art* Peter, &c. and, *I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not*, &c. are the only Texts of Scripture which have

yet

To this Letter the *Iſtrian* Biſhops returned Anſwer, That the Pope, in condemning the *Three Chapters*, had plainly condemned the Faith, Year of Chriſt 584.

yet been produced to prove that unlimited Grant. But as to the Firſt, it was ſo underſtood and interpreted by the Fathers, as to import no kind of Privilege or Prerogative peculiar either to St. *Peter*, or his Succeſſors, as has been ſhewn elſewhere (1). On the other Text *Bellarmine* lays great Streſs; and reaſons thus: Our Saviour prayed for St. *Peter* in particular, *I have prayed for* THEE; *ergo* he obtained ſomething in particular for St. *Peter*. And what elſe could it be, but that he, as a private Perſon, ſhould never err from the true Faith; and that, as Pope, he ſhould never teach, nor ſhould his Succeſſors in that Office ever teach, Doctrines repugnant to the true Faith? *ergo* St. *Peter* was *infallible*, and the Pope is as *infallible* as he (2). This is no Argument; but a ſenſeleſs, abſurd, and groundleſs Conjecture, better calculated to ſhew, that the *Papal Infallibility* cannot be proved from Scripture, than to prove it from Scripture. Our Saviour, it is true, prayed for St. *Peter* in particular, not that he might not at any time err from the true Faith; but, foreſeeing that he was to err, and deny him, that he might not quite loſe the Faith, but, returning to himſelf, repent of his Sin, and confirm his Brethren. Thus was the Text underſtood by almoſt all the Fathers (3); and the few, who explain it in a different Senſe, will have Chriſt to have prayed that the Faith of the Church Univerſal might never fail (4); and therefore that the Church Univerſal is *infallible*, may be concluded from the Text in the latter Senſe; but in neither Senſe does it prove St. *Peter*'s *Infallibility*, much leſs that of the Popes, even allowing them to be the Succeſſors of St. *Peter* in the See of *Rome*, which they certainly were not (5). But ſeveral Popes, adds *Bellarmine* (6), have pronounced, declared, and defined themſelves to be *infallible*; and to them it behoves us to give an intire Credit, ſince none can be ſo well acquainted, as they, with their own Prerogatives, and thoſe of their See. He then brings in ſeveral Popes to witneſs their own *Infallibility*; *viz. Lucius* I. *Felix* I. *Leo the Great*, *Agatho*, &c. But the Teſtimonies of the Two firſt, the one choſen in 252. and the other in 269. are quoted from Pieces, which are now rejected by all, as unqueſtionably ſpurious; and as to the Teſtimony of *Leo*, it is quite foreign to the Purpoſe. His Words are: *Our Lord took particular Care of* Peter, *and prayed particularly for him, as if the Steadineſs of the reſt depended upon that of their Prince. In* Peter, *therefore, was confirmed the Fortitude of all; and thus was the divine Grace diſpenſed; that the Firmneſs, which Chriſt granted to* Peter, *might, by* Peter, *be communicated to the other Apoſtles* (7). Here *Leo* only ſays, that our Saviour prayed for *Peter* in particular, that, his Faith not failing, the other Apoſtles might, by him, be confirmed in theirs; or that the Firmneſs obtained for *Peter*, in virtue of that Prayer, might, by him, be communicated to the other Apoſtles. And how to conclude from thence, that *Leo* believed himſelf, and the other Biſhops of *Rome*, to be *infallible*, *Bellarmine* himſelf ſeems to have been at a Loſs; and therefore, having only added, *Here* Leo *acknowleges that Privilege*, the Privilege of *Infallibility*, as if we were to take it upon his Word, that he did, he paſſes from *Leo* to Pope *Agatho*, choſen in the Latter-end of the Seventh Century (8). As for the preſent Pope, his Letter was not yet come to Light when *Bellarmine* wrote; elſe he had not failed to allege his Teſtimony before the Teſtimony of *Agatho*, as he lived near an Hundred Years before that Pope. But as the Paſſages he quotes from the Writings of the preceding Popes, are evidently forged, or quite foreign to the Purpoſe, he could, at moſt, have concluded, from the Letter of *Pelagius*, that the Popes firſt began, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, to

(1) See above, p. 233, 234. (2) Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 3. c. 3. (3) Vide Launois Epiſt. ad Jacob. Bevilaquam, Epiſt. Tom. 5. (4) Idem ibid. (5) See Vol. I. p. 5, et ſeq. (6) Bellar. ibid. (7) Leo, Serm. 3. de Aſſumpt. ſua. (8) Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 3. c. 3.

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Year of Christ 584.

The Answer of the Istrian *Bishops to the Letter of* Pelagius.

Faith, and the Doctrine, of the Fathers of *Chalcedon*; that they had separated themselves from his Communion on that Score, and could not, in Conscience, return to it, till the Scandal was removed, which had given so just Cause to their Separation. They did not, it seems, agree with the Pope in the Explanation of his Texts from Scripture; nor could they discover any kind of Connection between the Faith of St. *Peter*, and his. They too alleged several Texts, not from the Scripture, but the Fathers, telling the Pope, with intolerable Insolence and Pride, says *Baronius*, That, if he perused them with the least Degree of Attention, he would be fully convinced, that his Faith was not the same with the Faith of those great Lights of the Church [m]. The Pope received, with great Kindness, the Messengers who brought the Letter; and, having perused it, proposed a Conference on the Subject in Dispute: but they let him know, that they were strictly injoined to avoid all Disputes; and that they had no other Business at *Rome*, but to deliver the Letter. *Pelagius*, therefore, having caused the Letter to be carefully examined by some of the most learned of his Clergy, answered it, agreeably to their Report, by another, in the following Terms:

[m] Vide Bar. ad ann. 586. p. 662.

pretend to *Infallibility*; and that, however *well acquainted with their other Prerogatives*, they were nevertheless, for the Space of near 600 Years, utterly unacquainted with that which they now look upon as the most valuable of all. I say, *at most*; for some Protestant Divines, unwilling to allow the Bishops of *Rome* to have begun so early to claim that Privilege, have interpreted the Words of *Pelagius*, quoted above, as implying no such Claim or Pretension. And truly it must be owned, that if, in this Letter, the Pope arrogated to himself that Prerogative, he plainly renounced it in another, which he wrote this very Year to the same Bishops, as shall be soon made to appear. But, after all, it matters little whether that Pretension was first heard of in the Sixth or in the Sixteenth Century, it being no less absurd to suppose, that the Popes, had they believed themselves vested with so valuable a Prerogative, would have concealed it from the World Six hundred Years, than that they would have kept it concealed Sixteen hundred. As for the Word *Infallibility*, it was never heard of till the Twelfth Century, when it was invented, by the Schoolmen, to express that unaccountable Privilege: an *unfortunate Word*, says a *Roman* Catholic Writer (1); and so it is indeed, being often employed to vouch the greatest Absurdities; and to stand alone against Scripture, and Authority, and Reason, and common Sense.

It was not to confute the senseless and absurd Notion of *Papal Infallibility*, that I have employed this Note; but to shew, on the first Insinuation that occurred of such an extraordinary Doctrine, that the Principles, upon which it was originally grounded, and rests to this Day, are no less absurd, and want no less to be proved, than the Doctrine itself. But what are not Men capable of maintaining, when they have once forsaken Truth, and prostituted their Consciences and Pens to their own private Interest, or to the Ambition of others?

(1) Mumford. Cath. Scripturift.

" It

" It gives me the greateſt Concern, beloved Brethren, to find you " ſo ſwayed by Prepoſſeſſion and Prejudice, as not to attend to what " you ſay. Your Quotations are not juſt; and the Paſſages you quote, " are either foreign to the Subject, or wreſted to a Meaning very dif- " ferent from that of the Authors. What was ſaid by one Father you " aſcribe to another; and ſeem to *underſtand neither what you ſay,* " *nor whereof you affirm.* But far be it from me to impute this to " any evil Deſign, or any low Craft. It is the common Enemy that " has deceived you" Year of Chriſt 586. *The Pope's Anſwer.*

He then enlarges on the Evils that neceſſarily attend a Miſunderſtanding or Diviſion among the Catholic Biſhops; exhorts them, with great Tenderneſs, to return to the Unity of the Church; and again propoſes a Conference, to be held at *Rome*, or, if more convenient for them, at *Ravenna*, which, he flatters himſelf, would end both to their Satisfaction and his[n]. *The* Iſtrian *Biſhops Reply.*

This Letter was attended with no better Succeſs, than the former. The *Iſtrian* Biſhops, inſtead of hearkening to the Exhortations of the Pope, or agreeing to the Propoſal of a Conference, wrote a long Letter in Defence of the *Three Chapters*, maintaining, that nothing but an inexcuſeable Ignorance, or a criminal Prejudice, could excuſe thoſe from Hereſy, who condemned them; and treating his Holineſs, throughout their Letter, with great Haughtineſs and Contempt. The Arguments, on which they ſeem to have laid the greateſt Streſs, were theſe: 1. The Council of *Chalcedon* declared the Faith of *Theodoret* and *Ibas*[o] to be orthodox, though well acquainted with their Writings; and therefore to condemn thoſe Writings, was evidently ſtriking at the Authority of that great Council. 2. All the chief Biſhops of the *Latin* Provinces long oppoſed the Condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, and none with more Zeal than Pope *Vigilius*, who indeed changed his Opinion at laſt. But were they to change their Opinion, becauſe he had changed his? Were they too, like *a Reed ſhaken with the Wind*, to yield to every Blaſt?

This Letter *Pelagius* anſwered with another, called by *Gregory* his Succeſſor a *Tome*, or Book; and indeed its Length well intitled it to that Name; for, in the Annals of *Baronius*, it takes up no fewer than Fourteen Pages in Folio. The Pope there ſtrives to prove, That nothing was defined, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, concerning the *Three Chapters*; which therefore another Council might condemn, without Pelagius's *Anſwer to their Reply.*

[n] Pelag. Ep. 5. [o] See p. 380.

Year of Christ 584.

derogating in the leaſt from the Authority of that great and venerable Aſſembly. To the other Argument, *viz.* that *Vigilius*, and the chief Biſhops of the *Latin* Provinces, had long oppoſed the Condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, the Pope returns the following Anſwer, which, as it deſerves particular Notice, I ſhall give in his own Words: "It is no Wonder, ſays he, that the *Latin* Biſhops, "who were not acquainted with the *Greek* Tongue, ſhould not at "firſt have agreed to condemn Writings, which they did not under-"ſtand. But the more obſtinately they oppoſed the Truth before "they knew it, the more readily ought we to follow their Example, "and, with them, chearfully embrace it. Had they yielded at once, "had they at once condemned what they defended, their Change "might be well aſcribed to Inconſtancy. But they long ſtood up in "Defence of that Cauſe; they ſuffered even Confinement and Exile, "before they could be prevailed upon to forſake it. And what elſe "could induce them, at laſt, to yield, and forſake it? Nothing, my "beloved Brethren, nothing, ſurely, but Truth and Conviction. "The Apoſtle St. *Paul* long oppoſed the Truth of the Goſpel; but, "being once convinced, he was ſo far from thinking his former Op-"poſition could be well brought as an Argument againſt the Truth "he had embraced, that he urged it as an unanſwerable Argument in "favour of a Faith which had thus triumphed over the combined "Force of Education and Prejudice. In like manner St. *Peter*, a "greater Apoſtle than St. *Paul*, long maintained the Neceſſity of "Circumciſion, ſubjecting the converted Gentiles to that *Jewiſh* and "antiquated Ceremony. But, being convinced by St. *Paul*, that "*he walked not uprightly, according to the Truth of the Goſpel*, he "changed his Opinion; and, in the Council of *Jeruſalem*, none "oppoſed, with more Warmth than he, the laying ſuch a *Yoke upon* "*the Neck of the Diſciples* P. If the Prime Apoſtle held one "Doctrine while he was ſeeking after Truth, and another after he "had found it; if he changed his Opinion as ſoon as he was made ſen-"ſible of his Error; why ſhould a Change of Opinion be condemned "in this See, while the like Change is, by the whole Church, com-"mended and applauded in its Founder?" Here the Pope evidently owns, as *Maimbourg* has well obſerved q, the *Fallibility* of his See;

He owns the Fallibility of his See.

P See Acts, c. xv. ver. 7. 11.

q Maimb. Traité Hſtoir. des Prerogat. de l'Egl. de Rome, c. 7.

and

and consequently retracts what, in his former Letter, he had artfully insinuated concerning its *Infallibility*, and what probably might have given Offence to the *Istrian* Bishops. But to wave that; the Comparison between *Vigilius* changing his Opinion, and the Two Apostles changing theirs, is quite unconclusive; since no one can doubt, but, in them, the Change was owing to Conviction alone; whereas, in *Vigilius*, it was evidently the Effect of the severe Treatment he met with before he changed his Opinion, and from which he could only redeem himself by changing it [r]. His changing, therefore, and condemning what he approved before, was no Argument of the Truth, nor, indeed, of Conviction in him; no more than the like Change was in the apostate Christians offering Incense to *Jupiter*, to deliver themselves from Death, or from the Torments they suffered. Year of Christ 584.

The remaining Part of this long Letter the Pope employs in proveing from the Fathers, that Men may be anathematized after their Death [s]; and shewing, from several Passages out of the Works of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret*, and of *Ibas*, that their Writings contained heretical Doctrines, and consequently well deserved to be condemned. He ends with exhorting anew the *Istrian* Bishops to return to the Unity of the Catholic Church [t].

This, and the Two preceding Letters, are generally thought to have been penned by *Gregory the Great*, at this time Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and Secretary to *Pelagius*. However that be, they made no kind of Impression on the Minds of those, to whom they were written. The *Istrian* Bishops still continued to defend the *Chapters* in Dispute, and to decline all Communication with *Rome*. The Pope therefore, finding that gentle Methods all proved ineffectual, resolved to change his Conduct, and employ Force, where Reason and Arguments could not prevail. He wrote accordingly to the Exarch *Zamaragdus*, stirring him up against the *Istrian* Prelates, whom he painted, in his Letter, as incorrigible Disturbers of the Peace of the Empire, as well as the Church. The Exarch, instead of checking the persecuting Spirit of this Pope, as his Predecessor *Narses* had done that of the First Pope of the same Name [u], gave Way to it; and, passing over to *Grado*, ordered *Severus*, who had succeeded *Elias* in that See, and Three other Bishops who were then with him, to be seized, and carried Prisoners to *Ravenna*. The Bishops, warned of

The Pope recurs to Force.

Four Bishops seized by the Exarch, and carried to Ravenna.

[r] See above, p. 511, 412. [s] See above, p. 401. [t] Pelag. Ep. 6.
[u] See above, p. 422, 423.

Year of Christ 584.

that Order, fled for Refuge to the great Church. But the Exarch, without any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place, went, in Person, to drag them from thence, and returned, with his Prisoners, in a kind of Triumph, to *Ravenna*, the Place of his Residence. What Treatment they met with there, is not recorded: but, whatever it was, they bore it for a whole Twelvemonth; but, yielding at last, they admitted to their Communion the Bishop of the Place, who had long defended, and now condemned, the Three famous Chapters. The Exarch required no more; and they were immediately allowed to return to their Sees. But, as their Conversion was owing to Force and Compulsion, which can only make Hypocrites, and, on their Return, their Brethren, and even the People, declined their Communion, *Zamaragdus* was no sooner removed, and *Romanus*, a Man of a more humane Temper, sent to succeed him, than they declared anew for the *Three Chapters*, and separated themselves from the Communion of all who condemned them [w] (A).

Forced to condemn the Three Chapters.

But declare for them anew.

John *of* Constantinople *causes the Title of* Universal Bishop *to be confirmed to him by a Council.*

Year of Christ 588.

From this time I find no farther Mention made of *Pelagius* till the Year 588. when he appears again upon the Stage on the following remarkable Occasion. *Gregory*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, being accused of Incest, and several other Crimes, before the Governor of the East, appealed from him to the Emperor *Mauricius*, who, receiving his Appeal, immediately summoned the Patriarchs, all the Senators of the Imperial City, and the Metropolitans (B), to hear and determine the Cause. Before that august Assembly *Gregory* appeared, the Witnesses were examined, the Pleaders on both Sides were heard, *Evagrius*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, pleading for *Gregory*; and, after the Tryal had lasted near a whole Day, Sentence was given in favour of the Patriarch, who returned, with great Honour, to his See, while his Accuser was condemned first to be severely racked, then to be led with Infamy through all the chief Streets of the City,

[w] Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longob. l. 3. c. 12.

(A) *Paulus Diaconus* is here guilty of a gross Mistake, which has been adopted by a very eminent Writer (1). For the Deacon supposes the Pope to have defended, and the *Istrian* Bishops to have condemned, the *Three Chapters*; whereas the quite contrary happened.

(B) They are constantly thus named; the Patriarchs in the First Place, the Senators after them, and the Metropolitans after the Senators.

(1) Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4.

and,

and, when he had been thus ſhewn to the Populace, to be ſent into Exile for Life [x]. Year of Chriſt 588.

By this great Council was confirmed to *John* of *Conſtantinople*, ſurnamed the *Faſter*, and, it ſeems, upon his own Application, the Title of *Oecumenical* or *Univerſal Biſhop*, to be enjoyed by him, and his Succeſſors in that See. I ſay *confirmed*; for the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* had, long before this time, a lawful Claim to that Title. The Emperor *Leo* ſtyled *Stephen Archbiſhop and Univerſal Patriarch*, in Ten Laws, one after the other [y]; and the ſame Title was given by *Juſtinian* to *Menas*, to *Epiphanius*, and to *Anthemius* [z]; ſo that it may be called a vulgar Error in Hiſtory to date the Original of that Title from the Time of *Pelagius*, or his Succeſſor *Gregory*. That Title was not attended with any Acceſſion of Power; nor does it appear, that the preſent Patriarch aimed at any, in ſuing for the Decree that confirmed it; much leſs that he aſpired, in virtue of that Title, as the Popes pretended he did, to *Univerſal Juriſdiction*, or to an unlimited Power over the whole Church. For, had the other Patriarchs and Metropolitans, who were preſent at the Council, entertained the leaſt Suſpicion of any ſuch View or Deſign in their Brother of *Conſtantinople*, it is not to be believed, that they would have agreed, ſo readily as they did, to a Decree raiſing him to ſuch a Height of Authority and Power, at the Expence of their own. But the Biſhops of *Rome*, ever jealous even of the Shadow of any new Addition to the Honour or Power of their old Rival, and never more jealous than at this very time, when the Glory of their See was daily decaying with that of their City, not only took the Alarm themſelves on this Occaſion, but endeavoured to alarm the whole Chriſtian World againſt their Antagoniſt, as if he intended to ingroſs all Eccleſiaſtical Power to himſelf and his See. *Pelagius*, no leſs diſturbed and concerned, than if the Whole of the Catholic Faith had been at Stake, or the Council had condemned ſome fundamental Article of the Chriſtian Religion, immediately declared, by the Authority, and in the Name, of St. *Peter*, all and every Act of that Aſſembly abſolutely null, except the Sentence in favour of *Gregory*. At the ſame time he diſpatched, in great Haſte, Meſſengers to *Conſtantinople*, with Letters to the Patriarch, and to his Nuncio at that Court. Neither

The Biſhops of Conſtantinople *had a lawful Claim to that Title.*

The Pope takes the Alarm.

[x] Evagr. l. 6. c. 7. [y] Leo Imp. Conſtit. Novel. 2, 3, &c. [z] Juſtin. Novel. 7. 16. 42.

Year of Christ 588.

of these Letters has reached our Times (C); but from those of Pope *Gregory* it appears, that *Pelagius*, in his Letter to the Patriarch, reproached him, in very sharp Terms, with Pride and Ambition, styling his Attempt *wicked*, *detestable*, *diabolical*, and threatening to separate himself from his Communion, if he did not forthwith relinquish the *Antichristian* Title he had impiously assumed. In his Letter to the Nuncio, he strictly injoined him not to communicate, nor assist, on any Pretence or Occasion whatever, at divine Service, with the Bishop of *Constantinople*, till he had publicly renounced the Title which he had usurped in the Pride of his Heart, and at the Instigation of the Devil, to the great Debasement of the rest of his Brethren [a].

Pelagius *dies*. Year of Christ 590.

Pelagius was prevented by Death from proceeding any farther in this Affair. He died on the 8th of *February* of the following Year 590. having held the See Eleven Years, Two Months, and Ten Days. In the Month of *November* of the preceding Year, the *Tyber*, overflowing its Banks, laid under Water great Part of the City, and the adjacent Country. The Inundation was followed by an epidemical Distemper, called, by the Historians, *Pestis inguinaria*, which made a dreadful Havock of the Inhabitants; and *Pelagius* was one of the first who died of it. Besides the Letter which I have taken notice of above, Three others of this Pope, *viz.* one to an Archbishop named *Benignus*; another to the Bishops of *Campania* and *Italy*; and a Third to the Bishops of *Germany* and *Gaul*; are now generally rejected as spurious, though generally received as genuine in the time of *Baronius*. The whole Drift of these, and indeed of most other forged Pieces, is, to magnify the Merit of St. *Peter*, the Dignity of

Spurious Pieces ascribed to him.

[a] Greg. l. 4. Ep. 38. et l. 7. Ep. 69.

(C) But, in the room of that which the Pope wrote to the Patriarch, some Impostor has given us one of his own, magnifying, beyond all Bounds, the Prerogatives of the *Roman* See. But no Two Styles were ever more different, than the Style of this Piece, and that of the genuine Letters of *Pelagius*; and, besides, it is, in great measure, made up of whole Sentences taken *verbatim* from the Writings of the Popes *Celestine*, *Leo*, *Innocent*, *Gregory*, and *Martin* I. However, *Baronius*, not questioning its Authenticity, urges it, in a most insulting manner, against the Protestants, to prove the unlimited Power and Jurisdiction of the Popes, which, indeed, are there very plainly asserted (1). As if that could be any Argument of the Pope's being really vested with such a Jurisdiction, should we even allow the Letter to be genuine: but, waving that, it is now by all, without Exception, owned to be spurious.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 587. p. 683.

his

his See, the Power of his Succeſſors. It is to me matter of great Surprize, that the Men of Senſe and Learning among the *Roman* Catholics, who have often been the firſt to detect the Forgery of ſuch Pieces, ſhould nevertheleſs continue to maintain that Power and Authority, which they cannot but know were chiefly owing to theſe glaring Forgeries. But they will find it is no eaſy Task to keep up the Edifice, when the Foundation is once undermined. In *Ivo* of *Chartres*, and in *Gratian*, are Six Decrees, aſcribed to *Pelagius*, and looked upon, by ſome able Critics, as antient and genuine. By one of theſe the Pope allows a Man to be ordained Deacon, who, after the Death of his Wife, has had Children by a Slave, but has not married her. This he owns to be forbidden by the Laws of the Church; but thinks thoſe Laws may be diſpenſed with, by reaſon of the great Want of Eccleſiaſtics. The Slave he orders to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery, and to live there in Continence and Retirement. By another of theſe Decrees he forbids the Biſhops of *Sicily*, who were immediately ſubject to the *Roman* See, to exact more than Two *Solidi*, a very ſmall Sum, from each Pariſh of their reſpective Dioceſes (E). The other Four Decrees are concerning Subjects of no great Moment, or ſuch as we have had Occaſion to mention elſewhere.

Year of Chriſt 590.

Six Decrees aſcribed to Pelagius.

The laſt Year of the Pontificate of *Pelagius* II. the Year 589. is memorable, in the Annals of the Church, for the Converſion of the *Goths* in *Spain*, who, having profeſſed the Doctrine of *Arius* for the Space of 213 Years (F), were at laſt, in that Year, induced by their King *Recaredus*, to renounce that Doctrine, and embrace the Catholic Faith. On ſo remarkable an Occaſion the King aſſembled a Coun-

The Goths *in* Spain *embrace the Catholic Faith.*

(E) The unjuſt Demands of the *Sicilian* Biſhops gave probably Occaſion to this Decree. By a Law of the *African* Church, a Biſhop, who oppreſſed his People with unjuſt Demands, or unreaſonable Exactions, was to be puniſhed with the Loſs of that Part of his Dioceſe, or People, who had Reaſon to complain of ſuch Oppreſſion. (1).

(F) The *Goths*, whom the Emperor *Valens* had allowed to ſettle in *Thrace*, being deſirous of renouncing their Idolatry, and embracing the Chriſtian Faith, applied to him, in the Year 376. for proper Perſons to inſtruct them in the Myſteries of that Religion. The Emperor readily complied with their Requeſt: but, being himſelf a moſt zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Arius*, he ſent none to them but Men of his own Perſuaſion; ſo that the *Gothic* Nation became, at the ſame time, both *Chriſtian* and *Arian* (2); and the Doctrine which they learnt of their firſt Inſtructors, they zealouſly maintained, from that time, the Year 376. to the preſent 589.

(1) Aug. Ep. 261. (2) Iſidor. in Chron. Goth. Soz. l. 6. c. 37. Theodoret. l. 4. c. 37.

cil,

Year of Chriſt 590.

cil, the Third of *Toledo*, conſiſting of 73 Biſhops; and, being preſent in Perſon, ordered, after a ſhort Harangue, his Confeſſion of Faith to be read, ſigned by him and his Queen; and likewiſe the Confeſſion of the Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtics of the *Gothic* Nation; receiving the Three General Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Chalcedon*, and anathematizing the Doctrine of *Arius*, and all who maintained or profeſſed it [b]. This was matter of great Triumph to the Catholic Party (G).

[b] Abbas Biclar. ad ann. 8. Mauri. et Cardinal. de Aguire in Notitia Concil. Hiſp. p. 95.

(G) That we may not think the Pope had no Share in the Glory of ſo remarkable a Tranſaction as the Converſion of a whole Nation, *Baronius* lets us know, that the Council, in which the *Goths* abjured the Blaſphemies of *Arius*, *was not aſſembled without the Privity, Conſent, and Authority of* Pelagius (1); and that *Leander* Biſhop of *Seville aſſiſted at it, with the Character of the Pope's Legate* (2). But of all this there is not a ſingle Word, not a diſtant Hint, in any of the antient Writers. By them it is only ſaid, that the Council met by the King's Order, *præcepto Regis* (3). And as for *Leander*, if he aſſiſted at the Council as the Pope's Legate; that is more than *Iſidorus*, who wrote the Life of that Prelate, and takes no notice of his Legatine Dignity, ſeems to have known, or indeed *Leander* himſelf, who, in the Speech he made, on that Occaſion, in Praiſe of the Catholic Church, never once mentioned either the Pope, or his See; which would have been an unpardonable Inſtance of Ingratitude and Diſreſpect, had *Pelagius* diſtinguiſhed him with that Character, above the reſt of his Brethren; or had the Pope, I may add, any-ways contributed to the Converſion of the *Gothic* Nation.

In the ſame Year, 589. was convened, by King *Recaredus*, another Council at *Narbonne*, conſiſting of ſeveral Biſhops, which I cannot help taking notice of here, on account of their Firſt Canon, forbidding Eccleſiaſtics to uſe, in their Dreſs, the Scarlet Colour, *that Colour being*, as is there ſaid, *a Badge of worldly Pomp and Grandeur, and more properly belonging to Laymen in Authority, than to Profeſſors of Religion, whoſe inward Devotion ought to ſhew itſelf by their outward Dreſs and Attire*. What would theſe venerable Prelates think or ſay, were they to liſt up their Heads, and ſee a Conſiſtory at *Rome*, with the Cardinals, and the Pope himſelf, all gorgeouſly arrayed in Scarlet Robes! But, in them, that Colour contains a kind of Myſtery; for they are ſaid to have choſen it, that they, and all who beheld them, might thereby be put in mind of the Blood of the Martyrs, and encouraged, when called upon, to follow their Example.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 589. p. 698. ubi ſupra. Iſidor. in vit. Leandri.

(2) Idem ibid.

(3) Abbas Biclar.

GREGORY,

MAURICIUS, PHOCAS. **GREGORY,** AUTHARIS, AGILULPHUS, } Kings of the *Lombards.*

Sixty-third BISHOP *of* Rome.

PELAGIUS was ſucceeded by *Gregory*, commonly ſurnamed *the Great*. He was the Great-Grandſon of another Pope, *Felix* II. [b], deſcended of a Senatorian Family, and one of the moſt wealthy and illuſtrious Families in the City of *Rome*. His Father *Gordianus*, his Mother *Silvia*, and his Father's Two Siſters *Tarſilla* and *Æmiliana*, were not more conſpicuous for their Birth, than for their Religion, and Chriſtian Piety. *Silvia*, and the Two Siſters, have now a Place in the Kalendar of Saints; an Honour that has been denied to *Gordianus* himſelf, though he ſeems to have had as good a Title to it as any of them. *Gregory* had an Education ſuitable to his Rank; was early imbued, by his Parents, with the Principles of Honour, of Morality, of Religion, and brought up, ſays the Author of his Life [c], as a Saint among Saints. He applied himſelf, from his tender Years, to the Study of Letters; and with ſuch Succeſs, that none at *Rome* excelled him, as *Gregory* of *Tours*, his Contemporary, bears Witneſs [d], in the Knowlege of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. As he was intitled, by his Birth, to the Firſt Employments of the State, which could not then be well diſcharged without a thorough Knowlege of the *Roman* Juriſprudence, he addicted himſelf early to that Branch of Learning: and how well he was acquainted with the Laws that obtained in his Time, ſufficiently appears from his Writings. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Senate; and, being recommended to *Juſtin the younger* by the uncommon Talents he diſplayed there, but ſtill more by his known Integrity, and Love of Juſtice, he was raiſed by that Emperor to the high Poſt of Governor of *Rome*, as the Perſon the beſt qualified, at that time, to govern, defend, and relieve, the City ſurrounded on all Sides by a victorious and implacable Enemy (A). He acquitted himſelf in that Employ-

Year of Chriſt 590.

The Anceſtors and Family of Gregory.

His Education.

Diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the Senate, and is made Governor of Rome.

[b] See above, p. 194. [c] Joan. Diac. in Vit. Greg. c. 1. [d] Greg. Turon. Hiſt. l. 10. c. 1.

(A) In what Year that Dignity was conferred on him, we know not; but certain it is, that he held it in 573 (1).

(1) See Pagi ad ann. 531. n. 3, 4.

ment

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ment to the entire Satisfaction of the Emperor, as well as of the Senate and People of *Rome*; and practiſed himſelf, when veſted with Power, the excellent Rules, which, in his Writings, he recommends to others: yet his preſent Grandeur, the Power he enjoyed, the Applauſe he met with from all Ranks of People, the Deſire or Ambition of riſing ſtill higher, the Hurry of Buſineſs, and the conſtant Cares attending his Employment, had begun to efface, before he was aware, the religious Sentiments which he had imbibed from his Cradle. Returning therefore to himſelf, he often reflected on the Vanity of all worldly Greatneſs, on the Emptineſs of all worldly Pleaſures, and the Danger to which he was expoſed, of miſcarrying in the only Affair of real Importance, while he ſuffered his Attention to be wholly ingroſſed by temporal Objects. By theſe Thoughts, as he frequently indulged himſelf in them, he was brought, by degrees, to an entire Contempt of every thing this World could offer; inſomuch that, his Father dying, he reſerved to himſelf but a very ſmall Share of the immenſe Wealth that came to him by his Death, employing the reſt in charitable Uſes, and in founding Monaſteries, agreeably to the Superſtition of the Times. Of theſe he founded, and endowed, no fewer than Six in *Sicily*, and one in *Rome*, dedicated to St. *Andrew*, where he took himſelf the Monaſtic Habit, as he had long panted after Retirement and Solitude, and bid Adieu to the World, and all its Allurements (A). But would not the uncommon Talents of that great and good Man have been far better employed in promoting the Welfare of his Fellow creatures, and the Good of the Society to which he belonged? Nay, was not his Caſe the ſame with that of the Servant in the Goſpel, who *went and digged in the Earth, and hid his Lords Money?* But the Monaſtic Life now began to be deemed

How he employed his great Wealth.

He embraces the Monaſtic Life.

[e] Greg. in Præfat. Moral. ad Leand. et Greg. Tur. Hiſt. l. 10. c. 1.

(A) To what Order he belonged, is a Queſtion that has been long diſputed by the Monks of different Orders, and which I ſhall leave them to determine; only obſerving here, that F. *Gallon*, a Prieſt of the *Oratory* founded by St. *Philip* of *Neri* in *Rome*, has, in Oppoſition to the *Benedictines* pretending St. *Gregory* to have been of their Order, taxed thoſe Monks with having forged, and aſcribed to Popes, Emperors, and Kings, many Deeds, containing Donations of large Poſſeſſions, nay, and of whole Cities. Their great and famous Monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, in the Kingdom af *Naples*, has been, according to that learned Writer, for many Ages, a very Mint of falſe Pieces (1).

(1) Gall. Apologeticus lib. adverſ. Conſtant. Bellot.

in

in the Weſt, as it had been long before in the Eaſt, the Highway to Heaven: and no Wonder that, upon ſuch a Perſuaſion, Men of all Ranks and Conditions crouded to Monaſteries; eſpecially in an Age when Superſtition bore down common Senſe, and the Goſpel had been made to give room to a new Revelation, Monkiſh Viſions, Dreams, and Romances. Year of Chriſt 590.

Becomes the Pattern of a Monaſtic Life.

Gregory, now a Monk, became the true Pattern of a Monaſtic Life, and of every Virtue becoming that Profeſſion, baniſhing from his Mind all Thoughts of the World, and abandoning himſelf wholly to Meditation and Prayer. He lived only upon Legumes, and ſo ſparingly even upon them, that, his Conſtitution being thereby quite broken, his indiſcreet Abſtinence would have coſt him his Life, had he not, with great Difficulty, been perſuaded by his Friends to moderate the Rigour of his Faſts. He had not enjoyed his Retreat many Years (how many, is very uncertain (B), and not at all material), when he was obliged to quit it, or, to uſe his own Expreſſion, when he was driven from a quiet and ſafe Harbour into the open and boiſterous Sea [e]. This happened on the following Occaſion. Pope *Benedict* dying, *Pelagius* was choſen to ſucceed him, and ordained, as I have related above [f], before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor [g]. As that was contrary to a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed by Law, and inviolably obſerved ever ſince the Time of *Theodoric* the *Goth* [h], the new Pope could think of no Perſon in *Rome* ſo well qualified as *Gregory*, to excuſe it to the Emperor, and, at the ſame time, to ſolicit ſome Relief in behalf of the Inhabitants of *Italy*, whom his Predeceſſor had, in a manner, abandoned to the Fury of the *Lombards*. Having therefore taken him, we may ſay, by Force, from his Monaſtery, he ordained him Deacon, and ſent him, with the Character of his Nuncio, to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, none but Deacons being then employed in that Office. There *Gregory* not only ſatisfied the Emperor *Tiberius* as to the Ordination of *Pelagius*, but became, in a very ſhort time, one of his chief Favourites. He was no leſs beloved and reſpected by *Mauricius*, the Succeſſor of *Tiberius*, than he was by *Tiberius*; nay, his prudent, obliging, and modeſt Behaviour, gained him the Eſteem and Affection, not only of the Emperors, but of all the great Men at Court,

Is taken from his Monaſtery by Pope Pelagius.

Ordained Deacon; and ſent, with the Character of Nuncio, to Conſtantinople.

His Conduct there.

[e] Greg. in Præf. ad Leandr. [f] See above, p. 440. [g] See above, p. 445. [h] See above, p. 320.

(B) All we know for certain is, that in 573. he was ſtill Governor of *Rome*; and that he was ordained Deacon, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, in 579.

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and even of the Biſhops, who, notwithſtanding the Jealouſy which they generally entertained of the Pope's Nuncio, could not help loving *Gregory*, and aſſiſting him where-ever it lay in their Power. However, he quarrelled, or rather had a Diſpute, with *Eutychius* of *Conſtantinople*, on the following Occaſion. As idle and impertinent Speculations were then greatly in Vogue, ſuch Speculations as are now the whole Employment and Buſineſs of the Schoolmen, the Patriarch ſtarted the Queſtion, Whether, after the Reſurrection, our Bodies were to be palpable, or not? that is, Whether they were, or were not, to be capable of being felt and perceived? *Eutychius* himſelf declared for the Negative, maintaining, in a Writing which he publiſhed to prove the Truth of the Reſurrection, that our Bodies were to riſe as ſubtle as the Wind, or the Air. That Doctrine *Gregory* vigorouſly oppoſed, as ſavouring, in his Opinion, of *Origeniſm*; and who knows what dreadful Conſequences would have attended even ſo trifling a Diſpute, had not the Emperor *Tiberius* wiſely interpoſed, before any Parties or Factions could be formed? But the Emperor was no ſooner informed of the Difference between the Patriarch and the Nuncio, than he commanded both to attend him, and diſpute, in his Preſence, the Point that occaſioned their Diſagreement. They obeyed; and *Gregory* prevailing, or the Emperor, at leaſt, thinking he prevailed, the Patriarch was ordered to acquieſce, and his Book to be immediately committed to the Flames [i]. Thus was determined at once, by the prudent Conduct of the Emperor, a Controverſy, that, otherwiſe, might have occaſioned, as ſeveral other Queſtions of no greater Moment had done, a Schiſm in the Church, and the Aſſembling of a General Council to heal and remove it. Had the other Emperors acted, in the like Caſes, with the ſame Judgment and Prudence, few General Councils, if any, had ever been aſſembled, and the Chriſtian Religion would have remained as plain and intelligible as we find it in the Scriptures.

His Diſpute with the Patriarch.

The prudent Conduct of the Emperor on that Occaſion.

Gregory continued at *Conſtantinople* from the Year 579. to the Year 584. when the Pope, wanting his Aſſiſtance, beſides the never-failing Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, to combat thoſe who ſtill maintained the *Three Chapters*, in Contradiction to the Apoſtolic See, recalled him, and ſent one *Laurentius* to the Imperial Court in his room. On his Return he brought with him an Arm of the Apoſtle St. *An-*

Gregory *recalled from* Conſtantinople.

[i] Greg. Moral. l. 14. c. 29.

drew,

drew, and the Head of St. *Luke*, the Bodies of St. *Andrew*, St. *Luke*, and *Timothy*, having been diſcovered at *Conſtantinople* ſome Years before [k] (C). Year of Chriſt 590.

The Pope received his Nuncio, on his Arrival at *Rome*, with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Eſteem, declaring himſelf entirely ſatisfied with his Negotiations, and the whole Tenor of his Conduct, during his Stay in the Imperial City. The Satisfaction which the Pope expreſſed, encouraged *Gregory* to beg, as the greateſt Reward his Holineſs could confer, or his ſmall Services deſerve, that he might be allowed to return to his Monaſtery, and there ſpend, in Peace and Retirement, the Remainder of his Days. This *Gregory* begged with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that the Pope could not help granting him his Requeſt. However, he employed him as his Secretary, on ſome urgent Occaſions, even in his Retreat; and the Three Letters to the *Iſtrian* Biſhops, of which I have ſpoken above, are commonly thought to have been penned by him. *On his Return to* Rome *he retires again to his Monaſtery.*

Soon after his Return to the Monaſtery, he was appointed Abbot; and in that Office he exacted of his Monks as ſtrict an Obſervance of the minuteſt Rules, as he practiſed himſelf. Of his exceſſive Severity in that Particular he gives us himſelf the following Inſtance: A Monk of his Monaſtery, named *Juſtus*, who had practiſed Phyſic, while a Layman, and (after embracing the monaſtic Life) had attended *Gregory* Night and Day, during his long Illneſs, being himſelf taken ill, diſcovered, at the Point of Death, to his Brother, a Layman, that he had Three Pieces of Gold concealed in his Cell. Some Monks overheard him, and thereupon romaging his Cell, found, after a long Search, which nothing could eſcape, the Three Pieces concealed in a Medicament, and brought them to *Gregory*. As, by the Laws of the Monaſtery, no Monk was to poſſeſs any thing whatever in private, the Abbot, to bring the dying Monk to a due Senſe of his Crime, and, at the ſame time, to deter the reſt, by his Puniſhment, from follow- *Is choſen Abbot.* *He exacts with great Severity the Obſervance of the Rules.*

[k] Procop. de Ædific. Juſtin. l. 1.

(C) The Arm of St. *Andrew* is ſtill expoſed to public Adoration in St. *Gregory*'s Monaſtery, the Monaſtery of St. *Andrew* in *Rome*, now in the Poſſeſſion of the *Camaldulenſes*; and the ſame Honours are ſtill paid to the Head of St. *Luke*, in the Church of St. *Peter*. The Bodies of St. *Andrew*, St. *Luke*, and of *Timothy*, are ſaid by *Jerom* (1), and *Philoſtorgius*, to have been tranſlated to *Conſtantinople* by the Emperor *Conſtantius*. *Timothy* is ſtyled an Apoſtle both by *Philoſtorgius*, and by *Procopius*.

(1) Hier. in Vigil. et lib. de Script. Eccleſ. Philoſtorg. l. 3. c. 2.

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ing ſo pernicious an Example, ſtrictly forbid the other Monks to afford him any kind of Comfort or Relief in the Agonies of Death, or even to approach him. Not ſatisfied with that, I may call it, inhuman Severity, he required the Brother of the unhappy Monk to let him know, that he died avoided, deteſted, and abhorred, by all his Brethren. He did not even ſtop here; but, exceeding all Bounds, ordered the Body of the Deceaſed, as ſoon as he expired, to be thrown on a Dunghil, and with it the Three Pieces of Gold, all the Monks crying out, aloud, *Thy Money periſh with thee* [l].

He is choſen Pope.

While *Gregory* was thus governing his Monaſtery, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of his being ever obliged to quit it again, *Pelagius* died; and, upon his Death, *Gregory* was immediately elected in his room, by the joint Suffrages of the Senate, the Clergy, and the People, as a Man, or rather as an Angel, in the Shape of a Man, ſent down from Heaven to comfort, aſſiſt, and relieve the City, at that time miſerably diſtreſſed without by a barbarous Enemy, and viſited within by a dreadful Famine, and a more dreadful Plague. The

He declines that Dignity, and writes to the Emperor.

Election of *Gregory* was received with loud Acclamations by all, but by *Gregory* himſelf, who, thunderſtruck at the News, and not able to prevail on the Electors to name any other, wrote, without Loſs of Time, to the Emperor *Mauricius*, earneſtly intreating him, as he would anſwer it the laſt Day, not to confirm his Election, but to command the People of *Rome* to chuſe another, there being none among the *Roman* Clergy that were not better qualified than he to diſcharge the Duties of ſo important an Office. But his Letter the

His Letter intercepted.

Governor of *Rome* intercepted, and, keeping it by him, ſent the Decree of the Election to *Mauricius*, accompanied with a Letter, begging him, in the Name of the People, the Clergy, and the Senate of *Rome*, to confirm the Election of a Perſon, whom they had unanimouſly choſen, as the moſt capable of all, to provide for the Safety both of the Church and the Empire, in the preſent Times of general Diſtreſs and Calamity [m]. In the mean while *Gregory*, perſuaded that the Emperor would not confer on him, againſt his Will, a Dignity that was ſo ambitiouſly courted by others, continued at *Rome*, employed not only in the Government of his Monaſtery, but in exciting the People, by his Sermons or Homilies, to Sorrow and

[l] Greg. Dial. l. 4. c. 55. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. 11. c. 1.

[m] Joan. Diac. in vit. Greg. l. 1. c. 39, 40. Greg.

Compunction for their Sins, and in ordering Litanies, or public Prayers, and Proceſſions, to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven, and avert the grievous Calamities, which had already near depopulated the City (A). Year of Chriſt 590.

But while *Gregory* was thus wholly intent on theſe pious Exerciſes, the Anſwer of the Emperor to the Governor's Letter was at laſt brought to *Rome*; an Anſwer entirely agreeable to the Expectation and Wiſhes of the People. For *Mauricius*, who had frequently converſed with *Gregory* at *Conſtantinople*, and was well acquainted with his Talents, not only confirmed his Election, but congratulated the *Roman* People on the Choice they had made. *His Election is confirmed by the Emperor.*

But *Gregory*, trembling at the very Thought of taking upon him a Charge, to which he believed himſelf unequal, and of ſuch infinite Moment as made every Neglect highly criminal, however ſmall in itſelf, reſolved, at all Events, to decline it. The only Expedient, that now occurred to him, which he thought might be attended with Succeſs, was to betake himſelf to Flight, and, lying concealed, quite tire the Patience of the People, and oblige them, by that means, to proceed to a new Election. He fled accordingly, and eſcaping, in Diſguiſe, the Vigilance of the Guards at the Gate, whom the Governor had ordered to ſtop him, ſhould he offer to go out, he reached a Foreſt, without being diſcovered; and there kept himſelf concealed in a Cave [n]. Great Example, ſays here F. *Maimbourg*, an Example that ought to check and confound the unbridled Ambition of thoſe who, tho' noways equal to that great Man in Doctrine, Holineſs, or Parts, yet, by their ſcandalous Intrigues, offer a kind of Violence to the Holy Ghoſt, to raiſe themſelves by Means that are merely human, and quite uncanonical, even to the firſt Place in the Church [o]. Gregory *flies from the City, and lies concealed.*

Gregory, in ſpite of all the Care and Precaution he could uſe, was ſoon diſcovered, was brought back in Triumph by the People, carried ſtrait to *He is diſcovered, brought back, and ordained.*

[n] Greg. Turen. l. 10. c. 1. Joan. Diac. in vit. Greg. l. 1. c. 44. [o] Maimb. Hiſt. du Pontif. de S. Greg.

(A) We learn from an antient Tradition, that, when the laſt Proceſſion arrived at the Monument of the Emperor *Adrian*, in their Way to the Church of St. *Peter*, an Angel appeared to *Gregory* on the Summit of that Edifice, ſheathing his Sword, as a Token that the Divine Vengeance was now ſatisfied, and the Calamities were ended. Upon this Tradition, the Monument of *Adrian*, when afterwards turned into a Caſtle, was called *the Caſtle of the Holy Angel, Caſtel Sant' Angelo*; and in the Place, where the Angel was ſuppoſed to have appeared, was erected, and is ſtill to be ſeen, the Statue of an Angel, in the Attitude of ſheathing a Sword. But this Tradition

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to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there immediately ordained, to prevent him from making his Eſcape a Second time. This happened on the 3d of *September*, the See having been vacant ever ſince the 8th of *February* of the preſent Year.

He ſends his Confeſſion of Faith to the other Patriarchs.

Gregory was no ſooner ordained than he drew up, and ſent, according to Cuſtom, a Confeſſion of his Faith to the other Patriarchs; *viz.* to the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and of *Jeruſalem*, whom he names in that Order: which was owning the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to be ſuperior in Rank and Dignity to all other Patriarchs in the Eaſt; a Point, which his Predeceſſors had all warmly diſputed (B). In his Confeſſion he profeſſes to receive the Four firſt Councils, as the Four Books of the Holy Goſpel, to reverence the Fifth, and to condemn the *Three Chapters*. He adds, *Whoever preſumes to looſen the Perſons, whom the Councils have bound, or to bind thoſe whom the Councils have looſened, deſtroys himſelf, and not them* p. A plain Declaration, that he knew of no Authority in the Church ſuperior to that of a Council. I cannot help obſerving here, that the Confeſſion before us is the firſt I have met with, in which mention is made of the Goſpels; and, that even there they are only mentioned to be put upon the Level with the Councils; nay, *Gregory*, agreeably to the Theology of the Times, ſeems to raiſe the Four Councils above the Four Goſpels; for, having named borh, he adds, *And on theſe*, the Four Councils, *reſts, as on a ſquare Stone, the Structure of the Holy Faith; and they are the*

p Greg. l. 1. ep. 24.

Tradition is no better grounded than moſt other Traditions, it being manifeſt from the Letters written by *Gregory*, when he was Pope, that is, ſeveral Months after the Time of the ſuppoſed Apparition, that then both the Plague and the Famine ſtill continued to rage in the City; and that to them new Calamities were added. For, by a violent Storm of Wind, many Houſes in the City were blown down, and the Inhabitants cruſhed in the Ruins. Beſides, while the Inhabitants could not ſet Foot out of the Gates, without Danger of being murdered, or carried into Captivity, by the *Lombards*, the Gariſon within, quarreling among themſelves, filled the City with Blood and Slaughter (1).

In the infectious Diſtemper, which prevailed at this time in *Rome*, Sneezing was deemed a mortal Symptom; and hence the Cuſtom of bleſſing thoſe who ſneeze, is ſaid to have its Original.

(B) The Patriarchs are thus named in all the manuſcript Copies of *Gregory*'s Letter. And yet *Baronius* will have the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to have been indebted, for that Honour, not to the Pope, but to the ignorant Tranſcribers, perverting the Order, in which the Patriarchs were ranked by the Pope (2). A Subterfuge worthy indeed of *Baronius!*

(1) Greg. l. 1. ep. 2. et dialog. l. 2. c. 15.

(2) Bar. ad ann. 591. p. 19.

Rule

Rule of every Man's Actions and Life. Whoever therefore does not hold this ſolid Foundation, though he may appear to be a Stone, he lies nevertheleſs out of the Building [q]. But the Foundation of our Faith was laid long before any of theſe Councils was heard of, and *other Foundation can no Man lay* [r], nor no Aſſembly of Men. Year of Chriſt 590.

The new Pope, having thus ſatisfied the Biſhops of the chief Sees as to the Orthodoxy of his Faith, undertook, in the next Place, to heal the Diviſions that ſtill reigned in the Church, on account of the *Three Chapters*. Several Biſhops in *Italy*, and ſome in *Spain* and *Gaul*, had, in the End, been perſuaded to condemn thoſe *Chapters*, or at leaſt, for the ſake of Concord and Peace, to communicate with thoſe who condemned them. But the Biſhops of *Iſtria* had not yet been prevailed upon to do either. They, all to a Man, ſtill continued to maintain that Cauſe with more Zeal and Reſolution than ever. With them therefore *Gregory* reſolved to begin, notwithſtanding the bad Succeſs that had hitherto attended the repeated Attempts of his Predeceſſors to gain them. The moſt effectual Means, that occurred to him, of compaſſing his Deſign, was to appoint a Council to meet at *Rome*, and apply to the Emperor for an Order to oblige the *Iſtrian* Biſhops to attend it: for he was well appriſed, that nothing but an expreſs and peremptory Order from the Emperor could bring them to *Rome*. He applied accordingly, by his Nuncio, for that Order; obtained it; and, ſending it, as ſoon as it reached him, to *Severus* the Metropolitan of *Iſtria*, ſummoned both him and his Suffragans to *Rome*, to ſettle there the Points in Diſpute, agreeably to the declared Will of the Emperor [s]. The Order and Summons *Severus* immediately notified to the other Biſhops, who thereupon aſſembling in Two different Places, the Subjects of the Empire in one, and thoſe of the *Lombards* in another (for the *Lombards*, who were Maſters of ſeveral of thoſe Cities, would not ſuffer their Subjects to aſſemble with thoſe of the Empire), it was agreed by both Councils, that a Memorial ſhould, in the Name of all, be preſented to the Emperor, and that none ſhould be allowed to repair to *Rome* till they received his Anſwer. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Three Petitions were drawn up, Two in the Name of the Two Councils, and One in that of *Severus* alone. They all modeſtly complained of the Order obliging them to repair

He ſtrives to reunite the Iſtrian *Biſhops to his See.*

The Emperor, at his Requeſt, orders them to attend a Council to be held at Rome.

[q] Greg. ibid. [r] 1 Corinth. iii. 11. [s] Greg. l. 1. ep. 16.

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They refuſe to comply with the Order.

to *Rome*, which they ſaid had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained by their Enemies; declared, that they held and profeſſed the very Doctrine, which they had been taught by Pope *Vigilius*, and which that Pope had required all to hold and maintain on Pain of Excommunication; begged they might not be obliged to take the Pope for their Judge, who was a Party, that being repugnant to the ſacred Laws of the Empire; aſſured the Emperor, that, ſhould they either condemn the *Three Chapters*, or communicate with the Pope, who condemned them, their People would all decline their Communion, and no longer hearken to the Voice of their Paſtors. They concluded with promiſing to ſatisfy the Emperor as to the Purity of their Faith, as ſoon as the State of Affairs in *Italy* allowed them ſome Reſpite [s].

They prevail on the Emperor to revoke the Order.

With theſe Three Memorials they immediately diſpatched ſome of their Eccleſiaſtics to the Emperor, who, moved with the Reaſons they alleged, and apprehending, that Violence of any Kind, at this Juncture, might incline thoſe Prelates to favour the *Lombards*, who did not concern themſelves with Queſtions of that Nature, revoked his former Order; and, at the ſame time, wrote to *Gregory*, notifying it to him in the following Terms. *As your Holineſs is well acquainted with the preſent State and Confuſion of Affairs in* Italy, *and ſenſible, that we muſt, in Prudence, comply with the Times, we* COMMAND YOUR HOLINESS *to give no farther Trouble to the* Iſtrian *Biſhops, but allow them to live undiſturbed, till it ſhall pleaſe God to ſettle theſe Parts in Peace and Tranquillity* [t] (A).

Mauri-

[s] Apud Bar. ad ann. 590. p. 12, 13, 14. Noriſ. in diſſer. de Syn. Quint. c. 9.

[t] Bar. ibid. p. 14, 15. vide Card.

(A) The Words, *We command*, *Baronius* cannot brook, ſtyling them the Dialect of a Tyrant, when directed to the High Pontiff, whom even Kings and Emperors ought only to court or intreat, and none but Tyrants would preſume to command (1). But *Gregory* himſelf was not of that Opinion; for, ſpeaking of this very Order, in a Letter to *John* of *Ravenna*, he calls it *a Command, laid on him by the moſt pious Princes* (2), meaning *Mauricius*, and his Son *Theodoſius*, who had been lately crowned, though only Five Years old. *Gregory* was not at all pleaſed with that Order, as we may well imagine, ſince the Meaſures, which he had concerted for re-uniting the *Iſtrian* Biſhops to his See, were thereby entirely defeated; and therefore he tells the Biſhop of *Ravenna*, in the ſame Letter, that he propoſed writing anew to his *moſt Serene Lords*, on the ſame Subject. But he no-where gives the leaſt Intimation, as if he thought, that the Emperor had not the ſame Right to command him as the meaneſt of his Subjects. *Gregory* ſeems to have been rather too complaiſant to Princes, and Men in Power, and to have had more of the Courtier than was be-

(1) Bar. ad ann. 590. p. 15.

(2) Greg. l. 2. ep. 32.

coming

Mauritius wrote, at the ſame time, to the Exarch *Romanus*, enjoining him to take care, that no kind of Violence was offered by the Pope to the *Iſtrian* Biſhops. Thus were the Meaſures, which *Gregory* had concerted for the Re-union of thoſe Biſhops, all at once utterly defeated. Year of Chriſt 590.

The Zeal of *Gregory* was attended with better Succeſs againſt the *Donatiſts*, who were ſtill a numerous Sect in the Province of *Africa*, where they firſt appeared in the Time of *Conſtantine the Great*, as I have related elſewhere [w]. Many bloody Edicts were iſſued againſt them by the Succeſſors of that Emperor, and put in Execution with the utmoſt Severity. But what was antiently ſaid of the Chriſtians, *Sanguis martyrum ſemen Chriſtianorum*, may be ſaid, with as much Truth, of Men of every Sect, or Religion. The *Donatiſts* lived at this time in *Africa*, undiſturbed by the Catholics, and gave no kind of Diſturbance to them. They had their own Places of Worſhip, and were ſuffered to worſhip publicly in them; had their own Presbyters, their own Biſhops, and a Hierarchy like that of the Catholics. But the Harmony that reigned between them and the Catholics was diſpleaſing to *Gregory*; and being as great an Enemy to Toleration as any of his Predeceſſors, he undertook to diſturb it on the following Occaſion: In the Province of *Numidia* the ſenior Biſhop, in what City ſoever he reſided, enjoyed, by a very antient Cuſtom, the Dignity of Metropolitan, and all the Privileges attending that Dignity [x]. At this time a *Donatiſt* Biſhop happened to be the Senior in that Province, who thereupon pleading the antient Cuſtom, aſſumed the Title of Metropolitan or Primate of *Numidia*. As he was far advanced in Years, the Catholic Biſhops all acquieſced, apprehending greater Evils from their oppoſing his Pretenſions, than any that could poſſibly ariſe from their complying with them, and ſuffering him to hold that Dignity for the remaining Part of his Life, *He ſtrives to raiſe a Perſecution againſt the* Donatiſts *in* Africa. Year of Chriſt 591.

[w] See Vol. I. p. 88. et ſeq.

[x] See Vol. I. p. 107.

coming the Character of a Biſhop. But *Baronius* plainly ſhews, in ſeveral Places of his voluminous Work, that he was utterly unacquainted with that Part of *Gregory*'s Character; which may be aſcribed to the Annaliſt's ſuppoſing him to have been the Author of the *Comment on the Seven penitential Pſalms*, a Work quite unworthy of him, but well worthy of its true Author *Gregory* VII. by whom it is generally thought to have been dictated, or penned, during the Quarrel between that Pope and the Emperor *Henry* IV. about Inveſtitures. The utter Contempt there ſhewn of the Imperial Dignity, and the bitter Invectives againſt the Emperor, well ſuit the Pride, Temper, and Character, of that haughty and imperious Pope.

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which could not be long. But *Gregory* took the Alarm, and laying hold of that Opportunity, ſpared no Pains to arm the Civil as well as the Eccleſiaſtical Power againſt the *Donatiſts* in general; and all who favoured them. With that View he immediately diſpatched Meſſengers with Letters to the Biſhops of *Numidia*, and to *Gennadius* Exarch or Governor of *Africa*. He exhorted the Biſhops to love one another, to join as one Man againſt the Enemies of the Faith, to abrogate, by all means, the Cuſtom of chuſing their Primate according to his Seniority, and without any Regard to his Merit; and requires them, as they will anſwer it on the Laſt Day, not to ſuffer a Heretic to be preferred to thoſe, who have been born and brought up in the Boſom of the Church [y]. In his Letter to the Exarch, he extols his Courage, his warlike Exploits, and the many Victories he had gained; encourages him to fight the Battles of the Church with as much Reſolution and Intrepidity as he had fought thoſe of the State; to defend the Faith with as much Ardor and Zeal as he had defended the Empire; and to bring under the Yoke of Righteouſneſs the proud Necks of the rebellious Heretics, who, were it in their Power, would extinguiſh the very Name of the Catholic Faith. He cloſes his Letter with intreating *Gennadius* to exert his whole Power and Authority in defeating the bold and unheard-of Attempt of the heretical Biſhop, and in praying God to add new Strength to his Arm, and ſharpen his Mind, like the Point of a piercing Sword, with a holy Ardour and Zeal for the true Faith [z]. With theſe Letters the Pope prevailed on the Exarch and Biſhops to exclude the *Donatiſt* from the Dignity, to which he aſpired. But, from the Letters he wrote at different times, it appears, that he could never ſucceed in his Attempt to interrupt or diſturb the Chriſtian Harmony, that reigned in *Africa* between the Catholic and *Donatiſt* Parties [a].

He writes to the African *Biſhops, and the Exarch.*

He ſuffered no Violence to be offered to the Jews.

Gregory was more complaiſant to the *Jews* than he was to the *Donatiſts*, or to thoſe whom he ſtyled Heretics; for to the *Jews* he would ſuffer no Violence to be offered, as appears from the Letters which he wrote this very Year to Three different Biſhops, *viz. Virgilius* of *Arles*, *Theodorus* of *Marſeilles*, and *Peter* of *Tarracina* [b].

[y] Greg. l. 1. ep. 75. ep. 36. et l. 5. ep. 63.
[z] Idem l. 1. ep. 72.
[a] Idem l. 2. ep. 33. l. 4.
[b] Greg. l. 1. ep. 45. et ep. 34.

The latter had driven the *Jews* from their Synagogue; and the Two *Gallican* Biſhops had ordered ſuch of them, as would not be baptized, and confeſs Chriſt, to quit the Countries ſubject to their Sees. With that Argument, when all other Arguments had proved ineffectual, *Avitus* of *Clermont* had, a few Years before, converted all the *Jews* in his Dioceſe. He allowed them but Three Days to chuſe, whether they would be driven from the Dioceſe, or received into the Church. That proved the illuminating Argument; for the Third Day, ſays very gravely *Gregory* of *Tours*, their Eyes were opened, they ſaw the Truth, embraced it, and were all baptized to a Man [c]. But that Method of preaching the Goſpel the Pope condemned in the ſtrongeſt Terms, *becauſe Converſions owing to Force are never ſincere; and ſuch as are thus converted, ſcarce ever fail to return to their Vomit, when the Force is removed that wrought their Converſion* [d]. Who would believe theſe, and the Two preceding Letters, to have been written by one and the ſame Perſon! nay, in one and the ſame Year! In his preceding Letters the Pope declares as ſtrongly for Compulſion, as he here declares againſt it. There he encourages, and here he condemns, all Perſecution. It is true he ſpeaks, in his former Letters, of Heretics, and, in theſe, of the *Jews*. But does not the Reaſon he urges againſt Compulſion with reſpect to the *Jews*, equally hold good againſt Perſecution with reſpect to Heretics? If *Converſions owing to Force are never ſincere*, what matters it whether they, who are thus forced, be *Jews*, Gentiles, or Heretics? Will they not, all alike, be apt to return to their Vomit, when they can with Safety? What therefore can warrant Perſecution againſt Heretics, that does not warrant it equally againſt the *Jews*? Or rather, what can, in Reaſon or common Senſe, warrant Perſecution againſt either? It is the preſent Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that Heretics of all Denominations may be *compelled to come in*; and that Doctrine ſhe has conſtantly practiſed when it was in her Power, as the World but too well knows. However, ſhe diſtinguiſhes between Heretics who were, and Heretics who were not, born and brought up in her Boſom. With the latter, who are only Heretics, the Fagot and the Halter are the laſt Argument; but the firſt with the former, who are, in her Eye, both Heretics and Rebels; as if it were Rebellion, and Rebellion puniſhable with Death, for a Man to be perſuaded, right or

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He is inconſiſtent with himſelf.

Nothing can warrant Perſecution either againſt Jews *or Heretics.*

[c] Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Franc. l. 5. c. 11. [d] Greg. ubi ſupra.

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wrong, that another Church is more pure in her Doctrine and Morals, than that in which he was brought up; and thereupon betake himself to the other, in Compliance with the Dictates of his Conscience. But that absurd, tyrannical, and antichristian Notion, has been already sufficiently exposed and exploded by a very ingenious modern Writer [e]. I shall therefore only observe here, that though *Gregory* would not allow Force or Compulsion to be used with the *Jews*, yet he was for employing, even with them, other Methods besides Conviction and Reason. For, being informed, that the *Jews*, living on the Patrimony of St. *Peter* (A) in *Sicily*, could by no Reasons or Arguments be convinced, that Christ was the promised Messiah, he wrote to the Deacon *Cyprian*, his Steward in that Island, ordering him to acquaint those *Jews*, with a circular Letter in his Name, that to such of them as became Christians, one Third should be remitted of the Taxes they paid to the *Roman* Church [f]. But are not Conversions, owing to Rewards, as likely to be insincere as Conversions owing to Force? And had not *Gregory* as much Reason, at least, to suspect the one as the other? I say *at least*, it being well known, that many have yielded to the Allurement of Rewards and Promises, after they had manfully withstood the whole Power of Force, and braved Death itself, with all the Terrors attending it. The Pope therefore acted very inconsistently in approving the one, and disapproving the other: he ought, in Reason and good Sense, to have approved neither, or both.

He strives to convert the Jews *with Promises of Rewards.*

[e] Mr. Bayle Dict. Crit. Art. Greg. Rem. (E). [f] Greg. l. 4. Ep. 6.

(A) The *Roman* Church, and likewise the Churches of *Milan*, of *Ravenna*, and of other great Cities, possessed Estates, not only within the Limits of their own Districts, but in other Countries, bequeathed to them by Senators, and other Persons of Rank and Distinction, who lived in those Cities. In the Letters of *Gregory* Mention is made of an Estate, in the Island of *Sicily*, belonging to the Church of *Ravenna*; and of one, in the same Island, that belonged to the Church of *Milan*. The *Roman* Church, by far the most wealthy of all, possessed considerable Estates, not only in *Calabria*, in *Abruzzo*, in *Lucania*, and in other Provinces of *Italy*; but in *Sicily*, in *France*, in *Africa*, in the *Cottian Alps*, and in most other Countries. These Church-Estates were called *Patrimonies*, a Word that imports, properly speaking, an Estate descending to a Person from his Ancestors; or a Family-Estate. The Demesnes, or the private Estate of the Prince, were likewise called by the Name of *Patrimony*, but with the Addition of the Epithet *sacrum*, *sacrum Patrimonium*, to distinguish it from the Patrimonies of private Men, as appears from several Places of the 12th Book of the Code. In like mannner the Church, to distinguish, and, at the same time, the better to secure, her Estates, called them by the Name of the Saint which each particular Church held in most Veneration. Thus the Estate of the Church of *Milan* was called *the Patrimony of St.* Ambrose; that of *Ravenna the Patrimony of St.* Apollinaris; and that of the *Roman* Church *the Patrimony of St.* Peter.

Gregory adds, that, if the Converſion of thoſe, who are thus gained, ſhould prove inſincere, their Children, nevertheleſs, will be baptized, and brought up, as true Chriſtians, in the Boſom of the Church g. Year of Chriſt 591.

If ſo, why ſhould he be againſt Force and Compulſion; ſince the Children would be equally baptized, and brought up as true Chriſtians in the Boſom of the Church, were Force and Compulſion uſed with their Parents? If, for the ſake of the Children, Rewards may be employed in the Converſion of the Parents, why may not Force? Will not the Gaining of the Children juſtify the one as well as the other? For as to ſuch Converſions, whether owing to Hope or Fear, *Gregory* himſelf ſeems to have thought them alike inſincere. But he meant well; and the Diſintereſtedneſs he ſhewed in rewarding the converted *Jews*, was, it muſt be owned, worthy of a Chriſtian Biſhop; and, on that ſcore at leaſt, he well deſerves to be praiſed and commended.

His Syſtem quite inconſiſtent with itſelf, and with Reaſon.

The Zeal of *Gregory* was more uſefully employed, and with better Succeſs, in reforming the Clergy, than in converting the *Jews*, or the Heretics. He found, on his Acceſſion to the Papal Chair, a general Decay among the Eccleſiaſtics, not only of Diſcipline, but of Chriſtian Piety and Morals. Great Numbers of Monks, ſick of a Monaſtic Life, and availing themſelves of the diſtracted State of *Italy*, and the general Confuſion that reigned there, quitted their Monaſteries, returned to the World, and married. The Biſhops, neglecting their Flocks, abandoned themſelves to all manner of Lewdneſs and Debauchery; and their Example was, it ſeems, followed by the inferior Clergy. The Pope ſpared no Pains to perſuade the Monks to return to their Monaſteries, as appears from the Letters he wrote in this and the following Years to ſeveral Monks, who, ſuffering themſelves, as he expreſſes it, to be ſeduced by the Enemy of Mankind, had, at his Inſtigation, reſumed the Liberty which they had once ſo meritoriouſly ſacrificed to the Welfare of their Souls h. He ſeems to have been chiefly concerned for a Monk named *Venantius*, a Perſon of great Diſtinction; for he was deſcended from the *Decian* Family, was poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and had diſcharged ſome of the chief Employments of the Empire; among the reſt, that of Chancellor of *Italy*. But, growing tired of the World, he left it, and, in a Fit of the Enthuſiaſm that then prevailed, betook himſelf to a Monaſtery; where he had not been long, before he grew ſtill more tired of the Monaſtery,

A general Decay of Diſcipline prevails among the Clergy.

His Zeal in reclaiming the Monk named Venantius.

g Idem ibid. h Greg. l. 1. ep. 33. 38, 39, 40.

quitted

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quitted it, and returned to the World. But *Gregory* never ceased importuning him by Letters, by Messages, by his Friends and Acquaintance, to quit the World again, and repair to his Monastery; and, being informed, that he lay dangerously ill at *Syracuse*, he charged the Bishop of the Place to attend him with great Assiduity and Care, and leave nothing unattempted to overcome his Obstinacy, and prevail on him to atone for his Crime, by resuming the Monastic Habit at least in the last Moments of his Life [i]. But all was in vain, *Venantius* probably thinking it could little avail him to die a Monk, when he had lived a Layman. As *Gregory* had been himself a Monk, he was not satisfied with striving to reclaim those who had abandoned their Profession; but, to prevent others from following their Example, he undertook, with no less Judgment than Zeal, to restore their decayed Discipline. With that View he issued the following Regulations, and would allow them in no Case whatever to be dispensed with: 1st, That none, under 18 Years of Age, should be admitted into a Monastery [k]. 2d, That they should not be allowed to take the Monastic Habit till after a Two Years Probation, or, as it is now called, Noviciate [l]. 3d, That a Monk, forsaking his Order, and returning to the World, should be shut up, and closely confined for Life [m]. 4th, That Monks should not be allowed to wander about the Country, nor even to go out of their Monasteries, but upon urgent Occasions, the Abbot himself not excepted [n]. 5th, That when a Monk is obliged, on an urgent Occasion, to go out of his Monastery, he should not go alone, since it may well be presumed, that he, who has not with him a Witness of his Actions, does not live well, *qui sine teste ambulat, non recte vivit* [o]. These Regulations had the wished-for Effect; and the general Reformation, which they produced, would have continued even to our Days, had they been as strictly maintained by the Successors of *Gregory*, as they were by *Gregory* himself. But they were neglected by the succeeding Popes; and the same Disorders prevailed again. The Two first Regulations, the most essential of all, are now quite out of Date, and the Monasteries are thereby filled with Boys and Children; who, repenting, when they attain to the Years of Discretion, the Choice they made, but not being allowed to quit their Monasteries, and return to the

Regulations concerning the Monks.

[i] Idem ibid. ep. 33. et l. 9. ep. 31. [k] Idem, l. 1. ep. 41. [l] Idem, l. 4. ep. 44. et l. 8. ep. 23. [m] Idem, l. 12. ep. 20. et l. 1. ep. 33. 40. [n] Idem, l. 1. ep. 4. l. 6. ep. 32. l. 7. ep. 36. l. 2. ep. 3. [o] Idem, l. 10. ep. 22.

World,

World, bring the World into their Monaſteries, leading more debauched Lives there, than perhaps they would have done in the World. Year of Chriſt 591.

Gregory had no leſs at Heart the Reformation of the Clergy, than that of the Monks; and undertook the one with no leſs Zeal than the other. Some Biſhops he found guilty of moſt enormous Exceſſes, and depoſed them; others he only rebuked or threatened, according to the Nature and Quality of their Crimes. Among the former were *Demetrius* of *Naples*, *Agatho* of *Lipari*, and *Paul* of *Doclea* in *Dalmatia*. *Demetrius* was convicted of ſo many heinous Crimes, as *Gregory* himſelf informs us [o], that, had not Juſtice been tempered with Mercy, he muſt have ſuffered, by the Laws both of God and Man, a moſt cruel and moſt ignominious Death. *Agatho* was, it ſeems, no leſs guilty than *Demetrius* [p]; and as for *Paul*, he was degraded for a *corporal Sin*, as *Gregory* calls it [q], that is, for Fornication or Adultery. But, inſtead of acquieſcing in the Sentence, he broke into the Church with a Band of Soldiers, ſeized on the ſacred Utenſils, and beat the Biſhop, who had been ſubſtituted in his room, till he was ready to expire. The Pope therefore cauſed him to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery for Life, to be excluded from the ſacred Myſteries till he was at the Point of Death, and to be then only admitted to Lay-Communion. *Andrew* of *Taranto* had kept a Concubine before he was ordained Biſhop; but him the Pope only adviſed and exhorted to reſign, provided he was conſcious to himſelf of his having had any Commerce with her after he was raiſed to the Epiſcopal Dignity [r]. He would not ſuffer a Deacon, though choſen by the People, to be ordained Biſhop, becauſe he had a young Daughter; and, conſequently, had not long enough obſerved the Celibacy preſcribed by the Canons [s]. He did not even ſpare the Archdeacon *Laurentius*, his own Nuncio at the Court of *Conſtantinople*; whom he recalled, and depoſed, having found him guilty of ſeveral Crimes, beſides Pride and Ambition [t].

He ſtrives to reform the Clergy.

He puniſhes ſome, and reprimands others.

Simony and Incontinence ſeem to have prevailed among the Clergy in *Gregory*'s time, as much, perhaps, as they have done ever ſince; and the Pope ſpared no Pains to cleanſe the Sanctuary from the one and the other, and reſtore the ſacred Order to its antient Luſtre. To put a Stop to the Simony that reigned then every-where barefaced, and without any of thoſe Colours and Pretences that now diſguiſe

Simony and Incontinence prevail among Eccleſiaſtics of all Orders.

[o] Greg. l. 2. ep. 3. [p] Idem, l. 2. ep. 53. [q] Idem, l. 2. ep. 49.
[r] Idem ibid. ep. 44, 45. [s] Idem, l. 8. ep. 11. [t] In init. l. 2. epiſtolar. Greg.

it,

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Forbids his own Clergy to accept any thing for the Functions of their Office.

it, he began with the Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtics, who were immediately ſubject to his See, ſtrictly forbidding them to exact any Price, Reward, or Acknowlegement, or to accept of any, for the Functions of their Office, namely, for Ordinations, Marriages, Chriſtenings, or Burials [u]. What he required of others, he obſerved himſelf with ſuch Strictneſs, as even to refuſe the Preſents, which, agreeably to a Cuſtom, that had obtained for ſome time, were annually ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, by all his Suffragans; nay, *Felix* of *Meſſina* being informed, that the Pope complained of the Weakneſs of his Stomach, and having thereupon ſent him a ſmall Preſent of *Palmatian* Wine, thought to have a particular Virtue againſt Complaints of that Nature, *Gregory* could not be prevailed upon to taſte it, but cauſed it to be ſold, and ſent to the Biſhop the Money accruing from the Sale, thanking him for his Kindneſs, but letting him know, at the ſame time, that he accepted of no Preſents, however ſmall, from any of his Brethren [w]. To baniſh the prevailing Simony, and all ſimoniacal Practices, from the Churches, that were not under the immediate Juriſdiction of his See, the Pope wrote a great Number of Letters to the Biſhops, to the Kings and Princes, and to all Men in Power, earneſtly intreating them to aſſemble Councils, and jointly to concert ſuch Meaſures as might put an effectual Stop to an Evil, that reflected ſo much Diſgrace on the Eccleſiaſtical Order, and on the Holy Religion, which they taught or profeſſed [x]. He did not require all Biſhops to conform to his Regulations, but, truſting to their Judgment and Diſcretion, left them at Liberty to iſſue ſuch Laws as, in the preſent Caſe, ſhould appear to them the moſt proper, and the moſt likely, to anſwer the End for which they were iſſued.

He ſtrives to reclaim the incontinent Clergy.

As to the Incontinence of the Clergy, the natural Effect of impoſed Celibacy, the Pope left no Remedy he could think of untried to cure that Evil, but the only Remedy that could at once have effectually cured it, Marriage. In *Sicily* the Law of Celibacy had been extended to the Subdeacons, only Three Years before this time; that is, in 588. and *Gregory* himſelf thought it very hard, that ſuch a Burden ſhould have been laid upon them. For he thus ſpeaks of it in one of his Letters: *Three Years ſince, the Subdeacons of all the*

[u] Idem l. 3. ep. 24. l. 4. ep. 44. 55, 56. l. 7. p. 4. 56. 110. [w] Idem l. 1. ep. 64. [x] Idem l. 4. ep. 55. l. 5. ep. 11. l. 9. ep. 40. l. 11. ep. 48. l. 10. ep. 32. &c.

Churches

Churches of Sicily *were commanded to abſtain from their Wives, agreeably to the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Church; but to me it ſeems hard and unmeet, that he who is not accuſtomed to ſuch Continence, and never promiſed to live chaſte, ſhould be compelled to ſeparate from his Wife, and be thereby driven to what is worſe* y. Year of Chriſt 591.

The Pope was, as appears from his laſt Words, well appriſed, that ſuch as had not promiſed to live chaſte, were in great Danger of being driven by a forced Celibacy to *what was worſe*, that is, as the World but too well knows, to all manner of Uncleanneſs. And yet, inſtead of abrogating that Law, as he ought to have done, and ſome Proteſtant Writers have thought he did, he enforced the Obſervance of it, obliging the Subdeacons, who were married, to quit their Wives, or their Office z. It were to be wiſhed the preſent Church of *Rome* would even allow of that Alternative. If ſhe did, many conſcientious Eccleſiaſtics of her Communion would willingly quit their Office to ſave their Souls. But even that Refuge is now denied; and no other Alternative left them, but to contain, if they can, or to burn, if they cannot (A). As to thoſe Eccleſiaſtics, who, at

He enforces the Law of Celibacy, with reſpect to the Subdeacons.

y Idem l. 1. ep. 42.

z Idem l. 3. ep. 34.

(A) *If they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn*; ſays the Apoſtle St. *Paul* (1). But, no, ſays the Church of *Rome*, excepting her Clergy from that general Command, if they cannot contain, let them faſt, let them watch, let them cover their Bodies with Hair-cloths, let them whip themſelves, let them, with St. *Benedict*, roll themſelves naked upon Thorns; or, with St. *Francis*, in the Snow; and if Nature ſtill remains unſubdued, if the inbred Fire continues ſtill unextinguiſhed and alive, let them burn; *for it is better to burn than to marry*. This, in Effect, is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, though ſhe, to palliate and diſguiſe it, pretends Continency to be attainable by all Men; and conſequently, that there is a *Medium* between Marriage and Burning. But that Continency is not attainable by all Men, and conſequently that, in ſome, there is no Medium between Marriage and Burning, is evident, beyond Contradiction, from the Words of the Apoſtle, quoted above, and from what he ſays in the preceding Verſe; *For I would that all Men were even as myſelf*; that is, continent. *But every Man hath his proper Gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that*, &c (2). The ſame Doctrine was taught, in expreſs Terms, by our Saviour himſelf, when, to to the Apoſtles ſaying, *If the Caſe of the Man be ſo with his Wife, it is not good to marry*, he anſwered, *All Men cannot receive this Saying, ſave they to whom it is given*; and *he that is able to receive it, let him receive it* (3). Agreeably to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle, and that of our Saviour himſelf, ſo plainly delivered to his Apoſtles, for our Inſtruction, many of the Fathers, and among the reſt the great Patron and Admirer of Virginity *Jerom*, were of Opinion, that perpetual Continence was not in our Power, and conſequently could not be impoſed upon any Man (4); much leſs can it be impoſed upon a whole Order of Men, made up of all Nations, Ages,

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 9. (2) Ibid. 7. (3) Matt. xix. 11, 12. (4) Hier. adv. Jovin. l. 1. c. 21.

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at the time of their Ordination, had promiſed to live chaſte, *Gregory* exacted of them the Performance of their Promiſe, with the utmoſt Severity. His own Clergy he obliged to baniſh all Women from their Houſes, excepting their Mothers, their Siſters, and the Wives they had married before their Ordination, charging them to govern their Wives chaſtely, and to converſe with them ſo as to leave no room for the leaſt Suſpicion of any matrimonial Commerce between them, *ut nulla prorſus ſuſpicio eſſe poſſit mutuæ commixtionis* [a] (B). It appears from the Letters of *Gregory*, that, in moſt other Countries, where the Law of Celibacy had taken place, many Eccleſiaſtics either kept Concubines, or, what was, it ſeems, deemed as great a Crime, lived with their Wives in the ſame manner after their Ordination, as they had done before it. To remove that

[a] Idem l. 1. ep. 50.

Conſtitutions, and Humours. As for the Argument of the Council of *Trent*, That *God will not deny this Gift to thoſe who rightly ask it, as having promiſed not to ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able* (5); it is quite impertinent; ſince God has provided us with an eaſy and natural Remedy againſt all Temptations of that Nature, which if we ſcorn to uſe, and, out of Pride or Oſtentation, recur to others of our own chuſing, the Evils thence ariſeing lie at our own Doors, ſince God has no-where promiſed an extraordinary Aſſiſtance to thoſe, who neglect the ordinary Means of Salvation, which he, in his infinite Wiſdom, has been pleaſed to appoint. From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that ſome cannot contain; and that for them the Apoſtle knew of no other Remedy but Marriage, and accordingly commanded them to marry. If therefore any are to be found among the *Romiſh* Clergy, who cannot contain, as there certainly muſt, in ſo numerous a Body of Men, that Church, by impoſing Celibacy, as ſhe does, on all of that Order, without Diſtinction, commands ſome to abſtain from Marriage, who are commanded by the Apoſtle to marry.

(B) St. *Bernard*, a Saint of the firſt Rate in the *Romiſh* Calendar, thought it more impoſſible (if that can be), for a Man to cohabit thus with any Woman, than to raiſe up the Dead;

Cum fœmina ſemper habitare,
Et cum fœmina nunquam peccare,
Majus eſt quam mortuos reſuſcitare,

is a famous Saying of his. Of that Truth the Patrons of Celibacy were well appriſed long before *Bernard*'s time; and the Clergy were, on that Conſideration, forbidden to cohabit, or even to converſe, with their Wives, or with any other Women whatever, except their Mothers, their own Siſters, or the Siſters of their Fathers and their Mothers; and to them too the Prohibition was extended in ſome Countries, ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics having been found guilty of Inceſt with their ownSiſters, as was declared by the Two Councils of *Metz* and *Mentz*, both aſſembled in the Year 888. to check the unbridled Luſt of the unmarried Clergy. By theſe Councils the Prohibition was extended to all Women whatever (6); and *Riculfus* of *Soiſſons*, not ſatisfied with confirming their Canons, in the famous Conſtitutions, which he publiſhed the next Year, declared it unlawful for a Clergyman to converſe in private with any Woman, or even to ſpeak to a Woman without a Witneſs (7).

(5) Con. Trid. Seſſ. 24. can. 9. p. 416.

(6) Can. 10. et 5.

(7) Concil. t. 9.

Scandal, the Pope wrote to the Biſhops, to the different Kings and Princes, exhorting them to reſtrain, with wholſome Severities, the Licentiouſneſs of the incontinent Clergy, in their reſpective Dominions, leſt the Evil, which they did not prevent when they could, ſhould be imputed to them [b]. But his Endeavours proved all unſucceſsful; the Evil he complained of ſtill prevailed; and will prevail till the Cauſe is removed, to which it is owing, till the Clergy are either allowed to marry, or ceaſe to be Men.

Year of Chriſt 591. *He writes to the Biſhops and Princes, to reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Clergy.*

The Converſion of the *Lombards*, which happened this Year, proved of no ſmall Comfort and Relief to the Pope, amidſt his Cares and Anxiety for the Welfare of the Church. The Converſion of that Nation was thus happily brought about. King *Autharis* dying without Iſſue, and dangerous Diviſions ariſing among the *Lombards* about the Choice of his Succeſſor, it was propoſed by ſome, and agreed to by all, that the Perſon, whom *Theudelinda*, the deceaſed King's Widow, choſe for her Husband, ſhould be acknowleged by the whole Nation for lawful King. So great an Opinion did they all entertain of her Prudence and Diſcretion; and ſhe, to ſhew herſelf worthy of the Confidence they repoſed in her, having firſt conſulted the chief Lords, and the wiſeſt Men of the Kingdom, by their Advice, beſtowed both herſelf and the Crown on *Agilulph*, Duke of *Turin* (A), a Perſon of extraordinary Merit, and nearly related

The Lombards *embrace the Catholic Faith.*

[b] Idem, l. 1. ep. 50. l. 3. ep. 26. l. 7. ep. 39. l. 9. ep. 64. l. 11. ep. 42, 43, &c.

(A) The *Lombard* Dukes, of whom we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, were originally only Governors of Cities, and bore that Title no longer than the King thought fit to continue them in their reſpective Governments. They were inſtituted by *Alboinus*, the firſt King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, in Imitation of the *Greeks*, who had lately adopted that Form of Government, as I have obſerved above (1). *Alboinus* was ſucceeded by *Clephas*, whoſe Cruelty gave the *Lombards* ſuch an Averſion to Royal Power, that, upon his Death, they agreed to aboliſh the monarchical Form of Government, and to live thenceforth ſubject to their Dukes, who by that means became ſo many petty Kings. Thus the Dukes governed, for the Space of Ten Years, each of them (and they were in all 36) exerciſing an abſolute and uncontrouled Authority in his own City, and its Diſtrict. But in the Year 585. the Nation being greatly alarmed at an Alliance concluded between the *Franks* and the *Greeks*, againſt them, and apprehending, that they ſhould not be able to withſtand Two ſuch powerful Enemies, ſo long as they continued divided into ſo many petty Kingdoms, they reſolved to reſtore their antient Form of Government; and accordingly aſſembling in *Pavia*, raiſed *Autharis*, with one Voice, to the Throne. The new King allowed the Dukes to continue in their Governments, but reſerved to himſelf the ſupreme Authority and Do-

(1) See above, p. 427. Note F.

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related to the late King. *Theudelinda* was the Daughter of *Garibald*, King of the *Boioarians* or *Bavarians*; and, being a Woman of great Piety, and a zealous Catholic, the firſt Favour ſhe begged of her new Husband, and ſhe begged it with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, was, that he would, for her ſake, and the ſake of his own Soul, renounce the Errors, in which he was brought up, and profeſs, with her, the Catholic Faith. *Agilulph* was bred an *Arian*; but Gratitude prevailing in him over Education, he readily complied with the Requeſt of the Queen, and became, at once, a zealous Catholic; nay, and a zealous Apoſtle of his new Religion, or rather of the Religion of his Wife. For, not ſatisfied with embracing it himſelf, he perſuaded many of the chief Lords of the Kingdom to follow his Example; and theirs was followed by the greater Part of the People, ſome of them renouncing Paganiſm, and others the Doctrine of *Arius*, to embrace the faſhionable Religion, the Religion of the King, and the Court. *Agilulph*, now a Catholic, was eaſily prevailed upon by the Queen to rebuild the Churches and Monaſteries, which his *Lombards* had deſtroyed, while yet Pagans or *Arians*, to endow them with conſiderable Poſſeſſions, and to recall the Catholic Biſhops, whom his Predeceſſors had driven from their Sees [c]. As the Converſion of the *Lombards*, if we may ſo call it, was entirely owing to *Theudelinda*, the Pope, not ſatisfied with beſtowing on her the higheſt Encomiums, ſent her, as a ſmall Acknowlegement of the eminent Service ſhe had rendered to the Church, the Four Books of his Dialogues; a Preſent not at all proper for a Perſon of her good Senſe, and extraordinary Parts, had not the prevail-

Agilulph repairs and endows ſeveral Monaſteries and Churches.

[c] Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 18. et l. 6. c. 2.

minion. Though he could have removed them at his Pleaſure, yet he deprived none of their Dukedoms, unleſs guilty of Treaſon; nor did he give them to others, but when their Male Iſſue failed. And ſuch was the Origin of Fiefs in *Italy* (2). Theſe Tenures were introduced by the *Franks* into *Gaul*, ſome Years before the Reign of *Autharis* (3). But all Laws concerning them are owing to the *Lombards*, who reduced them into a certain and regular Form. And hence ſprung up a new Body of Laws, which were called *Feudal Laws*, and are ſtill, in ſome Provinces of *Italy*, the chief Part of the Juriſprudence.

I cannot help taking Notice here of the unaccountable Ignorance of ſome *Italian* Civilians; *viz.* *Baldo*, *Aleſſandro*, and *Franceſco di Corte*; who, ſpeaking of theſe Laws, tell us, That they were made by certain Kings called *Lombards*, that is, *Apulians*, who came originally from *Sardinia*, and ſettled firſt in *Romagna*, and afterwards in *Apulia*.

(2) Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 8. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 1. Regin. l. 1. p. 517. (3) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 24.

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ing Superſtition and Credulity of the Times brought down the beſt Underſtandings to a Level with the meaneſt. Year of Chriſt 591.

The following Year *Gregory* received a Letter from the Biſhops of *Ireland*, complaining to him of a Perſecution they ſuffered, and bore, as appears from the Pope's Anſwer, with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy. But as their Letter has not reached our Times, we know neither by whom, nor on what Occaſion, that Perſecution was raiſed. The Biſhops of that Iſland ſtill continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, in Oppoſition to the See of *Rome*; and in this very Letter aſcribed the Irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and the many Evils, which *Gregory* and his Predeceſſors had ſuffered ſince that Irruption, to their having condemned thoſe *Chapters*, and received the Council that condemned them. The Pope congratulates them, in his Anſwer to their Letter, on their Chriſtian Patience and Conſtancy, under the Evils they ſuffered. But, at the ſame time, he lets them know, that they have no Occaſion to glory in the Perſecution they ſuffered, ſince it is not what a Man ſuffers, but the Cauſe for which he ſuffers, that makes him a true Martyr; and that neither their Conſtancy, nor any other Virtue, will avail them, or be rewarded hereafter, ſo long as they continue obſtinately ſeparated from the Catholic Church. He therefore exhorts them to return; aſſures them, that nothing was defined or decreed, by the Fifth Council, repugnant to the Faith of *Chalcedon*; and, as to the Evils, which he or his Predeceſſors had ſuffered by the Irruption of the *Lombards*, he thinks they ought by no means to be conſtrued into a Judgment, but ſhould rather be looked upon as an inconteſtable Proof, that thoſe who ſuffered them were favoured by Heaven, agreeably to the Saying of the Apoſtle, *Whom the Lord loveth, he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every Son, whom he receiveth* [d]. The ſame Text might, at this Juncture, have been alleged with as good Reaſon by the *Iriſh* Prelates, as an inconteſtable Proof, that they too, though zealous Defenders of the *Three Chapters*, were favoured by Heaven. In every Diſpute, however trifling, we find Heaven conſtantly brought into the Quarrel, and made to ſide with both Parties. The Pope adds, That *Italy*, and *Rome* itſelf, were as miſerably haraſſed by the *Heruli* and the *Goths*, before the *Three Chapters* were condemned, as either has been ſince by the *Lombards*; and conſequently, that

Year of Chriſt 592.

Gregory *receives a Letter from the Biſhops of* Ireland.

Gregory's *Anſwer to their Letter.*

He exhorts them to condemn the Three Chapters.

[d] Hebr. xii. 6.

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the Calamities brought upon both by the latter, ought not to be deemed a Punishment from Heaven for their having condemned those Chapters [e]. With this Letter the Pope sent into *Ireland* that which his Predecessor, or rather he himself, wrote, in the Name of his Predecessor, to the Bishops of *Istria* [f], exhorting them to peruse it with Attention, and flattering himself, that if they can divest themselves of all Prepossession and Prejudice, they will thereby be fully satisfied of the Purity of his Faith, and return to the Unity of the Church [g]. That the *Irish* were reclaimed by these Letters from the Schism, and brought back to the Unity of the Church, *Baronius* takes for granted [h]. But that in 614. they still continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, is evident from the Letter, which the famous *Irish* Monk *Columbanus* wrote, in that Year, to Pope *Boniface* IV. For in that Letter *Columbanus* supposes *Vigilius*, who condemned those *Chapters*, to have died a Heretic, and wonders that his Name had not been struck out of the Catalogue of the Popes. He finds great Fault with *Boniface* for condemning the same *Chapters*, wishes he would change his Opinion, and exhorts him to assemble a Council, in order to clear himself, and his See, from all Suspicion of Heresy. *If it is true*, says he, in the Close of his long Letter, *that you have swerved from the true Faith, you complain, without Reason, of your Children, who oppose you, and even exclude you from their Communion. In that Case they have a Right to do so; though they become thereby the Head, and you,* to use the Monk's own Words, *are turned into the Tail, Filii vestri in caput conversi sunt, vos vero in caudam* (E). From this Letter it evidently appears, as we may observe here by the way, that so late as the Seventh Century the Popes were not thought, even by those whom they now worship as Saints, incapable of erring in Matters of Faith; nor of being deposed, if they erred.

But in vain.

The Supremacy of the Pope not acknowleged at this time in Ireland, *nor his Infallibility.*

[e] Greg. l. 2. ep. 36. [f] See above, p. 455, 456. [g] Greg. ubi supra.
[h] Bar. ad ann. 592. p. 37.

(A) This Letter was first published by the learned Primate of *Ireland*, Archbishop *Usher*, and afterwards by Father *Fleming*, an *Irish Franciscan* at *Louvain*, with other Pieces ascribed to *Columbanus*. They have been since allowed a Place in the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, printed at *Lions* (1). Had *Baronius* seen this Letter, he would have been tempted to strike the Name of *Columbanus* out of the Calendar of Saints; for he was vested, by *Gregory* XIII. with a full Power of sainting and unsainting whom he pleased, as I have observed else where (2).

(1) Bibl. th. vet. Patr. t. 12. Edit. Lugdun. (2) See Vol. I. p. 272.

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The ſame Year *Gregory* had ſeveral Opportunities of exerting the Authority, which his Predeceſſors had uſurped; and he exerted it accordingly, with as much Reſolution and Vigour as the moſt ambitious among them. For though he never attempted to extend his Authority by any new Uſurpations, or Encroachments on the Rights of his Brethren, even of thoſe who were immediately ſubject to his See; though he never exerciſed or claimed any new Juriſdiction or Power; yet he was a moſt zealous Aſſertor of that, which his Predeceſſors had exerciſed, or, at any time, claimed. He often declared, That he had rather loſe his Life than ſuffer the See of St. *Peter* to forfeit any of the Privileges it had ever enjoyed, or the prime Apoſtle to be any-ways injured, or robbed of his Rights. It was the common Plea in all Diſputes among Biſhops about Power and Preeminence, that ſhould they yield, and abate of their Claims and Pretenſions, they would thereby injure the Apoſtles or Saints, who had founded their Sees; as if the chief Care of their Founders in Heaven were to ſee them aggrandized on the Earth. It has ever been, even from the earlieſt Times, a Maxim with the Popes, never to part with any Power or Juriſdiction which their Predeceſſors had acquired, by what Means ſoever they had acquired it; nor to give up the leaſt Privilege, which any of their Predeceſſors, right or wrong, ever had claimed. From that Maxim no Pope has hitherto ſwerved; no, not *Gregory* himſelf, however conſcientious, juſt, and ſcrupulouſly religious, in other reſpects. Thus he maintained and aſſerted, with as much Reſolution and Vigour, as any of his Predeceſſors ever had done, the pretended Right of receiving Appeals from all Parts of the Chriſtian World, of re-examining the Cauſes that had been judged and determined by the Metropolitans, or the Provincial Synods, and reverſing their Sentence or Judgment by the Authority of St. *Peter*. Of this we have a remarkable Inſtance in the Caſe of *Hadrianus* of *Thebes*, in *Theſſaly*: *Hadrianus* was charged with ſeveral Crimes before his Metropolitan, the Biſhop of *Lariſſa*; and condemned by him in a Synod, conſiſting of all the Biſhops of the Province. From that Sentence he appealed to the Emperor, who referred the whole Affair to *John* of *Juſtiniana Prima*, Primate of all *Illyricum*. The Primate re-examined the Cauſe, heard the Witneſſes, and, upon their Depoſition, though *Hadrianus* excepted againſt them, confirmed the Sentence, which the Metropolitan had given. The Biſhop of *Thebes* did not yet acquieſce; but from the Primate appealed

Year of Chriſt 592.

Gregory *a vigorous Aſſertor of the pretended Rights of his See.*

He abſolves and reſtores the Biſhop of Thebes, *condemned and depoſed by the Provincial Biſhops, and their Primate.*

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appealed to the Pope, though no farther Appeal was allowed by the Canons, except to a general Council. *Gregory*, however, received the Appeal, examined the Cause himself, and, finding, upon a strict and impartial Examination, the Proceedings of the Primate, as well as the Metropolitan, to have been both illegal and uncanonical, he not only declared them null, and absolved the Bishop, but exempted him from the Jurisdiction of his Metropolitan, whom he commanded, on Pain of Excommunication, to restore forthwith to the Bishop of *Thebes* all the Effects of his Church [i]. As to the Primate, the Pope, not satisfied with rebuking him very severely, as the more guilty of the Two, ordered him to reinstate the Bishop of *Thebes* in his See; suspended him from the Holy Communion, for the Space of Thirty Days; and threatened to proceed against him with all the Rigour his Contumacy deserved, if he did not punctually fulfil the Penance imposed on him by the Authority of the Prince of the Apostles [k].

He commands the Bishop of Salona *to restore his Archdeacon, on Pain of Excommunication and Deposition.*

The same Year *Gregory* was informed, that *Natalis* of *Salona*, in *Dalmatia*, had removed *Honoratus*, his Archdeacon, for no other Reason but because he would not deliver up to him the sacred Utensils, knowing that he designed to dispose of them to his Relations, with whom he passed his whole Time in Revels and Banquets: Upon that Information the Pope wrote to *Natalis*, requiring him to restore the Archdeacon, on Pain of Excommunication, and threatening even to divest him of the Episcopal Dignity, if he did not [l]. With this Order the Pope acquainted all the Bishops of *Dalmatia*, the Bishop of *Salona* being the Metropolitan of that Province [m]. These Letters had the wished-for Effect. *Natalis* not only restored the Archdeacon, in Compliance with the Command of the Pope, but, hearkening to his friendly Admonitions, reformed his Manners, and strove to repair, by a regular and exemplary Life, the Scandal he had given [n]. But he died the same Year, and his Successor in the See of *Salona* did not think himself obliged to pay the like Deference and Regard to the Commands or Admonitions of the Pope, notwithstanding the Authority which the Predecessors of *Gregory* had claimed ever since the Time of Pope *Damasus* [o], and often exercised over the Province of *Dalmatia*, and the other Provinces of *West-Illyricum*.

And is obeyed.

[i] Greg. l. 2. ep. 7. [k] Idem ibid. ep. 6. [l] Idem ibid. ep. 14. [m] Idem ibid. ep. 15, 16, 17. [n] Idem, l. 2. ep. 38. 32. [o] See Vol. I. p. 226.

The Perſon choſen in the room of *Natalis* was *Maximus*, Preſbyter of that Church, but one who led a very irregular and ſcandalous Life, and beſides was charged with Simony, having been preferred, as was ſaid, not for his Merit, but his Money, to his Competitor the Archdeacon *Honoratus*, whom *Gregory* had warmly recommended. The Pope therefore no ſooner heard of his Election, than he declared it null; and, at the ſame time, wrote to the Clergy of *Salona*, forbidding them, by the Authority, and in the Name, of St. *Peter*, to chuſe a Biſhop without the Knowlege and Conſent of the Apoſtolic See. But in the mean time was brought to *Salona* the Decree of the Emperor, to whom *Maximus* and his Friends had applied, confirming his Election. *Gregory* did not, it ſeems, at all apprehend, that the Emperor would have interfered in the Affair; and therefore was greatly concerned and mortified to hear that he had. For it was a Maxim with him, from which he was on no Occaſion known to have ever departed, to remonſtrate, and always with the greateſt Reſpect and Submiſſion, againſt the Orders of the Emperors, when he thought them prejudicial to the Intereſts of his See; to exhort, beg, and intreat the Emperors to revoke them; but never directly to oppoſe, as many of his arrogant Predeceſſors had done, any Orders or Injunctions come from *his moſt Serene, and moſt Religious Lords*, as he conſtantly ſtyled them. In the preſent Caſe he wrote to *Maximus*, ſuſpending him, and thoſe who had ordained him, from all the Functions of their Office, till he was aſſured by Perſons, on whoſe Faith he could depend, that the Emperor had truly confirmed his Election. At the ſame time he ſummoned *Maximus* to *Rome*, to give there an Account of his Ordination. That Summons the Pope cauſed to be ſet up in *Salona*; but *Maximus* ordered it to be taken down, and publicly torc it, ſaying, That his Ordination was in every reſpect legal; and that if the Pope, upon any Miſrepreſentation, excepted againſt it, the Cauſe ought, by the Canons, to be tried on the Spot. He did not even anſwer the Pope's Letter, but, recurring again to his Friends at *Conſtantinople*, obtained, by their means, an Order from the Emperor, commanding the Pope to give no farther Trouble to the Biſhop of *Salona* concerning his Ordination. Againſt that Order *Gregory* remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and with the greateſt Reſpect, declaring, in his Letter to the Emperor, That, were it to coſt him his Life, it ſhould never be ſaid, that the See of St. *Peter* had ſuffered any

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He oppoſes the Election of Maximus, *the new Biſhop of* Salona.

Which is approved by the Emperor.

The Pope ſummons Maximus *to* Rome, *to give an Account there of his Ordination.*

Who pays no Regard to the Summens.

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Diminution of its Power and Authority through his Indolence or Neglect. However, when he found the Emperor was not to be moved by any Exhortations, Intreaties, or Reasons, he acquiesced in his Will, and thenceforth never once mentioned the Ordination of *Maximus*, comforting himself with the Thought, that he had done his Duty as a Bishop, without being any-ways wanting in his Duty as a Subject. But *Maximus* was charged with Simony, with Sacrilege, with many other Crimes; and *Gregory* thought so heavy a Charge against a Bishop ought not to pass unexamined, that he might have an Opportunity of clearing himself, if innocent; or might suffer, if guilty, the Punishment that was due to his Crimes by the Laws of the Church, and the Empire. He therefore summoned *Maximus* to *Rome* a Second time, to answer there the Charge that was brought against him; and, at the same time, let the Empress know (for he found the Emperor greatly prejudiced in Favour of *Maximus*), that the Bishop of *Salona* being charged with many enormous Crimes, he thought it his indispensable Duty to proceed against him with all the Severity of the Law, if he did not, in Compliance with the Summons he had sent him, appear at *Rome*, and clear himself from the Excesses, of which he was arraigned, to the great Disgrace of the whole Episcopal Order. But to this Summons *Maximus* paid no greater Regard than he had done to the former, justifying his Conduct with the same Plea he had used before; *viz.* That all Ecclesiastics, more especially Bishops, of what Crimes soever accused, were, agreeably to the Canons, to be tried on the Spot. The Plea was undoubtedly just; the Bishops of *Rome* having been only allowed, even by the Three famous Canons of *Sardica*, to order, upon an Appeal to them from the Bishops of the Province, the Cause to be re-examined on the Spot, by the neighbouring Bishops, and to send or appoint Legates to assist at that Judgment, in their Name. The Council of *Sardica*, which consisted only of Western Bishops [p], was a Council of very little, or rather of no, Authority at all in the Church, as I have had frequent Occasion to observe; and besides, these Three Canons were tacitly revoked, as were indeed most of the Canons of that Council concerning the Ecclesiastical Discipline, by the Canons and Decrees of subsequent Councils inconsistent with them [q]. However, the Popes not only maintained the Power,

The Emperor interposes, and the Pope acquiesces in his Will.

But summons Maximus *to* Rome, *to clear himself from Simony, and other Crimes.*

[p] See Vol. I. p. 120. [q] See Vol. I. p. 217.

which

which was granted them by that Council; but, extending it beyond all Bounds, took upon them to ſummon Biſhops to *Rome*, nay, and to ſummon them to be judged there, before they were judged by the Provincial Biſhops. This Power *Gregory* claimed, leſt the See of St. *Peter* ſhould loſe any of its Rights, or ſuffer any Diminution of its Authority, in his Days; and becauſe *Maximus* would acknowlege no ſuch Authority, nor obey the Summons, he thundered at laſt the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, againſt the Biſhops who had eſpouſed his Cauſe or Intereſt, and all who ſhould thenceforth communicate with him or them. But *Maximus* ſtill continued, in Defiance of the Pope, to exerciſe the Functions of his Office, and the other Biſhops to communicate with him, as if no ſuch Sentence had ever been iſſued. Their common Plea was, that Biſhops were, agreeably to the Canons, to be tried on the Spot; to which *Maximus* added another, that could ſurely be of no Weight with any who were in the leaſt acquainted with *Gregory*; *viz.* that the Pope was a Man of a cruel Temper; that he had cauſed a Biſhop, named *Malcus*, to be impriſoned for Debt, and to be ſoon after murdered in Priſon; and that he had good Reaſon to apprehend the like Fate would attend him, ſhould he obey the Summons, and repair to *Rome*. This *Gregory* looked upon at firſt only as an idle Report, which he thought no Man could ever believe. But being informed, that *Maximus* had diſpatched one of his Eccleſiaſtics to *Conſtantinople*, on purpoſe to acquaint the Emperor with it, and to allege it as a Reaſon why he did not comply with the Summons calling him to *Rome*, he thought it incumbent upon him to inform the Emperor of the true State of the Caſe, that his Innocence might, at the ſame time, be made to appear, and no farther room might be left for *Maximus* to plead any Danger, or Apprehenſion of Danger, from his obeying the Summons. He wrote accordingly to his Nuncio at *Conſtantinople*, deſiring him to let *his Lords* know, in a few Words, that if he, *their Servant*, had not been averſe from ſhedding the Blood even of the *Lombards*, that Nation would this Day have no King, no Dukes, no Counts, but would be divided among themſelves, and involved in the utmoſt Confuſion; but that, *as he feared God, he would be acceſſory to the Death of no Man whatever*. *Gregory* had (if he is to be credited, and who will not credit him?) an Opportunity of deſtroying almoſt the whole Nation of the *Lombards*; and they, probably, were ſtill Pagans or Heretics, when that Opportunity offered.

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Excommunicates him for not obeying the Summons.

Gregory *falſly accuſed by him to the Emperor, as if he had been acceſſory to the Death of a Biſhop.*

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But the good Man was averſe from ſhedding the Blood even of Pagans and Heretics; and therefore would not avail himſelf of it. *He feared God, and therefore would be acceſſory to the Death of no Man whatever.* Have his Succeſſors all thus feared God? Have they all entertained ſuch humane, ſuch truly Chriſtian Notions? It were to be wiſhed they had! What Scenes of Cruelty would have been thereby prevented? Scenes of Bloodſhed and Slaughter, which reflect Diſgrace on human Nature itſelf; or rather on that Religion, which has diveſted human Nature of all its Humanity, and taught its Votaries to thirſt after the Blood of thoſe who profeſs any other.

Gregory's Account of that Biſhop's Death.

As to the Death of *Malcus*, the Pope gives his Nuncio the following Account of it in a few Words: The Biſhop, ſays he, was neither impriſoned, nor any otherwiſe ill uſed; but, having been tried for a Debt, and adjudged to pay it, he was invited, after the Tryal, by *Boniface* the Notary, to his Houſe, where he dined, and was friendly entertained, but died that Night a ſudden Death. The Pope deſires his Nuncio to acquaint the Emperor with theſe Particulars: but *Mauricius* was now grown ſick of that Diſpute; and, being determined to give himſelf no farther Trouble about it, he wrote to the Exarch *Callinicus* to accommodate Matters, in the beſt manner he could, between the Two Biſhops. By his Means an Accommodation was at laſt brought about; and it was agreed, that the Affair ſhould be referred entire to *Marinianus* Biſhop of *Ravenna*; and that *Maximus* ſhould repair to that City, and ſubmit to his Judgment. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Maximus* repaired to the appointed Place; and, having there firſt publicly asked the Pope's Pardon, as was enjoined him by *Marinianus*, and afterwards cleared himſelf from the Charge of Simony, by an Oath of Purgation, taken at the Tomb of St. *Apollinaris*, the tutelar Saint of that Church, a Letter from the Pope was delivered to him by his Legate *Caſtorius*; and by that Letter the Pope acknowleged him for lawful Biſhop, and received him as ſuch to his Communion [r]. This Affair coſt *Gregory* no fewer than Seventeen Letters. Had *Gregory* been a Man of the Temper which I have had Occaſion to obſerve in moſt of his Predeceſſors, the Quarrel had not been ſo eaſily ended. For what other Pope, among the many whoſe Actions I have hitherto deſcribed, would have ever been prevailed upon, as *Gregory* was, to abate of his firſt Demands? What

He abates of his firſt Demands, and is reconciled with Maximus.

[r] Greg. l. 2. ep. 20. l. 3. ep. 15. 20. 25. 33. l. 4. ep. 4. 20. 34. l. 5. ep. 3, 4. 8. l. 6. ep. 17. l. 7. ep. 1. 12. 60. 81, 82.

other

other could have ever been brought to consent, that a Bishop, whom he had summoned over and over to *Rome*, to be judged there, and who had made as little Account of him and his Summons, as *Maximus* made of *Gregory* and his; what other Pope, I say, would have consented, as *Gregory* did, that such a Bishop should be judged anywhere else but at *Rome*, or by any other Judge but himself? He was as jealous of the Privileges, and what he called the Rights of his See, as any of his Predecessors; but had too much at Heart the Peace and Welfare of the Church, to sacrifice either, as some of them had done, to a mere Punctilio. Year of Christ 592.

Gregory thought it incumbent upon him, as the first Bishop of the Catholic Church, not only to punish the Guilty, but to relieve the Innocent, by whomsoever oppressed; and reverse the Judgment of any other Bishop whatever, when it was found to be evidently unjust, and repugnant to the Canons. Several Instances occur of his acting agreeably to that Notion; but the following is, perhaps, of all the most remarkable, and the most worthy of Notice. Two Ecclesiastics, *viz. John*, Presbyter of the Church of *Chalcedon*, and *Anastasius*, a Monk of *Isauria*, and likewise Presbyter, being both accused of Heresy to *John* of *Constantinople*, the Patriarch appointed Judges to try them, not being at leisure himself to attend to that Cause. They were tried accordingly; and not only by their Judges found guilty of the Charge, but punished with uncommon Severity. For *Anastasius*, who appeared, it seems, to them the more guilty of the Two, was, by their Order, most inhumanly beaten, not with Rods, which, in some Cases, was allowed, but, what had never been practised before, with Cudgels. Of this *Gregory* was no sooner informed, than he wrote to the Patriarch, to complain of his introducing into the Church a new Kind of Punishment, repugnant to the Canons, as well as the Practice of all former Times. To this Letter the Patriarch returned no Answer, piqued at the Pope's concerning himself at all with the Affairs of his Church. *Gregory* therefore wrote a Second Letter on the same Subject: and that the Patriarch answered, but in such Terms, that the Pope suspected it to have been written by some Layman, in his Name, and without his Knowlege. As that Letter has not reached our Times [and few Pieces of that Kind have], I will indulge no Conjectures about it. The Pope, in his Reply, complains of the harsh and affronting Terms used by his most holy Brother of *Constantinople*, for so he styles him; tells him, that

The Bishop of Constantinople *causes Two Presbyters to be beaten with Cudgels.* Year of Christ 593.

Gregory *disapproves that Kind of Punishment, and writes to the Patriarch.*

Who resents his concerning himself with the Affairs of his Church.

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that if that Letter was truly written by him, he is greatly mistaken in the Opinion he has hitherto entertained of him; and exhorts him either to restore the Two Presbyters, who, he says, have not been judged according to the Canons, or to judge them according to the Form of Ecclesiastical Judgments prescribed by the Canons. He closes his Letter with the following Words: *If you do neither, we will not quarrel with you; but, if they come to us, we will not reject them. Your Fraternity knows what is said in the Canons of Bishops, who cause themselves to be feared with Blows; we are Pastors, and not Executioners. You cannot be a Stranger to what an excellent Preacher said;* Preach the Word, *&c.* reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all Long-suffering and Doctrine[s]. *But to recur to Blows, and, with Blows, require Men to believe, is a new and unheard-of Method of Preaching,* NOVA ATQUE INAUDITA PRÆDICATIO, QUÆ VERBERIBUS EXIGIT FIDEM[t]. What would *Gregory* have said, had any Bishop preached in his Days, as his Successors have preached since, and still preach, where their Cruelty has free Scope, not with Blows only, but with Racks and Halters, with Fire and Fagot?

Gregory's *Reply.*

The Two Presbyters absolved at Rome.

The Two Presbyters withdrew, after their Tryal, from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, where their Cause was re-examined by *Gregory*; and, their Innocence plainly appearing, both were absolved[u]. How these Proceedings were relished by the Patriarch, we may judge from his having resented, in the manner he did, the Pope's intermeddling at all in that Affair. It appeared on Occasion of these Tryals, and it is a Thing well worthy of our Notice, that what, at this time, was deemed Heresy at *Constantinople*, was received as sound Doctrine at *Rome*; and what was deemed Heresy at *Rome*, was received as sound Doctrine at *Constantinople*. This strange Disagreement between the Two Churches, in Matters of Faith, was owing to their disagreeing, in a most unaccountable manner, about one of their Councils, the Standard of their Faith. The First Council of *Ephesus* was universally received by the Church, and the Second universally condemned and rejected. But the Church of *Constantinople* received, as the First, that which the *Roman* Church rejected, as the Second; and the *Roman* Church received, as the First, that which the other rejected as the Second. In this both agreed, that the

What was at this time Heresy at Constantinople, *was the Catholic Faith at* Rome.

[s] Ad Tim. ep. ii. c. 4. ver. 2. [t] Greg. l. 2. ep. 52. [u] Greg. l. 5. ep. 15, 16, 17.

Doctrine of the First was Catholic, and that of the Second heretical. But as they did not agree which was the First, and which the Second; nay, as what was the First with the one, was the Second with the other; it thence necessarily followed, that what was found Doctrine with the one, was rank Heresy with the other. Thus was the Presbyter *Anastasius* condemned at *Constantinople* as a Heretic, because he condemned the Doctrine of their First *Ephesine* Council, and received that of their Second; whereas he was, on that very Score, absolved at *Rome* as a good Catholic [w]. On the same Occasion it likewise appeared, that the Council of *Chalcedon* had been either interpolated at *Constantinople*, or curtailed at *Rome*; for some Passages were in the one Copy, that could not be found in the other; and that a Decree had been inserted into some of the Copies of the Council of *Ephesus*, confirming the Doctrine of *Pelagius* [x]. How these Points were adjusted, we know not; nor does it indeed much concern us to know, who take not the Councils for the Standard of our Faith, but the Scriptures. And that we have good Reason to do so, sufficiently appears from what has been said. For if the Two First Bishops, and the Two First Churches of the Christian World, disagreed, in the manner we have seen, about one of their Councils; if what was deemed by the one a Conventicle of Heretics, was looked upon by the other as a lawful Assembly of Catholic Bishops; and, in consequence thereof, what was rejected by the one as rank Heresy, was received by the other as the true Catholic Doctrine; if the Two First Bishops, I say, of the Church thus disagreed about one of their Councils, not much above a Century and a Half after it was held; how can we, after Thirteen whole Centuries, be sure, that the Definitions and Decrees of some Conventicle of Heretics have not been imposed upon us for the Decrees and Definitions of one or other of the Oecumenical and received Councils? What Certainty can we have, that some of the Doctrines which are recommended to us under the venerable Names of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, or *Chalcedon*, are not the very Doctrines, which the Fathers of those great Assemblies anathematized, condemned, and proscribed? We are so far from knowing for certain they are not, that we have good Reason to believe some of them are. For if the Councils were corrupted, curtailed, interpolated, as we have seen,

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We cannot depend upon Councils, nor their Creeds or Decrees.

[w] Idem, l. 1. ep. 14, 15, 16. et l. 6. ep. 31. [x] Idem, l. 7. ep. 48.

in

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in *Gregory*'s Time [and they were ſo long before]; if a Decree was then found to have been foiſted into one of them, eſtabliſhing a condemned Hereſy; may we not well ſuppoſe the like Attempts to have been made ſince? nay, that ſuch Attempts have been made, and often, is well known to all who are the leaſt converſant in the Hiſtory of the Church. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, in his Preface to the VIIIth Council, reproached the *Greeks*, 800 Years ago, with having corrupted not only the Council of *Epheſus*, but all the other Councils, except that of *Nice*; and that Charge the *Greeks* returned upon the *Latins*, adding, that they had not even ſpared the Council of *Nice*, but attempted to paſs upon the World the Decrees of *Sardica* for the Decrees of that Council [x]. In the Council of *Florence*, one *John*, a Frier, aſſerted, that of all the Copies of the Council of *Nice*, one only had eſcaped the Corruptions of the *Arians*, which, he ſaid, was, on that account, kept with all poſſible Care under Lock and Key at *Rome* [y]. But if what he added was true, *viz.* that the above-mentioned Canons of *Sardica* were to be found in that Copy, it had not the good Luck to eſcape the Corruptions of the Popes, as it did thoſe of the *Arians*. But that Phœnix no one ever heard of before, nor has it ever been heard of ſince. The *Nicene* Symbol has not been ſuffered to paſs unaltered and uncorrupted, no more than the *Nicene* Council. For the *Greeks* pretend the Words, *and the Son*, in the Article concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, to have been added by the *Latins*; and, on the other hand, the *Latins* will have them to have been ſtruck out by the *Greeks*. And thus it happens in our Days as it did in *Gregory*'s; what is Hereſy with the one, is the true Catholic Faith with the other. In all theſe Diſputes, antient Manuſcripts have been produced on either Side; but none have yet appeared, which the one or the other has not arraigned of Forgery. What then have we left, in this Uncertainty concerning the Authenticity of the Councils, of their Decrees, Creeds, Definitions, *&c.* to build our Faith upon, but the Scriptures? To build upon any other Foundation whatever, is building, like the fooliſh Man in the Goſpel [z], on the Sand. Thoſe ſacred Writings have been always preſerved in the Church with the greateſt Care, were learnt by all Nations, tranſlated into all Languages, received and read by Chriſtians of all Perſuaſions, whether Catholics, Heretics, Schiſmatics, *Greeks*,

Nothing left but the Scriptures to build our Faith upon.

[x] See Vol. 1. p. 370, & ſeq.

[y] Con. Flor. Seſſ. 20.

[z] Mat. c. vii. ver. 26.

Latins,

Latins, &c. ſo that, in them, any Alteration of Moment would have been immediately diſcovered, and would have alarmed the whole Chriſtian World. But the Councils were tranſlated into few Languages, were known to few, were read by few, and by very few underſtood; which gave a favourable Opportunity to deſigning Men of interpolating or curtailing them, as it beſt ſerved the Intereſt of their Cauſe. Year of Chriſt 593.

The Emperor iſſues an Order to forbid any Soldier to turn Monk.

But to return to *Gregory*; though he claimed and exerciſed, in the Manner we have ſeen, whatever Power or Authority his Predeceſſors had claimed and uſurped over his Collegues; yet he thought himſelf no leſs liable to be commanded by the Emperor, and no leſs bound to obey his Commands, even in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, than the meaneſt of his Subjects. Of this the preſent Year ſupplies us with the following Inſtance. The Emperor *Mauricius*, finding his Army was greatly reduced by his conſtant Wars with the *Perſians* on the one Side, and the *Lombards* on the other; and, beſides, that many, preferring the lazy and indolent Life of a Monk to the toilſome Life of a Soldier, betook themſelves daily to Monaſteries; iſſued an Edict, forbidding any, who were inrolled in the Service, or marked in the Hand, *in manu ſignati* (for the Soldiers, it ſeems, wore then a particular Mark in one of their Hands), to quit the Army, under the Pretence of embracing a Monaſtic Life, till the Time of their Warfare was expired. This Edict the Emperor tranſmitted to the Pope, commanding him to publiſh it in all the Countries ſubject to the Empire in the Weſt; for it was the Province of the Biſhop of *Rome* to publiſh, in the Weſt, all Edicts and Laws concerning religious Matters or Perſons, as it was the Province of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to publiſh them in the Eaſt. The Law was in itſelf both juſt and neceſſary; but nevertheleſs the Pope, prepoſſeſſed with the higheſt Opinion of a Monaſtic Life, which he looked upon as a ſure Way for all, and for many as the only Way to Heaven, was greatly grieved and concerned to find a whole Order of Men debarred from embraceing, when they pleaſed, ſo happy a State. He therefore reſolved to remonſtrate againſt the new Law; but, being indiſpoſed, as he often was, when he received it, and not in a Condition to write to the Emperor, he thought he ſhould be wanting in his Duty, as a good Subject, if he did not immediately publiſh it: and he publiſhed it accordingly. Having thus diſcharged the Duty of a good Subject, he thought it incumbent upon him to diſcharge, in the next place, that of a good Biſhop. As therefore he apprehended the above-mentioned Law to be

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of a very pernicious Tendency, he wrote to the Emperor, as ſoon as his Health allowed him, to remonſtrate againſt it; and the Letter he wrote, I ſhall exhibit in his own Words; for we ſhall have frequent Occaſion, in the Sequel of the preſent Hiſtory, to compare it with the Letters of other Popes to Kings, Princes, and Emperors.

The Pope remonſtrates againſt that Order.

His Letter to the Emperor.

" Your late Conſtitution has given me, I ingenuouſly own it to
" My Lords (meaning *Mauricius*, and his Son *Theodoſius*), the greateſt
" Uneaſineſs, ſeeing the Way to Heaven is thereby ſhut up to many,
" and what has been hitherto lawful, is thereby made henceforth
" unlawful. Many there are, indeed, who can lead a religious Life
" in a Secular Habit; but there are many too, who cannot be ſaved,
" unleſs they leave all they have. But what am I, who thus addreſs
" My Lords? I am but Duſt; I am but a Worm. But nevertheleſs,
" as I apprehend the Law to be diſpleaſing to God, the Author of
" all Things, I cannot conceal from My Lords what I think. Power
" was given to My Lords OVER ALL MEN, that ſuch as deſire to live
" well might be helped and encouraged; that the Way to Heaven
" might be widened, and the earthly Kingdom might be made ſub-
" ſervient to the Kingdom of Heaven. But alas! none, engaged in
" an earthly Warfare, are now allowed to enter into the Service of
" our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, till they have ſerved their Time, or are diſ-
" charged for their Indiſpoſitions or Weakneſs. Hearken not to me,
" but to Chriſt, who ſpeaks by the leaſt of his Servants, and yours:
" You was a Notary; but I raiſed you to the Poſt of Captain of the
" Guards; I preferred you to the Dignity of *Cæſar*; I placed you on
" the Imperial Throne, and not only made you Emperor, but the
" Father of Emperors. I gave you Power over my Prieſts, and you
" withdraw your Soldiers from my Service. Anſwer, I beſeech you,
" anſwer, moſt pious Lord, your Servant. What Anſwer will you
" return to your Lord, when he thus upbraids you on the Laſt Day?
" You will ſay, perhaps, that the Converſion of the Soldiers, who
" quit the Service to embrace a Monaſtic Life, is not ſincere. But
" I, your unworthy Servant, know of many converted Soldiers, who
" this Day work Miracles in their Monaſteries. And will you forbid
" by Law the Converſion of ſuch Men? I beg My moſt pious Lord
" will inquire by what Emperor ſuch a Law was firſt iſſued (E); and
" that

He owns himſelf ſubject to the Emperor, and bound to obey his Commands.

(E) *Julian* was the firſt who iſſued ſuch a Law. But *Gregory* forbore naming him in his Letter to the Emperor, leſt he ſhould ſeem to reproach him with treading in the Foot-

" that he will afterwards conſider with himſelf, whether it ought to have been iſſued. It is indeed Matter of great Grief and Sorrow, " that Men ſhould be with-held from leaving the World, when the " End of the World is at hand (F). For the Heavens and the Earth " will be ſoon involved in a general Conflagration, the Elements " will ſoon be diſſolved, and the tremendous Judge will appear, " attended by the whole heavenly Hoſt. I therefore earneſtly beg " and intreat you, by the ſame tremendous Judge, that you will, at " leaſt, mitigate the Rigour of your Law, leſt the many Tears, " Faſts, Alms of My Lord, ſhould, in the End, loſe both their " Merit and Reward. The Army of My Lords will not be thereby " weakened, but rather ſtrengthened, in proportion as the Number " is increaſed of thoſe, who pray for them, and the good Succeſs of " their Armies. I indeed, who am ſubject to Command, EGO QUI- " DEM JUSSIONI SUBJECTUS, have cauſed the ſaid Law to be tranſ- " mitted into different Parts of the World; but, as I apprehend it to " be diſpleaſing to God, I could not help acquainting therewith My " moſt Serene Lords. And now I have on both Sides diſcharged my " Duty: on the one I have yielded Obedience to the Emperor, and, " on the other, ſpoken my Mind with Openneſs and Freedom [a]."

Year of Chriſt 593.

This Letter the Pope did not ſend to his Nuncio at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, to be delivered by him to the Emperor, as was uſual, but to *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Phyſician, and great Favourite; intreating him, by another Letter, to deliver it privately, and to ſpeak on that Occaſion, which he could do more freely than on any other, what his Zeal for the Welfare of the Emperor, and the Good of Religion, would ſuggeſt. He begins his Letter thus: *My Tongue cannot well expreſs the many Benefits which I have received of the Almighty, and of my moſt ſerene Lord the Emperor: and in what other manner can I acknowlege them, but by loving the very Ground he treads?* He then acquaints *Theodorus* with the Law, complains of

His Letter to Theodorus *on the ſame Subject.*

[a] Greg. l. 2. ep. 62.

Footſteps of that Apoſtate. However, he named him, in a Letter which he wrote on this Occaſion to *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Phyſician, and chief Favourite.

(F) An Opinion prevailed among the Fathers, that the *Roman* Empire was to laſt as long as the World. Hence, when they apprehended the Empire to be in Danger from any extraordinary Calamity, eſpecially from the Irruptions of the Barbarians, they concluded the End of the World was at hand (1).

(1) Greg. l. 2. ep. 62. l. 3. ep. 44. l. 7. ep. 128.

Year of Christ 593.

it, and adds; *It ſeems very unreaſonable to me, that the Emperor ſhould forbid his Soldiers to ſerve Him, of whom he has received the Power of ruling not only over the Soldiers, but over the Prieſts too:* QUI DOMINARI EUM NON SOLUM MILITIBUS, SED ETIAM SACERDOTIBUS CONCESSIT [d]. Here the Pope acknowleges the Emperor, and in the plaineſt Terms, for the ſupreme Head of the Church, if we allow him to have been the ſupreme Head of the Army; for he owns the ſame Power to have been given him by God over the Prieſts, or the Church, that was given him over the Soldiers, or the Army. From both theſe Letters it is evident beyond Contradiction, that *Gregory* knew of no Power upon Earth, neither Secular nor Eccleſiaſtic, above the Power of the Emperor; that he thought himſelf, notwithſtanding his Primacy, ſubject to the Commands of the Emperor, *ego quidem juſſioni ſubjectus*; and that he looked upon it as his Duty to obey them, even when they appeared to him unreaſonable. And was not that acknowleging the ſame Supremacy in the Emperor, which the Church of *England* acknowleges in the King? Had a late Writer of no mean Character [e] been in the leaſt acquainted with the true Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he would not have thought it *repugnant to common Senſe*, that ſhe ſhould acknowlege the King for her Head; nor would he have more thought it a *Soleciſm*, that the Supremacy in the Church ſhould *fall to the Diſtaff*, than the Supremacy in the State, the Church being in the State, as *Optatus Milevitanus* expreſſes it, and not the State in the Church; whence it neceſſarily follows, that whoever is ſupreme in the State, muſt, of courſe, be ſupreme in the Church.

Miſtake of a late Writer concerning the Doctrine of the Church of England.

Some Writers are of Opinion, that *Mauricius*, hearkening to the Remonſtrances of the Pope, revoked the Law he had iſſued [f]. But that Opinion is entirely groundleſs, as has been ſhewn by a very able Writer [g].

The Imperial Law not revoked.

In Oppoſition to the Two above-mentioned Letters, the Advocates for the Papal Supremacy produce Two Decrees, or, as they ſtyle them, Bulls, which they ſuppoſe to have been iſſued by *Gregory*, the one in Favour of the Monks of St. *Medard* at *Soiſſons*, and the other of an Hoſpital at *Autun*. In both the Pope is made to excommunicate, and even to depoſe, any King, Biſhop, or Judge, who ſhould preſume to infringe either, or tranſgreſs the Commands of the Apoſtolic

Two forged Bulls produced in favour of the Papal Supremacy.

[d] Idem ibid. ep. 65. [e] Pietro Giannoni Iſtor. Civil. di Nap. l. 1. c. 11.
[f] Vide Marca de Concord. l. 2. c. 11. [g] Flottemanville annal. ad ann. 593.

See.

See. Hence they conclude, that though *Gregory* thought it adviſeable, on ſome Occaſions, humbly to ſubmit to the Will of the Emperor, yet, on others, he exerted the Power which he knew to have been by Chriſt entailed on his See, *over all Things and Perſons*. If he knew of any ſuch Entail, it muſt have been after he wrote to the Emperor; for in that Letter he owned a Power to have been granted to him *over all Things and Perſons*, himſelf not excepted. But no Man can peruſe either of theſe Bulls, without being fully ſatisfied, that both have been forged, and very undeſervedly fathered upon *Gregory*. For who can believe, that a Man of his meek Spirit, that one, who entertained ſo mean an Opinion of himſelf, and paid, on all Occaſions, the greateſt Deference and Regard to the higher Powers, ſhould have expreſſed himſelf thus? *If any King, Biſhop, or Judge, ſhall preſume to infringe the Decrees of our Apoſtolic Authority, or tranſgreſs this our Command, let him be deprived of his Honour and Dignity; let him be cut off from the Communion of the Church; let him be loadea with all the Anathemas and Curſes that have been thundered againſt Infidels and Heretics ſince the Creation of the World to the preſent Time; let him for ever be damned in the Bottom of Hell*, in Inferno inferiori, *with* Judas *the Betrayer of our Lord.* Does this profane and antichriſtian Dialect ſuit with the Spirit, with the Style, or the Character, of *Gregory* (G)?

Year of Chriſt 593.

The

(G) I might add, that the Decree in Favour of the Monaſtery of St. *Medard* is ſigned by ſome Biſhops who never exiſted, by others who exiſted no more when that Decree is ſuppoſed to have been made, and by ſome, who, at that time, were not yet ordained Biſhops, namely, by *Auſtin* of *Canterbury*, and *Mellitus* of *London*. *Dominicus* of *Carthage*, and *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, are made to ſign it among the reſt, though it does not appear from Hiſtory, that either ever was at *Rome*. King *Thierry* too is brought in to ſign it, though he was not yet King, he being then, that is, in 593. only One or Two Years old, and his Father *Childebert* ſtill living. The Pope, in his Subſcription, ſtyles himſelf *the Servant of the Servants of God*; but is made to add, *though exalted by the Pontifical Dignity of the Holy* Roman *See*. But that both Bulls or Decrees are a moſt palpable, impudent, and barefaced Forgery, has been, I may ſay, demonſtrated by Two eminent Critics (1), to whom I refer the Reader. I ſhall only obſerve here, that the Decree in favour of the Hoſpital was forged before the Time of *Gregory* VII. For that Pope, of all Popes the moſt aſſuming and arrogant, quotes it to juſtify his having excommunicated and depoſed *Henry* IV. as if this good Pope had decreed, that Kings and Princes ſhould be excommunicated and depoſed for much leſs Crimes than thoſe the Emperor was guilty of, whom he had excommunicated and depoſed. If *the bleſſed* GREGORY, ſays he, in a Letter to the

(1) Launois in Diſſ. de Princ. St. Medard. et Du Pin de antiq. Eccl. Diſcip. Diſſert. 7.

Year of Chriſt 594.

Dreadful Ravages committed by the provoked Lombards.

The following Year the good Pope was wholly employed in procuring ſome Relief for the Inhabitants of *Italy*, moſt miſerably haraſſed by the *Lombards* on the one Side, and by the Imperial Officers on the other. The Exarch *Romanus* had concluded a Peace with *Agilulph*; but the King being obliged, ſoon after the Concluſion of the Peace, to turn his Arms againſt ſome of his Dukes, who had revolted, the Exarch, laying hold of that Opportunity, broke unexpectedly into the Territories of the *Lombards*, ſurpriſed ſome of their Cities, and returned to *Ravenna*, loaded with Booty. *Agilulph*, provoked at that Breach of Faith, invaded in his Turn the Territories of the *Greeks*, *viz.* the Exarchate, and the Dukedom of *Rome* (L), and there continued ſeveral Months, laying them every-where waſte with Fire and Sword. The many Calamities, which the unhappy People ſuffered on that Occaſion, are pathetically deſcribed by *Gregory* in his Letters and Homilies; for, like a good Paſtor, he ſtrove to improve to the Advantage of his Flock every Opportunity that offered, exhorting them to mend their Lives, and repent of their Sins, the true Source of all their Calamities. *Now*, ſays he in one of his Homilies, *we hear nothing around us, but Lamentations and Groans; now we ſee nothing, to what Side ſoever we turn our Eyes, but Objects of Compaſſion and*

Biſhop of *Mentz*, *though a Man of a moſt meek Spirit*, *decreed*, *that Kings*, *who tranſgreſſed his Statutes only concerning an Hoſpital*, *ſhould be depoſed*, *excommunicated*, *and damned in the laſt Judgment*, *who will blame us for having excommunicated and depoſed* Henry, *not only a Deſpiſer of the Apoſtolic Judgments*, *but a moſt wicked Plunderer*, *a moſt outrageous Deſtroyer*, *of the Church herſelf? None ſurely will blame us for ſo doing*, *but ſuch as are as wicked as he* (1). The other Inſtances, alleged by that Pope to aſcertain the depoſing Power, are no better grounded than this; and hence the ſeditious and antichriſtian Doctrine concerning that Power which his Succeſſors held, and ſometimes practiſed, was juſtly, and agreeably to Hiſtory, ſtyled, by the Church of *Liege*, *the Schiſm* (2), and, by *Sigebert*, *the Hereſy of* Hildebrand (3). The pretended Decree of *Gregory*, in behalf of the Monaſtery of St. *Medard*, was not, it ſeems, yet forged, when *Gregory* VII. excommunicated the Emperor; elſe he would not have failed to quote that, as he did the other.

(L) The reſt of *Italy*, except the City of *Naples*, and ſome other maritim Cities, was at this time in the Hands of the *Lombards*. *Autharis*, the Predeceſſor of *Agilulph*, had reduced *Samnium*, with the City of *Beneventum*, and the greater Part of *Campania*; nay, he is ſaid to have advanced even to *Rhegium*, on the fartheſt Point of *Italy*, and, riding into the Sea, to have ſtruck with his Spear a Pillar that ſtood there, ſaying, *Thus far ſhall the Bounds of the* Lombards *extend*. A Pillar was ſtill ſtanding there in the Time of *Paulus Diaconus*, known by the Name of *Autharis's Pillar* (4).

(1) Greg. VII. l. 8. ep. 21. et l. 4. ep. 2. 23. t. 7. p. 521. (2) Eccleſ. Leod. apud Bin. (3) Sigebert. chron. ad ann. 1008. (4) Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 16.

Horror. Our Caſtles are diſmantled and deſtroyed; our Cities lie buried in their Ruins; our Lands lie untilled, and our moſt populous Places are now become Deſerts. Few Inhabitants now remain; and, of the few, who ſtill remain, ſome are daily murdered, others are carried into Captivity, and ſome appear daily before us, whoſe Hands have been cut off by the mercileſs Enemy. To what a deplorable Condition Rome *is reduced*, Rome *once the Miſtreſs of the World, we all know, we all ſee and feel*[1]. The Catholic Religion, which the *Lombards* and their King had lately embraced, produced, it ſeems, no great Change of Manners either in them, or in him. *Gregory*, to put a Stop to ſo deſtructive a War, which had now laſted 26 Years, cauſed Propoſals for a Peace to be made to *Agilulph*, who ſeemed inclined to agree to them, not finding himſelf then in a Condition to lay Siege either to *Rome* or *Ravenna*, both Cities being defended by ſtrong and numerous Gariſons. But the Exarch, who reaped great Advantages from the War, and was not affected, as *Gregory* was, with the Miſeries of the People, would hearken to no Terms whatever; nay, he complained to the Emperor of the Conduct of the Pope, as if his Holineſs had ſuffered himſelf to be over-reached by the politic and crafty King of the *Lombards*. The Emperor, giving an entire Credit to the Exarch, wrote to *Gregory*, declaring himſelf, in his Letter, greatly diſſatisfied with his Conduct, and ſtyling him a ſimple and unprovident Man for depending on the Faith of *Agilulph*, who, he ſaid, wanted only a ſhort Reſpite to refreſh his haraſſed Army, that he might afterwards purſue the War with new Vigour, and better Succeſs. That Treatment the Pope reſented, but within the Bounds of his uſual Modeſty and Reſpect in addreſſing the Emperor. *My Lords*, ſays he in Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter, *deſigned to have ſpared me, but in truth they have not ſpared me; in laying on me their moſt ſerene Commands, and reproaching me with my Conduct. For they call me a ſimple Man, that is, in more courtly Terms, a Fool. Simplicity without Prudence is Fooliſhneſs; and therefore my moſt ſerene Lords, calling me a ſimple Man, and, at the ſame time, chargeing me with Want of Prudence in my late Negotiations with the King of the* Lombards, *call me a Fool, and think I have acted as a Fool. But it is not for myſelf that I am concerned, nor*

Year of Chriſt 594.

Propoſals for a Peace offered by Gregory *to the King of the* Lombards; *but not approved by the Exarch.*

The Emperor diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope.

Year of Chriſt 595.

His Letter to the Emperor on that Occaſion.

[1] Greg. in Ezech. hom. 18. et l. 4. ep. 35. 38.

ſhould

Year of Christ 595.

should I take any Notice of my being thus derided and despised, were I not sensible that the public Welfare is at stake. My Advice is rejected and disregarded; and, in the mean time, the Enemy becomes daily more formidable, and more outrageous. Agilulph *has advanced to the very Gates of the City. I myself have seen* Romans *carried off, with Ropes about their Necks, like so many Dogs, to be sent into* Gaul, *and sold there. I do not complain, most pious Lord, of your entertaining a bad Opinion of me; my Sins deserve it, and I hope it will, in some Degree, atone for them. But let me advise you not to confide in all indifferently, nor hearken to all; let Facts have more Weight with you than Words* [m].

He complains to the Empress of the Cruelty and Avarice of the Imperial Ministers.

The Emperor's Letter has not reached our Times; but, from *Gregory*'s Answer, it appears, that *Mauricius* was strangely prejudiced against the Pope; and that he wrote to him in very sharp, not to say abusive Terms, reproaching him not only with Simplicity, but even with Want of Veracity. But that Treatment, however undeserved, *Gregory* resented no otherwise than in the manner we have seen. He thenceforth, indeed, forbore writing to the Emperor concerning the Affairs of *Italy*; but frequently complained to the Empress *Constantina* of the Cruelty and Avarice of the Imperial Officers. In one of his Letters, he tells her, That *Stephen*, who had been sent from *Constantinople* to guard the Coasts of *Sicily*, committed such Rapines in that Island, so many Acts of Violence, as could hardly be contained in a large Volume; that the Inhabitants of the Countries, which were still subject to the Empire, suffered more from the Officers, who were sent to defend them, than from the Enemy, who came to attack them; that the *Corsicans* in particular were loaded with such Taxes as obliged them even to sell their Children, to raise Money, by that means, for the Collectors; that they thereupon repaired, in great Numbers, to the *Lombards* in *Italy*, leaving the Island almost quite destitute of Inhabitants. He adds, That the Emperor's Ministers had all combined to defend each other, though guilty of the greatest Extortions; and therefore defeated all his Endeavours for concluding a Peace with the *Lombards*, which they well knew would leave no farther room for the heavy Taxes, with which they enriched themselves under the Pretence of carrying on the War. He closes his Letter with earnestly intreating the

[m] Greg. l. 4. ep. 31.

Empress

Empreſs to acquaint his moſt pious Lord with theſe Grievances, that, by ſpeedily redreſſing them, he may avert the Judgments, which muſt otherwiſe fall upon him, and his Family [n]. But *Conſtantina* either did not think it adviſeable to lay the Complaints of *Gregory* before the Emperor; or if ſhe did, he hearkened no more to her than to him. The Pope was attended with better Succeſs in his Application to Queen *Theudelinda*, who, at his Requeſt, prevailed on the King to withdraw his Troops from the Territories of *Rome*, and lay aſide all Thoughts of beſieging that City.

Year of Chriſt 595. *But in vain.*

But the unhappy State of *Italy* was not the only thing that engaged, at this time, the Thoughts and Attention of the Pope. The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was now diſtinguiſhed, all over the Eaſt, with the pompous Title of *Oecumenical* or *Univerſal Patriarch*; and *Gregory* found that he had ſo ſtyled himſelf over and over again, in a Judgment which he had lately given againſt a Presbyter arraigned of Hereſy, and which, at the Requeſt of the Pope, he had tranſmitted to *Rome*. At this *Gregory* took the Alarm, and forgetting all other Cares, as if the Church, the Faith, the Chriſtian Religion, were in imminent Danger, he diſpatched, in great Haſte, a Meſſenger, with Letters to *Sabinianus*, his Nuncio at *Conſtantinople*, charging him, as he tendered *the Liberty, wherewith Chriſt has made us free*, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours with the Emperor, with the Empreſs, and above all with the Biſhop himſelf, his beloved Brother, to divert him from ever more uſing the *proud*, the *profane*, the *antichriſtian* Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, which he had aſſumed, in the Pride of his Heart, to the great Debaſement of the whole Epiſcopal Order. The Nuncio, in Compliance with his Orders, left nothing unattempted, which he thought could make any Impreſſion on the Patriarch, aſſuring him that, unleſs he relinquiſhed the odious Title, which had given ſo great an Offence to the Pope, he would find in him a formidable Antagoniſt, not to ſay an irreconcileable Enemy [o]. But the Patriarch was not a Man to be eaſily frightened; and therefore told the Nuncio, that indeed he was ſorry his moſt holy Brother of *Rome* ſhould have taken any Umbrage at ſo inoffenſive a Title, ſince he could have no juſt Reaſon to take any; but as it had been beſtowed, and beſtowed by ſo great a Council [p], not on him alone, but on him and his Succeſſors, it was not in his

Gregory *alarmed at the Title of* Univerſal Biſhop, *aſſumed by the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople.

Writes to his Nuncio, at the Imperial Court.

Who cannot perſuade the Patriarch to relinquiſh it.

[n] Idem l. 4. ep. 33. [o] Greg. l. 4. ep. 39. [p] See above, p. 459.

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Power to resign it, nor would his Successors stand to his Resignation, if he should. As for the Emperor and the Empress, they declared, that they would be no-ways concerned in that Affair. However, the Emperor wrote, on this Occasion, to *Gregory*; but it was only to exhort him to live in Peace with the Bishop of the Imperial City, lest a Misunderstanding between them in particular should be attended with a general Misunderstanding between the East and the West [q].

The Pope received, at the same time, the Emperor's Letter, and an Answer from his Nuncio, informing him, that he had by no means been able to prevail on the Patriarch to quit his new Title, and that he seemed disposed to maintain it at all Events. The Pope was greatly concerned at the Obstinacy of the Patriarch, as he styled it; but more to find, that the Emperor had at all interfered in the Quarrel. He therefore wrote again, without Loss of Time, to his Nuncio, ordering him to renew his Remonstrances with the Patriarch, and, if he still found him inflexible, to separate himself from his Communion, that the See of St. *Peter* might not seem to connive at his Pride and Ambition. As to his living in Peace with his most holy Brother and Collegue, agreeably to the Desire of the Emperor, he declares, That he has nothing more at Heart; and that would *his most Serene Lord* only oblige his beloved Brother, as in Justice he ought, to renounce his new Title, he would have thereby the Merit of establishing a lasting Peace between the Two Sees, and preventing the Evils, which he seemed to apprehend from their Disagreement. He closes his Letter with the following remarkable Words: *It is very hard, that, after we have parted with our Silver, our Gold, our Slaves, and even our Garments, for the public Welfare, we should be obliged to part with our Faith too; for to agree to that impious Title is parting with our Faith* [r]: so that the Title of *Universal Bishop* was, according to *Gregory*, heretical in itself; and, in his Opinion, none could either assume it, or acknowlege it in another, without apostatizing from the Faith. *Sabinianus*, the Pope's Nuncio, communicated to the Patriarch the Contents of this Letter, as soon as he received it. But the Patriarch was so far from yielding, that, on the contrary, he loudly complained of the Pope for thus opposing, with so much Warmth, a

Writes again to his Nuncio.

The Title of Universal Bishop *heretical, in the Opinion of* Gregory.

[q] Greg. l. 4. ep. 39. [r] Idem ibid.

Title

Title which none but himſelf thought, or could think, in the leaſt derogatory to the Authority of any other Biſhop or Patriarch. Hereupon the Nuncio, purſuant to the expreſs Order of the Pope, renounced his Communion. Year of Chriſt 595.

Gregory, finding the Endeavours of his Nuncio proved all unſucceſsful, reſolved to write no more to him, but immediately to the Patriarch himſelf; which, he ſaid, he had hitherto declined, leſt he ſhould be obliged to find fault with a Man, of whoſe Sanctity and Virtue he had ever entertained the higheſt Opinion. He wrote to him accordingly, a long Letter, loading the Title of *Univerſal Patriarch* or *Biſhop* with all the Names of Reproach and Ignominy he could think of; calling it *vain, ambitious, profane, impious, execrable, antichriſtian, blaſphemous, infernal, diabolical*; and applying to him, who aſſumed it, what was ſaid by the Prophet *Iſaiah* of *Lucifer* [r]: *Whom you do imitate*, ſays he, *in aſſuming that arrogant Title? Whom but him, who, ſwelled with Pride, exalted himſelf above ſo many Legions of Angels, his Equals, that he might be ſubject to none, and all might be ſubject to him?* It was then, in the Opinion of *Gregory*, imitating *Lucifer*, for any Biſhop to exalt himſelf above his Brethren, and pretend all other Biſhops to be ſubject to him, and himſelf to be ſubject to none. And has not this been, for many Ages, the avowed Pretenſion and Claim of the Popes? *We declare, ſay, define, and pronounce it to be of Neceſſity to Salvation, for every human Creature to be ſubject to the* Roman *Pontiff*, is a Decree iſſued by *Boniface* VIII. Four hundred and Fifty Years ago [s]. *The Apoſtle* Peter, continues *Gregory, was the firſt Member of the Univerſal Church. As for* Paul, Andrew, *and* John, *they were only the Heads of particular Congregations; but all were Members of the Church under one Head*(C), *and none would ever be called* UNIVERSAL. The Meaning

Gregory *writes to the Patriarch.*

The Title of Univerſal Biſhop antichriſtian, blaſphemous, infernal, diabolical.

Chriſt alone Head of the whole Church.

[r] Iſa. xiv. 12, 13, &c.

[s] Extrav. com. l. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.

(C) In ſome printed Copies, the Name of *Peter* was added here, and the Paſſage read thus: *All Members of the Church, under one Head* PETER. An Interpolation that would have well ſerved the Purpoſe, had not *Gregory* been thereby evidently made to contradict himſelf (1). In the ſame Paſſage moſt of the Manuſcript Copies have, Peter, *the Firſt of the Apoſtles, was a Member of the Univerſal Church*; and all the printed Copies, Peter, *the Apoſtle, was the Firſt Member*, &c.

(1) Staplet. Princ. doctrin. l. 6. c. 7.

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of *Gregory* is obvious; *viz.* That the Apoſtles themſelves, though Heads of particular Congregations or Churches, were nevertheleſs Members of the Church Univerſal, and none of them ever pretended to be the Head of the whole Church, or to have Power and Authority over the whole Church, that being peculiar to Chriſt alone. This agrees with what he had ſaid before, addreſſing himſelf to the Patriarch; *viz.* *If none of the Apoſtles would be called Univerſal, What will you anſwer on the Laſt Day to Chriſt, the Head of the Church Univerſal? You, who, by arrogating that Name, ſtrive to ſubject all his Members to yourſelf?* For it was not the bare Title of *Univerſal Biſhop* that thus alarmed *Gregory*, but the *Univerſal* Power and Authority; which he apprehended his Rival aimed at in aſſuming that Title. The Pope adds: *But this is the Time which Chriſt himſelf foretold; the Earth is now laid waſte and deſtroyed with the Plague, and the Sword; all things, that have been predicted, are now accompliſhed; the King of Pride*, that is, Antichriſt, *is at hand; and, what I dread to ſay, an Army of Prieſts is ready to receive him* (A); *for they, who were choſen to point out to others the Way of Humility and Meekneſs, are themſelves now become the Slaves of Pride and Ambition* [s]. Here the Pope treats the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* as the Fore-runner of Antichriſt, for taking upon him the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, a Title, which he pretends to have been rejected by one of his Predeceſſors, though offered to him, and in him to all the Biſhops of the Apoſtolic See, by no leſs a Council than that of *Chalcedon*. But that he was therein certainly miſtaken, has been elſewhere ſhewn [t] (B).

The Pope writes to the Emperor, and the Empreſs, againſt the Patriarch.

The Pope wrote, at the ſame time, to the Emperor, and the Empreſs *Conſtantina*, inveighing, throughout both Letters, againſt his moſt holy Brother (for ſo he ſtyled him), as one who ſtrove, by a moſt wicked Attempt, to enthral the whole Church, as one equal in

[s] Greg. l. 4. ep. 32.

[t] See above, p. 98.

(A) All the antient Manuſcripts have *Sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus*. But in moſt of the printed Copies the Word *exercitus* has been changed into *exitus*, as if the Prieſts were not to join, but to oppoſe Antichriſt, and be deſtroyed by him (1).

(B) *Gregory* received the Four firſt Councils, as the Four Goſpels. How then could he think a Title offered by one of them, *blaſphemous*, *heretical*, *infernal*, *diabolical?*

(1) See Thom. James, in vindic. Greg. p. 666.

Pride

Pride to *Lucifer* himſelf, as the Fore-runner of Antichriſt, *&c.* repeating here what he had written to the Patriarch himſelf [u]. He begs the Emperor, in the Name of St. *Peter*, to controul, by his Authority, the unbounded Ambition of a Man, who, not ſatisfied with being Biſhop, affected to be called the ſole Biſhop of the Catholic Church. It was therefore, according to *Gregory*'s way of Reaſoning, all one to be called *Univerſal Biſhop*, and *Sole Biſhop*. He alleges ſeveral Reaſons to convince the Emperor, that, in the Church, there can be no *Univerſal Biſhop*; and the following among the reſt: *If there were an Univerſal Biſhop, and he ſhould err, the Univerſal Church would err with him:* which was evidently ſuppoſing every Biſhop, even an Univerſal Biſhop, to be capable of erring. From his Letter to the Empreſs, it appears but too plainly, that, in thus oppoſing, with ſo much Warmth, the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop* in his Brother of *Conſtantinople*, and inveighing againſt that Prelate, in the manner we have ſeen, for aſſuming it, he was actuated by Jealouſy as well as by Zeal. For, in that Letter, after declaiming, in the ſharpeſt and moſt poignant Terms, againſt the Title, as quite antichriſtian, againſt the Patriarch, as a Diſturber of the Peace, and the good Order eſtabliſhed by Chriſt in the Church, againſt all who any-ways countenanced, encouraged, or upheld him, in ſo *impious* and *deteſtable* an Attempt, he addreſſes the Empreſs thus: *Though* Gregory *is guilty of many great Sins, for which he well deſerves thus to be puniſhed,* Peter *is himſelf guilty of no Sins, nor ought he to ſuffer for mine. I therefore, over and over again, beg, intreat, and conjure you, by the Almighty, not to forſake the virtuous Steps of your Anceſtors, but, treading in them, to court and ſecure to yourſelf the Protection and Favour of that Apoſtle, who is not to be robbed of the Honour that is due to his Merit, for the Sins of one who has no Merit, and who ſo unworthily ſerves him* [w]. Here *Gregory* plainly ſhews, that, after all, the Honour and Dignity of St. *Peter*, and his See, were at the Bottom of the whole Oppoſition.

Year of Chriſt 595.

He is not actuated by Zeal alone.

The Remonſtrances of the Pope made no more Impreſſion on the Emperor, or the Empreſs, than they had made on the Patriarch himſelf; nay, *Mauricius* rather favoured the Patriarch, though he declined openly eſpouſing his Cauſe, thinking the Title of *Univerſal*

[u] Greg. l. 4. ep. 32. 34.

[w] Greg. l. 4. ep. 34.

Biſhop

Year of Chriſt 595.

Biſhop well ſuited the Rank and the Dignity of the Biſhop of the Imperial City. Of this *Gregory* was well appriſed; but yet, not deſpairing of Succeſs, and determined to leave nothing unattempted, which he thought could be attended with any, he wrote to the Two other Patriarchs, *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, and *Anaſtaſius* of *Antioch*, ſtriving to alarm them, and perſuade them to join, as in a common Cauſe, againſt the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who, he ſaid, giving the Reins to his unbounded Ambition, had nothing leſs in his View than to degrade them, and engroſs to himſelf all Eccleſiaſtical Power and Authority. But the Two Patriarchs were not alarmed; the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was already raiſed above them; and they were not ſo jealous of the Power that was left them, as to be under any Apprehenſion of its being uſurped or invaded by their Brother of *Conſtantinople*, at leaſt in virtue of his new Title. Beſides, both Patriarchs had ſigned and approved the Decree, intailing the diſputed Title on *John*, and his Succeſſors; and that they are, not improbably, ſuppoſed to have done, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* might be thereby encouraged to protect them, as well as his other Brethren in the Eaſt, againſt the growing Power, and daily Encroachments of the Biſhop of *Rome*, backed and ſupported by his Brethren in the Weſt. *Anaſtaſius* of *Antioch* even took the Liberty to expreſs no ſmall Surprize at the Pope's being alarmed, to ſuch an extraordinary Degree, at a thing which, as it appeared to him, was of very little Moment, and not at all worthy of the Trouble which his Holineſs gave himſelf about it.

He ſtrives to engage the Patriarchs of Alexandria *and* Antioch *in the Quarrel.*

But in vain.

John *of* Conſtantinople *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 596.

Moſt of theſe Letters were written in the Month of *July*, of the preſent Year; and in the Latter-end of the ſame Year, or the very Beginning of the next, died *Gregory*'s great Antagoniſt, *John* of *Conſtantinople*; and, after a Vacancy of ſome Months, *Cyriacus* was choſen in his room. *John* is now honoured by the *Greek* Church as a Saint; an Honour to which he had at leaſt as good a Claim as the beſt of the Popes, if what *Nicephorus* and *Theophylactus* write of him be true; *viz.* That though the Son of a Mechanic, he was raiſed to the Patriarchal Dignity, for his eminent Virtues; that he was a vigilant Paſtor, and ſo affected with the Miſeries of others, as to abridge himſelf even of the Neceſſaries of Life to relieve them; that he was very ſparing in his Diet; practiſed all Sorts of Auſterities, but was chiefly remarkable for his Abſtinence, and the long

And is honoured as a Saint.

Faſts, which he frequently obſerved; whence he was ſurnamed *the Faſter*. From *Gregory*'s Letters it appears, that he was not eaſily prevailed upon to accept the Epiſcopal Dignity; and that he had even attempted, as *Gregory* had done, to withdraw himſelf from it by Flight. For the Pope reproaches him with exerciſing the Epiſcopal Dignity, after he had attempted to ſave himſelf from it by Flight, in ſuch a manner as if he had courted it with the greateſt Ambition [y]. Year of Chriſt 596.

Cyriacus was no ſooner ordained, than he ſent, according to Cuſtom, his Confeſſion of Faith to the Pope, and to the Biſhops of the other great Sees. His Letter was accompanied with one from the Biſhops, who had ordained him, and another from the Emperor himſelf; both filled with ſuch Commendations of the new Patriarch, that they deſerved to be called Panegyrics rather than Letters. The Pope received the Meſſengers, who brought theſe Letters, with all poſſible Marks of Kindneſs and Eſteem, approved the Confeſſion of Faith, received *Cyriacus* to his Communion, and, congratulating, in his Anſwer, both the Emperor and the Biſhops, on the Election of a Perſon of ſo much Merit, added to the Praiſes, which they had beſtowed on him, others of his own; for he had been intimately acquainted with him, while he was Nuncio to *Pelagius* II. at the Court of *Conſtantinople* [z]. In theſe Letters he took no Notice of the new Title, as neither the Biſhops, nor the Emperor, nor *Cyriacus* himſelf, had taken any Notice of it in their Letters to him. However, at this very time, when he received the new Patriarch to his Communion, and owned his Faith to be, in every reſpect, Orthodox, he wrote to *Sabinianus*, his Nuncio at *Conſtantinople*, not to communicate, nor aſſiſt with him at divine Service, till he renounced for ever the *proud* and *impious* Title, which his Predeceſſor had *wickedly* aſſumed [a]. Cyriacus, *the new Patriarch, writes to the Pope.* *Who receives him to his Communion.*

The Meſſengers made but a very ſhort Stay at *Rome*, as the Winter approached, and the City was thteatened with a Siege. For *Agilulph*, the *Lombard* King, being deſirous of a Peace, that he might be at Leiſure to ſettle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and therefore provoked, beyond meaſure, at the Exarch's rejecting the Conditions he had offered, broke into the Territories of the Empire with more Rage and Fury than he had ever yet done, laid waſte *New Ravages committed by the* Lombards.

[y] Greg. l. 4. ep. 38. [z] Idem l. 6. ep. 5, 6, 7. [a] Idem ibid. ep. 15.

the

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the *Roman* Dukedom, over-ran *Campania*, burnt the Towns, which he had formerly ſpared, reduced the City of *Cortona*, and carried with him into Captivity the Inhabitants of that, as well as all other Places, which he could not have eaſily kept, as they lay at a great Diſtance from *Pavia*, the Royal Seat of the *Lombards* [b]. This opened a large Field to the Charity of *Gregory*, who, pitying the Condition of the unhappy Captives, not only expended himſelf large Sums on their Ranſom, and more than he could well ſpare, but, with his Letters, encouraged other Biſhops to ſo charitable a Work, even allowing them, on that Occaſion, to ſell the ſacred Veſſels and Utenſils [c]. In *Rome* the Number of the Poor was greatly increaſed, and the Country having been far and near ravaged by the provoked *Lombards*, Proviſions of all Kinds were ſold at moſt exorbitant Rates; inſomuch that there were, as *Gregory* witneſſes, no fewer than Three thouſand ſacred Virgins in the City, who had been obliged, though that Winter proved very ſevere, to part with their Garments, and the very Coverings of their Beds, for Subſiſtence [d]. But of the many, who thus ſuffered, whether under the Preſſures of Thraldom or Poverty, few there were who did not feel the comfortable Effects of the Pope's unbounded Compaſſion and Charity. As the Revenues of his See, though at this time very conſiderable, were not alone ſufficient to ſupply the Wants of ſo many unhappy People, he took the Liberty, on ſo preſſing an Occaſion, to recur not only to the Biſhops his Brethren, but to the great Men, his Friends, in the Eaſt as well as the Weſt; and they all readily aſſiſted him with large Supplies; ſo that the Poor were relieved, and great Numbers of Captives redeemed, though the moſt wicked *Lombards*, as he ſtyles them though now good Catholics, exacted moſt exorbitant Sums for their Redemption [e].

The unbounded Charity of Gregory, *in relieving the Poor, and redeeming the Captives.*

A Council held at Rome.

Gregory did not ſuffer his Attention to be ſo ingroſſed by theſe Works of Charity, as to neglect any other Duty of his Paſtoral Office. For he held, this Year, a Council at *Rome*, where ſome Canons were iſſued, none of any great Moment, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline [f]. It was in this Year too, that, extending his Care to the moſt diſtant Kingdoms and People, he undertook to convert the *Saxons*, our Anceſtors, and ſent, for that Purpoſe, a Company of

Gregory *undertakes the Converſion of the* Saxons *in* Britain.

[b] Idem l. 5. ep. 29, 30. 60. [c] Idem ibid. ep. 13. [d] Idem l. 6. ep. 23.
[e] Greg. l. 6. ep. 9. 21. 23. [f] Concil. t. 5. p. 1198.

Miſſionaries,

Miſſionaries, with *Auſtin* at their Head, into *Britain:* an Undertaking that ought ever to be remembered by the *Engliſh* with Gratitude. When he firſt formed this Deſign, or what firſt gave Occaſion to it, is not well known. *Bede*, in one Place, aſcribes it to a holy Inſpiration g, and in another to a generous Compaſſion in *Gregory* at his ſeeing, ſeveral Years before he was Pope, ſome *Engliſh* Children of a very graceful Aſpect, expoſed to Sale in the public Market at *Rome* h. The latter Opinion was adopted by *Joannes Diaconus*, in his Life of *Gregory*, as it has been ſince by moſt other Hiſtorians (A). Year of Chriſt 596.

But whatever gave Occaſion to that Undertaking, *Auſtin*, and his Companions, all Monks of *Gregory*'s own Order and Monaſtery,

g Bed. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 23. h Idem ibid. l. 2. c. 1.

(A) But I cannot help thinking, with the learned Archbiſhop *Parker* (1), that the venerable Hiſtorian was miſinformed with reſpect to that Particular. For though it is not to be queſtioned but the barbarous Cuſtom obtained among the *Engliſh* of ſelling their Children, when overſtocked, not only before, but long after their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion (2); yet it is not at all probable, that their Parents, or others, would have been at the Expence of ſending them from *Deira*, or the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, ſo far as *Rome*, with which City they had no kind of Communication, or Intercourſe, when they had a much nearer Market for the Sale of their young Slaves in *France*. For that they were commonly ſold there, appears from a Letter of *Gregory* to *Candidus*, the Steward of the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, in that Country, wherein he requires him to buy ſuch *Engliſh* Slaves as were to be ſold, under the Age of Seventeen or Eighteen, and ſend them to *Rome*, to be brought up there in the Monaſteries. As they were Pagans, the Pope deſires they may be attended, in their Journey, by a Presbyter, to baptize them, ſhould he find any of them in Danger of dying on the Road (3).

What, moſt probably, prompted and encouraged *Gregory* to attempt the Converſion of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh*, was his being informed, at this time, perhaps by *Bertha*, the Wife of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, perhaps by the *French* Biſhop *Luidhard*, who attended her, that the *Engliſh* Nation were very deſirous, *deſideranter velle*, of receiving the Chriſtian Faith. Of this good Diſpoſition in the *Engliſh* he ſpeaks in his Letter to the Two Brothers *Thierry* or *Theodoric* and *Theodebert*, Kings of *France*; and complains to them of their Prieſts and Biſhops, who, though the Neighbours of the *Engliſh*, yet neglected them, as he had been informed, and took no Care to ſecond, with their Exhortations, the Deſires of that Nation (4). Here the Pope ſeems to intimate, as if thoſe, whoever they were, who applied to him, had firſt applied to the *Gallican* Biſhops, and not to him, till their Application to them had proved unſucceſsful; which indeed is highly probable, if we ſuppoſe the Application to have been made either by the Queen, or the Biſhop, who were both of that Nation. I ſhall only add here, that I have too great an Opinion of the Zeal of *Gregory* to believe, that, if he had formed the Deſign of converting this Nation ſo many Years before he was Pope, he would have delayed the Execution of that Deſign till the Sixth Year of his Popedom, tho' he might have as well executed it in the Firſt as the Sixth.

(1) Park. in Antiq. Britann. p. 34. (2) Selden. Analect. l. 2. (3) Greg. l. 5. ep. 10. (4) Greg. l. 5. ep. 58.

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Auſtin *ſent into* Britain.

the Monaſtery of St. *Andrew*, ſet out from *Rome* this Year, the 150th, ſays *Bede*, after the Arrival of the *Saxons* in *Britain* [n] (A). *Auſtin* was not, it ſeems, ſo fond of propagating the Goſpel, and converting Infidels to Chriſt, as to expoſe his own Perſon, on that Account, to any great Danger: and for him *England* might have remained unconverted to this Day. For, on his Arrival in *France*, the faint-hearted Miſſionary was ſo terrified at the Character they gave him there of the *Engliſh Saxons*, ſo diſcouraged at his being unacquainted with their Language, that, his Zeal giving way to his Fears, he left his Company, and, returning to *Rome*, remonſtrated againſt the Undertaking as abſolutely impracticable; and begged the Pope to excuſe him from purſuing it. *Gregory* had more Zeal than *Auſtin*; and it was well for *England* he had. Inſtead of yielding to the vain Fears and Apprehenſions of the puſillanimous Monk, he either removed or allayed them, and ſent him back, with an encouraging Letter to his Brethren [o], recommending him at the ſame time by Letters, no fewer than Eleven, all dated the 23d of *July* of the preſent Year, to the *Gallican* Biſhops, to the Kings *Theodoric* and *Theodebert*, to Queen *Brunichild*, and to a Patrician named *Arigius* [p]. *Auſtin*, thus encouraged and recommended, returned to his Company in *France*; and there I ſhall leave him for the preſent, to view *Gregory*, exerting his Zeal, a Zeal indeed of a very different Nature, on another Occaſion.

But a puſillanimous Apoſtle.

The Pope had ordered his Nuncio at *Conſtantinople*, as has been related above, not to communicate with the new Patriarch, unleſs he agreed to renounce the *profane* Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*. But to *Cyriacus* it ſeemed quite ſtrange and unaccountable, that the Pope ſhould have approved of his Confeſſion of Faith, as in every reſpect Orthodox, ſhould have received him to his Communion as a Catholic Biſhop, and yet ordered his Nuncio not to communicate with him. He therefore diſpatched one to *Rome*, with the Character of

[n] Bed. l. 1. c. 22. [o] Greg. l. 4. ep. 57. [p] Idem l. 5. ep. 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

(A) It is to be obſerved, that *Bede*, in his Computations, does not reckon, as all the other *Engliſh* Hiſtorians do, from the Year 449. in which the *Saxons* arrived in *Britain*, but from the Year 447. in which they were invited into *Britain*. If therefore we either add Two Years to his Numbers, or deduct Two from the Numbers of the other Hiſtorians, we ſhall conſtantly find an intire Agreement between them and him.

his

his *Apocriſarius* or Nuncio, to try whether he might not appeaſe and ſatisfy the Pope by ſome other means, than by relinquiſhing his Title; for that he was no leſs determined to defend and maintain, than *Gregory* was to combat and oppoſe it. The Pope received the *Apocriſarius* in a moſt obliging manner, and even admitted him to his Communion; but, at the ſame time, let him know, that he could not, and never would, approve of, or connive at, ſo *ſcandalous*, ſo *profane*, ſo *blaſphemous* a Title; that there could be no Peace (for *Cyriacus* had, in his Letter, exhorted him to Peace and Concord) between him and his beloved Brother, till the Cauſe of their Diſcord was removed; and that, if he could only prevail upon himſelf to part with the *Badge of Pride*, *typum ſuperbiæ*, which his Predeceſſor had wickedly aſſumed, he would thereby eſtabliſh an everlaſting Harmony between the Two Sees [q]. What he ſaid to the *Apocriſarius* he repeated in a Letter, which he wrote ſoon after to the Patriarch himſelf, and ſent by the Deacon *Anatolius*, appointed, at this time, to ſucceed *Sabinianus* in the Office of Nuncio, at the Imperial Court. In that Letter he poſitively affirms, that, *whoever calls himſelf* Univerſal Biſhop, *or deſires to be ſo called, in the Pride of his Heart, is the Forerunner of Antichriſt*; *Ego fidenter dico, quod quiſquis ſe univerſalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua, Antichriſtum præcurrit* [r]; are *Gregory*'s own Words; though *Baronius* has not thought fit to quote them, being well appriſed, that they utterly overturn the Syſtem of the preſent Controverſy, as ſtated by him. But of this hereafter.

Year of Chriſt 596.

Cyriacus *attempts to appeaſe the Pope without relinquiſhing the Title of* Univerſal Biſhop.

Year of Chriſt 597.

Whoever calls himſelf Univerſal Biſhop, *the Forerunner of Antichriſt.*

The Pope anſwered, by the ſame Deacon *Anatolius*, a Letter, he had received from *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, which had given him great Satisfaction. It has not reached our Times; but, from the Pope's Anſwer, it appears to have been filled with the moſt fulſome Flattery. *Gregory*, however, was pleaſed with it ſo far as it extolled and magnified the Dignity and Prerogatives of the See of St. *Peter*. For he tells the Patriarch, that the Praiſes, which he has been pleaſed to beſtow on the See of St. *Peter*, have been the more acceptable, as they came from one who held the ſame See, and who conſequently could not pay the Honour that was due to the See of *Rome*, without paying, at the ſame time, the Honour that was due to his own. Ought not his Praiſes on that ſcore to have been

Gregory's *Anſwer to a Letter from the Biſhop of* Alexandria.

[q] Idem l. 6. ep. 31. [r] Idem l. 6. ep. 30.

Year of Christ 597.

rather ſuſpected? *Who does not know*, continues the Pope, *that the Church was built and eſtabliſhed on the Firmneſs of the Prince of the Apoſtles, by whoſe very Name is imported a Rock*, Petrus a Petra vocatur? *Who does not know, that to him it was ſaid, I will give unto thee the Keys*, &c. *Feed my Sheep*, &c (A). *Hence, though there were ſeveral Apoſtles, yet there is but one Apoſtolic See, the See of the Prince of the Apoſtles, that has acquired great Authority; and that See is in Three Places; in* Rome, *where he died; in* Alexandria, *where it was founded by his Diſciple St.* Mark; *and in* Antioch, *where he reſided himſelf Seven Years* [s]. *Theſe Three therefore are but One See, and on that One See ſit Three Biſhops, who are but One in Him, who ſaid, I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you* [t]. Here the Pope manifeſtly equals the Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* to that of *Rome*. But of them he entertained no Jealouſy, and the Point he had in view was to humble his great Rival the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; which he was ſenſible he could do by no other means more effectually, than by engaging the Two other Patriarchs in the preſent Quarrel. He therefore very artfully made their Sees and his but one See, them and himſelf but one Biſhop; that, looking upon the Injury done, by the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, to him and his See, as done to them and their Sees, they might join him as in a common Cauſe, againſt a common Rival.

He equals the Sees of Alexandria *and* Antioch *to the See of* Rome.

[s] See above, p. 234, 235, Note D. [t] John xiv. 20.

(A) *All the Apoſtles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1). *What is ſaid to* Peter, *is ſaid to the Apoſtles* (2). *It was ſaid to* Peter *alone, I will give thee*, &c. *but the Keys were given to all the Apoſtles* (3). *When it is ſaid to* Peter, *Feed my Sheep, it is ſaid to all* (4). *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock*, &c. *upon this Rock, which thou haſt confeſſed, upon this Rock, which thou haſt known, ſaying, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God, I will build my Church; that is, upon myſelf, the Son of the living God, I will build my Church: I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee. For the Rock was Chriſt, and upon him* Peter *himſelf was built* (5). Thus were the Paſſages, quoted by *Gregory*, underſtood by the Fathers. But the Popes, by often repeating them, and always interpreting them, as if they related to St. *Peter* alone, brought the greater Part of Mankind to believe, that they were really to be ſo underſtood; that St. *Peter* alone had the Keys, as he alone is painted with the Keys; that St. *Peter* alone was the Rock, the Shepherd, who was to feed Chriſt's Sheep, *&c.* and that the other Apoſtles were no more than his Deputies or Curates. We ſhall ſee him hereafter, not only raiſed by the Popes above all the other Apoſtles, but by one of them, *Boniface* VIII. blaſphemouſly exalted *into the Partnerſhip of the undivided Trinity* (6).

(1) Hier. in Jovin. 1. 14. (2) Ambroſ. in Pſal. 38. (3) Optat. l. 7. (4) Aug. de Agon. Chriſti. (5) Aug. Serm. 13. de verbis Domini. (6) Sexti decret. l. 1. tit. 6. c. 17.

Eulogius

Eulogius wrote, about this time, another, no leſs flattering Letter, to the Pope, wherein he even ſtyled him *Univerſal Pope*; probably with a Deſign to try whether he might not put an End to the Quarrel between the Two Biſhops, by giving to both the Title, about which they quarrelled. This was no bad Expedient; but the Reaſons alleged by the Pope to prove it was *wicked, heretical, blaſphemous, antichriſtian, diabolical*, in the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, equally proved, it was *wicked, heretical*, &c. in himſelf. He therefore rejected it with great Indignation, remonſtrated againſt its being given to him, with as much Warmth as he had ever remonſtrated againſt its being given to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, nay, and thought it an Affront that it had ever been offered him. *If you give more to me*, ſays the Pope, in his Anſwer to *Eulogius*, *than is due to me, you rob yourſelf of what is due to you. I chuſe to be diſtinguiſhed by my Manners, and not by Titles. Nothing can redound to my Honour that redounds to the Diſhonour of my Brethren. I place my Honour in maintaining them in theirs. If you call me* Univerſal Pope, *you thereby own yourſelf to be no Pope. Let no ſuch Titles therefore be mentioned, or ever heard, among us. Your Holineſs ſays, in your Letter, that I commanded you. I commanded you! I know who you are, who I am. In Rank you are my Brother, by your Manners my Father. I therefore did not command; and beg you will henceforth never forbear that Word. I only pointed out to you what I thought it was right you ſhould know* [t].

Year of Chriſt 597.

The Biſhop of Alexandria *gives the Title of* Univerſal Biſhop *to the Pope.*

Who rejects it.

The whole Drift of this Letter was, as the Reader muſt have obſerved, to draw, and in a manner to ſooth, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* into the preſent Diſpute. But neither he, nor any other Biſhop, joined him, at leaſt in the Eaſt; nay, as they had given the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* that Title, they all, but the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who would not concern himſelf in the Quarrel, thought themſelves bound to maintain and defend it.

Gregory therefore, being now at a Loſs whom next to recur to, for the Emperor and the Empreſs both favoured the Patriarch, bethought himſelf of a new kind of Oppoſition, which was to oppoſe to the lofty and proud Title of *Univerſal Biſhop* the meaneſt he could think of, flattering himſelf, that his Rival might be thus brought to quit that Title, or at leaſt be aſhamed ever to uſe it.

[t] Greg. l. 7. ep. 36.

With

Year of Christ 597.

Gregory *takes the Title of* The Servant of the Servants of God.

With this View he took to himself the humble Title of *The Servant of the Servants of God*, which his Successors have all retained, and use to this Day, even when they command the *Servants of God* as their Lords and Masters: *We the Servant of the Servants will and command*, Volumus et jubemus. But the Word *Servant* has no more Meaning now at the Beginning of a Bull, than at the Close of a Letter; nor had it indeed more in the Time of *Gregory*, who, notwithstanding all his Protestations of Humility, maintained the Papal Power as high as any of his Predecessors; lowering it indeed in Words, but not in Facts. His Humility therefore availed him nothing on the present Occasion; the Bishop of *Constantinop'e* still kept the controverted Title; and the Pope was obliged to acquiesce for the present.

Austin *arrives in* Britain.

To return now to the *Roman* Missionaries: Having provided themselves with Interpreters, they passed over, this Year, from *France* into *Britain*; landed in the Isle of *Thanet*; were there favourably heard by King *Ethelbert*, and allowed by him to preach the Gospel in his Kingdom. A proper Habitation was assigned them in the City of *Canterbury*, where the Court resided, and the Queen had a Chapel; and there they preached, they instructed, they wrought Miracles, *that shone*, says *Gregory*, upon the Information of *Austin*, who wrought them, *like those of the Apostles*, and were attended with such Success in their Apostolic Labours, that, before this Year was ended, they converted more than Ten thousand *English*, who were all baptized on *Christmas-Day* [u]. I only hint at these Particulars, as they are already well known, and related at Length by all our Historians. But I cannot help observing, that though *Austin* and his Companions were very instrumental in the Conversion of the *English* Nation, yet certainly the Glory was not all theirs. Queen *Bertha*, as *Bede* styles her, or *Aldiberga*, as she is called by others, had a great Share in that Glory; and she deserves too well of this Nation to be robbed of it. She was not only a Christian, but a most religious Princess; and, if *Gregory* is to be credited, she had prepared the Mind of the King for the Reception of the Faith, long before *Austin* set Foot in this Island [w]. As she was allowed, by the Articles of her Marriage, the free Exercise of her Religion, she had several Chaplains to attend her, among whom was a Bishop, and a

His great Success.

[u] Greg. l. 7. ep. 30. [w] Greg. l. 9. ep. 59.

Chapel, where Divine Service was publicly performed [x]. It is therefore highly probable, considering the Zeal of the Queen for the Christian Religion, that many of the *English* were converted before *Austin* or any other *Roman* Missionaries were thought of: it is at least certain, from the Letters of *Gregory* [y], that many were desirous of being converted; and, on the other hand, it is quite improbable, that the Queen, who had her own Bishop and Chaplains, would have suffered those, who desired to be converted, to continue in their idolatrous Worship, and put off their Conversion, till the Arrival of Missionaries from *Rome*. To me it appears more probable, that great Numbers were converted; and that it was upon the Queen's finding the *Harvest was plenteous, and the Labourers were few*, that she applied first, as was natural, to the *Franks* or *French*, who were her Countrymen, and at hand, and, being disappointed by them, to the Pope. She therefore was the first Author of this Undertaking; and the Success that attended it, was more owing to her Example, Protection, and Influence, than to the Miracles, or the Preaching, of *Austin*. As for the King, he is said by *Bede* to have been converted this Year [z]; but in this he was probably mistaken, since *Gregory* takes no Notice of his Conversion or Baptism, in the Account he gave to *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, of the Conversion of Ten thousand *English* baptized on *Christmas-Day*. The Example of the King was followed by many of the Nobles, and great Multitudes of the People; nay, that it was chiefly out of Complaisance to the King that most of them were converted, appears too plain from their returning to Paganism, as soon as he died. The King forbid, at first, all Violence and Compulsion, as *Bede* expressly observes [a]; but that some kind of Compulsion was afterwards used, perhaps when the Christian Party began to prevail, is manifest from what the same Historian writes elsewhere; *viz.* That the Pagan Worship being restored by *Eadbald*, those whom the Fear of *Ethelbert* had brought to profess Christ, followed, agreeably to their Inclination, the Example of their new Prince [b]. The *Roman* Missionaries had no great Occasion to boast of such Proselytes; for the Death of *Ethelbert* was attended with almost a general Apostasy of the People, in Spite of all the Miracles the Missionaries had wrought, or could work, to prevent it.

Year of Christ 597.

The Queen very instrumental in the Conversion of this Nation.

The King converted.

[x] Bed. Eccles. hist. l. 1. c. 25. [y] Greg. l. 5. ep. 58, 59. [z] Bed. l. 2. c. 5. [a] Bed. l. 1. c. 26. [b] Idem l. 2. c. 5.

The

Year of Christ 598.

Gregory's *Negotiations with the* Lombards *unsuccessful.*

The following Year was chiefly employed by the Pope in Negotiations with *Agilulph* King of the *Lombards*, and *Arnulph* the *Lombard* Duke of *Spoleti*; but they all proved unsuccessful, the Exarch, and the other Imperial Officers, who reaped great Advantages from the War, refusing to hearken to any Overtures of Peace. On this Occasion *Gregory* wrote to the Bishops of *Cagliari* and *Tarracina*, desiring them to oblige their Clergy to guard and defend the Walls, and even to bear Arms, and fight, when their Assistance was required or wanted [c]. Thus did *Gregory*, says *Baronius* [d], take upon him the Care of the State, as well as the Church; and his Conduct was neither disapproved by the Emperor, nor the Exarch; they both therefore owned and revered a Royal Authority in the Royal Priesthood; an Inference, that no Man could ever have thought of but himself!

The Pope alarmed at the News of a Council to be held at Constantinople.

While *Gregory* was thus employed, he received Letters from *Constantinople*, that gave him no less Concern than the bad Success of his Negotiations with the *Lombards*. For by them he was informed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople*, whose Conduct we may very well imagine he narrowly watched, had appointed a Grand Council to meet in that City, and had summoned, with the Consent and Approbation of the Emperor, all the Bishops of the East to attend it. Upon this Intelligence, the Pope, apprehending the disputed Title would be confirmed by that Council, and that they were to assemble for that Purpose, took the Alarm; and, to prevent in time the Execution of such a *wicked* and *detestable* Design, wrote and dispatched, in great Haste, a circular Letter to all the Bishops in the East, earnestly entreating, praying, and conjuring them, not to suffer themselves to be over-reached by the Craft and Subtlety of designing Men, nor to be brought, by any Persuasions, Allurements, Rewards, or Terrors, to concur in so *impious* an Attempt; but to defend and protect, with an Apostolic Firmness and Constancy, the Flock of Christ against the *Robber* that sought to devour it. In the same Letter he exhorts the Bishops not only to be watchful, and upon their Guard, that nothing be transacted in their Assembly, directly or indirectly, relating to the Confirmation of the *perverse* Title, but that no Decree be issued to the Prejudice of any Place or Person what-

He writes to the Eastern Bishops.

Year of Christ 599.

[c] Greg. l. 7. ep. 2. 20. [d] Bar. ad ann. 598. p. 118.

ever.

ever[e]. But the Council, which thus alarmed the Pope, never was held; nor ſhould we have known, but from this Letter, that it ever was thought of. Year of Chriſt 599.

The Pope was ſo afflicted this and the following Year with the Gout, and ſeveral other Complaints to which he was ſubject, that, during the whole time, he was ſeldom in a Condition to riſe from his Bed. *I have been now Eleven Months*, ſays he in a Letter to *Italica*, a Woman of Diſtinction, *confined both to my Bed and my Room, and ſo tormented with unrelenting Pains, that Life is become an unſufferable Burden. Death alone can relieve me; and I expect it daily, but expect it in vain*[f]. And, in a Letter which he wrote the following Year to *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, *I have been now near Two Years*, ſays he, *confined to my Bed, and in conſtant Torment and Pain; I have ſeldom been able to riſe, and perform Divine Service even on the holy and feſtival Days; the racking Gout has rarely allowed me ſo long a Truce: I have been often forced, by the Violence of the Pain, to return to my Bed, when I ſcarce had left it, and there to ſeek ſome Relief from Sighs, and from Groans: my Pain is at one time exceſſive, and leſs at another; but never ſo ſmall as to leave me entirely, never ſo great as to kill me. Thus I am every Day dying, and yet never die. But I am a great Criminal, and, as ſuch, deſervedly ſhut up in ſo painful a Priſon. However, I daily cry out with the Pſalmiſt*, Bring my Soul out of Priſon, that I may give Thanks unto thy Name[g]. He was troubled with frequent Returns of theſe Complaints ſo long as he lived; but no Pains, no Infirmities, could ever divert him from any of the Duties of his Paſtoral Office, or in any degree leſſen his Attention to the Affairs of the State as well as the Church. For he not only wrote, in this and the preceding Year, a great Number of Letters to the Biſhops of *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the Extirpating of ſeveral Abuſes that had crept into their reſpective Churches; but, reſuming his Negotiations with the King of the *Lombards*, he prevailed upon him at laſt to agree to a Truce from the Month of *September* to the following *April*, to the unſpeakable Satisfaction of the *Romans*, and the other Inhabitants of *Italy*. Year of Chriſt 600.

The Pope afflicted with ſeveral Infirmities.

Concludes a Truce with the Lombards.

[e] Greg. l. 7. ep. 70. [f] Idem, l. 7. ep. 127. [g] Idem, l. 8. ep. 35.

Year of Christ 601.

The following Year the Pope held a Council at *Rome*, consisting of Twenty Bishops, all immediately subject to his See, Fourteen Presbyters, and Four Deacons; and, by that Council, was approved a Constitution of *Gregory* in favour of the Monks, who were thereby exempted, in some particular Cases, from all Subjection to the Bishops [h]. This is the First Instance of that Nature we meet with in History; and it is evidently repugnant to the Canons of *Chalcedon*, subjecting the Monks, whether in Cities, or the Country, to the Bishop of the Diocese in which they lived, and pronouncing Excommunication against those who should withdraw themselves from his Jurisdiction [i]. But of the Monks, and the Exemptions and Privileges granted them by the Popes, in Defiance of all the antient Canons, I shall hereafter have Occasion to speak more at large.

Grants some Exemptions to the Monks.

A new Colony of Monks sent into Britain.

The same Year *Gregory* sent, at the Request of *Austin*, a new Colony of Monks into *Britain*; and, laying hold of that Opportunity, wrote to the Kings and Bishops of the *Franks*, to return them Thanks for their good Offices to *Austin*, and recommend the Bearers to their Protection and Favour [k]. He wrote at the same time to Queen *Bertha*, acknowleging the Share she had in the Conversion of the King [l]; and to the King himself, to congratulate him on his Conversion, and to encourage him to abolish the Worship of the Idols in his Dominions, to pull down their Temples, and to strive, in Imitation of *Constantine*, to promote Piety and Virtue among his Subjects, by Exhortations, Menaces, Caresses, and, above all, by Example. He exhorts the King to hearken to the Instructions of *Austin*, and to be instructed by him; and lets him know, that the End of the World is at hand [m]; which *Gregory* seems to have firmly believed. These Letters are all dated *June* 601.; but I can hardly believe, that, if the King had been converted in 597. as *Bede* supposes, the Pope would have so long delayed congratulating him on his Conversion. Either the King was not so early converted, or there is a Mistake in the Date of the Letters.

Gregory's *Letters to the King and the Queen.*

The Vanity of Austin.

In the Account which *Austin* had sent to the Pope, of the Success of his Labours in *Britain*, he had taken care to relate and magnify the Miracles which God had been pleased to work by his Hand. *Gregory* was pleased with the Success; but, pitying the Vanity of the Man, he did not forget to furnish him, in his Answer, with pro-

[h] Bar. ad ann. 601. p. 145, 146. [i] Con. Chal. can. 4. et 8. [k] Greg. l. 9. ep. 55, 56. 49, 50. 52. [l] Idem ibid. ep. 59. [m] Idem ibid. ep. 60.

per

per Reflections to cure it [n]. However, as the Pope was unwilling to give him the leaſt Diſcouragement, he extolled his Labours, exhorted him to purſue the Work which he had ſo happily begun, ſent him the neceſſary Helps and Inſtructions to purſue it with Succeſs; and, at the ſame time, the Reſolution of the Queſtions which *Auſtin* had propoſed. The Queſtions are too well known to be inſerted here [o]; and they can only give us a very mean Opinion of the Abilities of this great Apoſtle: and as to the Inſtructions, they do not at all redound to the Honour of *Gregory*. For, not ſatisfied with directing *Auſtin* not to deſtroy, but to reſerve for the Worſhip of God, the profane Places where the Pagan *Saxons* had worſhiped their Idols (O), he would have him to treat the more profane Uſages, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Pagans in the ſame manner, that is, not to aboliſh, but to ſanctify them, by changing the End for which they were inſtituted, and introduce them, thus ſanctified, into the Chriſtian Worſhip. This he ſpecifies in a particular Ceremony; *Whereas it is a Cuſtom*, ſays he, *among the* Saxons, *to ſlay abundance of Oxen, and ſacrifice them to the Devil, you muſt not aboliſh that Cuſtom, but appoint a new Feſtival to be kept either on the Day of the Conſecration of the Churches, or on the Birth-day of the Saints whoſe Reliques are depoſited there; and on theſe Days the* Saxons *may be allowed to make Arbours round the Temples changed into Churches, to kill their Oxen, and to feaſt, as they did while they were ſtill Pagans; only they ſhall offer their Thanks and Praiſes, not to the Devil, but to God* [p]. This Advice, abſolutely irreconcileable with the Purity of the Goſpel-worſhip, the Pope founds on a pretended Impoſſibility of weaning Men at once from Rites and Ceremonies to which they have been long accuſtomed, and on the Hopes of bringing the Converts, in due time, by ſuch an Indulgence, to a better Senſe of their Duty to God. Thus was the Religion of the *Saxons*, our Anceſtors, ſo diſfigured and corrupted with all the Superſtitions of Paganiſm, at its firſt being planted among them, that it ſcarce deſerved the Name of Chriſtianity, but was rather a Mixture of Chriſtianity and Paganiſm, or Chriſtianity and Paganiſm mould-

Year of Chriſt 601.

Gregory *directs him to adopt the Pagan Ceremonies into the Chriſtian Worſhip.*

The evil Conſequences thereof.

[n] Greg. l. 9. ep. 58. [o] See Rapin. Hiſt. of Eng. p. 67. Edit. Lond. Folio.
[p] Greg. l. 9. ep. 71. Bed. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 1. c. 30.

(O) In this *Gregory* was unaccountably inconſiſtent with himſelf; for, in his Letter to the King, bearing the ſame Date with this, he exhorted him to pull down the Temples of the Idols.

Year of Christ 601.

ed, as it were, into a Third Religion. What *Gregory* says may be true; *viz.* that by adopting the Rites of the Pagans, that is, by bringing the Christian Religion as near as possible to Paganism, the Pagans were the more easily induced to embrace it; but it is likewise true, that they were the more easily persuaded to renounce it, and relapse into Idolatry. And thus we may, perhaps, well account for the almost general Apostasy that ensued upon the Accession of *Eadbald*, who either had never embraced, or had abjured, the Christian Religion. The Multitude had, it seems, but a very superficial Knowlege of their new Religion; and the Rites and Ceremonies, which chiefly affected them, being the same in both Religions, they did not discover any material Difference between them; and therefore were as ready to renounce Christianity, and return to Paganism, as they had been to renounce Paganism, and embrace Christianity. The Indulgence, that was granted to the *Saxons* in *Britain*, had been granted before, and for the same Reasons, to the other Northern Nations that broke into the Western Empire. Those who brought them into the Church, the more easily to win them, suffered them to bring along with them many of their idolatrous Rites and Usages, hoping, as *Gregory* did, they would in time be prevailed upon to give them up. But it happened quite otherwise. For those Rites and Ceremonies, however heathenish, instead of being ever given up by them, were, by degrees, adopted by the Christian Inhabitants of the Countries where the New-comers settled. And thus the half Christians, for they were no better, remained half Christians, while the true Christians became half Pagans. Thus we may well account for the many Errors and Corruptions that overspread and disfigured the whole Face of the Church, after the Irruption and Conversion of the barbarous Nations that broke into the Empire in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. Their Usages were first connived at, and afterwards adopted by the Church. However, that these idolatrous Rites and Practices were not yet universally approved, even in the time of *Gregory*, appears from what we read at this very time of *Serenus*, the holy Bishop of *Marseilles*.

Serenus *of* Marseilles *causes the Images throughout his Diocese to be pulled down, and broken.*

The *Franks*, who had settled in the South of *Gaul*, had been indulged, at the time of their Conversion, in the Use of Images; and that Indulgence had insensibly brought them back to Idolatry; for, turning the Images of Christ into Idols, they paid them the same kind of Worship and Adoration, after their Conversion, which they had

had paid to their Idols before their Converſion. This *Serenus* could not bear; and therefore, to ſhew his Abhorrence of ſuch Abominations, and at the ſame time to prevent them in time to come, he cauſed all the Images throughout his Dioceſe to be pulled down, and to be caſt out of the Churches, and deſtroyed. That wiſe and zealous Prelate was, it ſeems, even then, when the dangerous Practice of ſetting up Images was yet in its Infancy, appriſed of a Truth, which all have now learnt by the Experience of many Ages, all, at leaſt, who care to learn it; *viz.* that *Images cannot be allowed, and Idolatry prevented.* However, this Inſtance of his Zeal for the Purity of the Chriſtian Worſhip was very ill received at *Rome*. And indeed *Gregory* acted therein conſiſtently with himſelf; for, having directed *Auſtin*, this very Year, to introduce the Pagan Rites and Uſages into the Church, he could not but blame *Serenus* for thus excluding them; and he wrote to him accordingly, commending indeed his Zeal *in not ſuffering any thing to be worſhiped, that was made with Hands*, but at the ſame time blaming him for breaking them *to prevent their being worſhiped, ſince they ſerved the Ignorant in the room of Books, and inſtructed, by being ſeen, thoſe who could not read* P. *Serenus* was ſo ſurpriſed at this Letter, and the frivolous Reaſon therein alleged in favour of Images, when his Flock had been led by them into the groſſeſt Idolatry, that he could not believe it came from the Pope. But *Gregory* ſoon wrote a Second Letter to him, wherein he again found great fault with his Conduct, telling him, that to worſhip Images was indeed a heinous Crime, a Crime that could never be allowed or connived at, but ought by all means to be forbidden and prevented; that he ſhould therefore call his People together, and ſhew them, from the Teſtimonies of Scripture, that it is not lawful to adore any thing that was made with Hands, becauſe it is written, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God:* but, as to his caſting them out of the Churches, and breaking them, it was the Effect of an inconſiderate and indiſcreet Zeal, which he could not help condemning: *Though Images*, ſays the Pope, *were not ſet up in Churches to be worſhiped, yet they ſerve to inſtruct the Ignorant; and it is one thing to adore an Image, another to learn from*

Year of Chriſt 601.

Gregory *diſapproves his Conduct.*

Images not to be worſhiped.

P Greg. l. 7. ep. 110.

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an Image what is to be adored (P). But the Reaſon on which the Pope ſeems to have laid the chief Streſs, in cenſuring the Conduct of *Serenus*, was, that, by breaking the Images, and baniſhing them from the Churches, he would prejudice the Barbarians (that is, the *Franks*), among whom he lived, againſt the Chriſtian Religion: ſo that it was chiefly to gratify the Pagans, who were converted, to facilitate the Converſion of the others, and to adapt the Chriſtian Religion to their Ideas and Notions, that the Uſe of Images, and many other Rites of the Pagan Worſhip, were allowed in the Church. But how different was this Method of converting the Pagans from that which the Apoſtles purſued, and their immediate Succeſſors, nay, and all Apoſtolic Men for the Three Firſt Centuries after Chriſt? With them it was a Principle, not to ſanctify, but utterly to aboliſh, all Pagan Rites, all ſuperſtitious Practices whatever, and introduce, in their room, a Plainneſs and Simplicity ſuited to the Worſhip of God, *in Spirit and Truth*. Upon that Principle Images of no Kind were ſuffered in the Churches during the Three Firſt Centuries, as is allowed by ſeveral *Roman* Catholic Writers, and ſhall be demonſtrated in a more proper Place; nay, it was not till the Latter-end of the Fourth Century that the Pagan Temples began to be converted into Chriſtian Churches. They had all, till then, been either ſhut up, or pulled down, the Biſhops of thoſe Times thinking it a great Profanation to worſhip God even in the Places where Worſhip had been paid to the Devil (Q). That primitive Plainneſs and Simplicity of Worſhip was ſtill

No Images, nor Pagan Rites, allowed during the Three First Centuries.

(P) *Images were not ſet up in Churches to be worſhiped*, ſays *Gregory*: *Images were ſet up in Churches to have due Honour and Worſhip paid them there*, ſays the Council of *Trent* (1). If therefore the Doctrine of *Trent* is the true Catholic Doctrine, the Doctrine of the Pope muſt, of courſe, be rank Hereſy, and *Gregory the Great*, after all, a rank Heretic. It is true the Council will have due Honour and Worſhip to be paid to Images, for the ſake of thoſe whom they repreſent, and not for their own (2). But *Gregory* condemned, without Diſtinction or Limitation, all Worſhip of Images, as contrary to the Second Commandment; nay, and the Uſe of them for any other Purpoſe whatever, but that of Inſtruction. Beſides, it is notorious, that, among the Vulgar, ſcarce One in a Thouſand carries his Worſhip beyond the Image itſelf; and, conſequently, that ſcarce One can be found in a Thouſand, who, in worſhiping Images, is not guilty of the groſſeſt Idolatry. The Council of *Trent* defined Images to be of great Advantage to the Faithful. But what Advantage can, in any degree, atone for the Idolatry of Thouſands? But of Images, and Image-worſhip, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak at large in the following Volume.

(Q) The famous Temple of *Heliopolis*,

(1) Con. Trid. Seſſ. 25.

(2) Con. Trid. ibid.

called

ſtill retained, at the Arrival of *Auſtin*, by the *Britons*, by the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, who were therefore ſo ſhocked at the many Pagan Superſtitions and Ceremonies introduced by that Monk into the *Saxon* Worſhip, that they looked upon it as no better than Paganiſm, and avoided, as *Bede* informs us [q], the Communion of thoſe who came from *Rome* to eſtabliſh it, as they avoided the Communion of the Pagans: nay, ſo great was the Averſion that the *Scots* in particular bore to all the *Roman* Miſſionaries, that *Dagamus*, a Biſhop of that Nation, not only declined ſitting with them at the ſame Table, but would not even lodge with them under the ſame Roof [r]. I am well appriſed, that this Averſion is generally aſcribed to their diſagreeing with thoſe who came from *Rome*, about the Time of celebrating the *Eaſter* Feſtival. But who can believe, that the Biſhops of theſe Three Nations, and the other Men of Piety and Learning among them, would have treated the *Roman* Miſſionaries, and their *Saxon* Proſelytes, as Heathens or Pagans, on account of that Diſagreement alone? The Religion, which the *Roman* Monks had preached and eſtabliſhed, bore a great Reſemblance to Paganiſm in its Rites, Ceremonies, and Worſhip, as we have ſeen; and to nothing elſe can we more naturally recur, to account for its being looked upon by the *Scots*, the *Britons*, and the *Picts*, as no better than Paganiſm.

Year of Chriſt 601.

The great Averſion of the Britons, *the* Scots, *and the* Picts, *to the* Roman *Miſſionaries, on what grounded.*

With the above-mentioned Directions for changing the Pagan into Chriſtian Uſages, *Gregory* ſent over to *Auſtin* a Plan for the Government of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Church, or a Model of the Hierarchy which he was to eſtabliſh among the *Saxons* in *Britain*. But as that Plan or Model was never complied with, I ſhall only obſerve here, that *the Servant of the Servants of God* aſſumed, on that Occaſion, an Authority that cannot be eaſily reconciled with his repeated

Gregory ſubjects the Britiſh *Biſhops to the Juriſdiction of* Auſtin.

[q] Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 20. [r] Idem ibid. c. 4.

called *Balanium*, was the firſt I can find in Hiſtory to have been converted into a Chriſtian Church, about the Year 391 (1). About 20 Years after the magnificent Temple of the *Dea Cœleſtis* at *Carthage* was likewiſe turned into a Church, with the following remarkable Circumſtance. It had been dedicated, when built, by one *Aurelius*, an Heathen High-prieſt, as appeared from the Inſcription on the Frontiſpiece, *Aurelius Pontifex dedicavit*; and one of the ſame Name happening to be Biſhop of *Carthage*, the famous *Aurelius*, when it was given to the Chriſtians, it was by him dedicated to the Uſe and Service of the Chriſtian Religion: ſo that the Inſcription *Aurelius Pontifex dedicavit* ſerved for the Chriſtian as it had done for the Heathen Pontiff, and was therefore left untouched (2).

(1) Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theodoſ. l. 16. tit. 10. (2) Procop. de Promiſſion. l. 3. c. 38.

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peated Proteſtations of Humility, and his boaſted Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons. For, by that Plan, the *Britiſh* Biſhops and Clergy were ſubjected to the Authority of *Auſtin*, as well as the *Engliſh*; the *Britiſh*, who had ever been abſolutely independent on the Biſhop of *Rome*, and over whom he could of courſe neither exerciſe nor claim any kind of Juriſdiction, without a manifeſt Breach of the Canons, and a barefaced Invaſion of the Rights and Liberties of that Church (R).

As

(R) The Advocates indeed for the Papal Supremacy ſtiffly maintain the *Britiſh* Church to have been originally ſubject to the Biſhops of *Rome*, and their See; but, as they do not allege a ſingle authentic Inſtance (and I defy them to allege any) of their having ever exerciſed, or even claimed, before the Arrival of *Auſtin*, any Power or Juriſdiction whatever over that Church, they might maintain, with as much Colour of Truth, the *Grand Turk* to have once exerciſed an abſolute Dominion and Power over this Iſland, and all its Inhabitants. The known Maxim, That Things, which do not appear, are as if they did not exiſt, is perhaps in no Caſe more unexceptionable than in this; for who can believe, that, had the Popes thought their Juriſdiction extended to the Churches of *Britain*, they would never have exerted, nor have once offered to exert, that Juriſdiction? As for the *Britons*, that they did not think *Rome* had any Authority over them, ſufficiently appears from their peremptorily refuſing to receive for their Archbiſhop, or Primate, the Perſon whom the Pope had placed over them as their Archbiſhop, or Primate (1). In what other manner could they diſown the Papal Authority, at ſuch a Diſtance from *Rome*? It happened, therefore, to the *Britiſh* Church as it did to ſeveral other Churches that were not within the Bounds of the Four great Patriarchates. Such Churches were governed by their Metropolitans, who were quite independent of any Patriarchal or ſuperior Power, and therefore called by the *Greeks* Αυτοκέφαλοι. They regulated the Affairs of their reſpective Provinces, made Canons, heard Cauſes, determined Diſputes with their own Synods, from which there was no Appeal but to a General Council. That Power all Metropolitans enjoyed before the Patriarchal Power was ſet up in the Church; and ſuch as were not within the Limits of any Patriarchate, continued to enjoy it after the eſtabliſhing of that Power. Thus the Churches of *Cyprus*, of *Iberia* now *Georgia*, of *Armenia* in the Eaſt (2), and thoſe of *Gaul*, of *Spain*, of *Britain*, in the Weſt, all lying without the Bounds of the Patriarchates, which the Councils had fixed when they appointed the Patriarchs, owned no Power or Authority ſuperior to that of their Metropolitans, Archbiſhops, or Primates. It was therefore with good Reaſon that the *Britiſh* Biſhops declared (if we allow the *Britiſh* Manuſcript quoted by *Spelman* to be genuine), that they *were under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of* Caerleon *on the* Uſk, *who was under God* (and under no other) *their ſpiritual Overſeer*. For this was truly their Caſe; and the like Anſwer would the Biſhops of *Gaul*, of *Spain*, of *Africa*, have returned in the like Caſe; and thoſe too of *Cyprus*, of *Iberia*, of *Armenia*, had the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*, required Obedience or Subjection of them. I know that the *Roman* Patriarchate, and the Patriarchal Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, have, by ſome, been extended to all the Provinces of the Weſt. But that they were, in the time of *Gregory*, ſtill confined to the Suburbicarian Provinces, only with the Addition of *Weſt-*

(1) Bed. l. 2. c. 2. (2) Balſam. in Con. Conſtant. 1. Can. 2. Con. Epheſ. Act. 7. Brerewood Enquiry, c. 17. Chytræus de Stat. Eccleſ. Marca de Primat. p. 122.

Illyricum,

As for the *Engliſh-Saxon* Church, he was at Liberty to ſettle its Hierarchy in what manner he pleaſed, the Councils having confined their Care to the Churches that were already eſtabliſhed, and left ſuch as were not, to the Wiſdom, Diſcretion, and Zeal, of thoſe whom God ſhould chuſe to eſtabliſh them. Year of Chriſt 601.

In the Month of *November* of the preſent Year happened a great Change of Affairs in the State, from which the See of *Rome* reaped no ſmall Advantage, as I ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to relate. The Emperor *Mauricius* was driven from the Throne, and inhumanly murdered, and one *Phocas*, a Centurion, raiſed to the Empire in his room. Of this remarkable Revolution Hiſtorians give us the following Account: The *Avares*, a *Scythian* Nation dwelling on the Banks of the *Danube*, who had broken into the Empire, being obliged by a violent Plague to return home, *Chagan* their King, not chuſing to be incumbered with the many Priſoners he had taken, no fewer than 12,000, offered to ſet them at Liberty for a very inconſiderable Sum. But that Offer *Mauricius* rejected, partly out of Avarice, ſays *Cedrenus*, and partly out of Hatred to the Soldiers (S); which ſo provoked the King of the Barbarians, that he immediately ordered the

Great Change of Affairs in the State.

The Army revolts.

Illyricum, has been unanſwerably proved by the learned *Du Pin* (3). As therefore the Councils, that eſtabliſhed the Patriarchal Power, reſtrained that Power within certain Limits, at the ſame time that they eſtabliſhed it, it could by no Patriarch be extended farther, without an open Breach of the Canons and Rules of thoſe Councils. The Firſt Council of *Epheſus* in particular, one of the Four which *Gregory* received as the Four Goſpels, on Occaſion of an Attempt made by the Patriarch of *Antioch* on the Rights and Liberties of the *Cyprian* Churches, not only declared that Province exempt from his Juriſdiction, *becauſe it did not originally belong to him*; but, to reſtrain the other Patriarchs from invading the Rights and Privileges of the independent Churches, at the ſame time decreed, that *no Patriarch ſhould ſeize upon any Province that was not antiently under his Juriſdiction* (4). Now, as *Britain* was not antiently under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, it is manifeſt, that *Gregory* could not pretend to any kind of Authority over the *Britiſh* Biſhops and Clergy, without an open Breach of that Canon, as well as of the Canons of the other Oecumenical Councils aſcertaining the Limits of each Patriarchate. Some, to juſtify the Conduct of the Pope, recur to the ſo often exploded Pretenſion or Claim to an *univerſal Juriſdiction by divine Right*. But that *Gregory* himſelf knew of no ſuch Juriſdiction, is evident, beyond all poſſible Diſpute, from his not only combating the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop* in the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, but his rejecting it himſelf, in the manner we have ſeen.

(S) The greater Part of them had been concerned in a Mutiny at the Beginning of *Mauricius*'s Reign: and probably their Captivity was chiefly owing to their cowardly Behaviour; for, in the late Reign, the military Diſcipline had been entirely neglected, and *Mauricius* ſpared no Pains to reſtore it.

(3) Du Pin de Antiq. Eccleſ. Diſcip. diſſert. 1. p. 73, & ſeq. (4) Concil. Epheſ. 1. Act. 7. Decret. de Epiſc. Cypr.

Year of Christ 601.

What occasioned this Revolt.

Captives to be all put to the Sword. This occasioned a Mutiny in the Army, which however was quelled for the present. But the Emperor, says the same Writer, having, in the End of the Campaign, to save the Pay of the Troops that had served on the *Danube*, ordered them to cross that River, and subsist, in the best manner they could, during the Winter, in the Enemy's Country, that Order produced a general Mutiny; the Soldiers betook themselves to their Arms, seized on their Officers, and, loading the Emperor with Reproaches and Curses, declared him unworthy to command them,

Phocas *proclaimed.*

and, with repeated Acclamations, proclaimed the Centurion *Phocas*, who was at their Head, Emperor in his room. The Revolt of the Army, and the Promotion of *Phocas*, were no sooner known at *Constantinople*, than the Populace, ever fond of Change, rising in a tumultuous manner, committed so many Outrages, and uttered such Threats against the unfortunate *Mauricius*, that, dreading the Effects

Mauricius *withdraws.*

of their Rage, he thought it advisable to retire from the City. He embarked accordingly, in the Dead of the Night, on a small Vessel, with his Wife and Children, proposing to retire to some Place of Safety, probably to the Church of St. *Euphemia*, at *Chalcedon*, a Sanctuary held in great Veneration all over the East. But he was driven back by contrary Winds, and, being at the same time seized with a Fit of the Gout, he reached, with great Difficulty, the Church of the Martyr *Autonomus*, about an Hundred and Fifty Furlongs from *Constantinople*. In the mean time *Phocas*, well acquainted with the good Disposition of the People of *Constantinople* towards

Phocas *received at* Constantinople, *and crowned.*

him, advanced with long Marches at the Head of his Army, and, being arrived at the *Hebdomon*, in the Neighbourhood of the City, he was there received by the Governor, and the other Ministers of State, by the Senate, and by the Clergy and the Patriarch, who crowned him there the same Day, the 23d of *November*, after he had made his Confession of Faith, and promised to maintain the Peace, and the Rights, of the Church. Being thus crowned, and acknowleged by all Ranks of Men, he entered *Constantinople* on the 25th of the same Month, in a triumphal Chariot, attended by the Nobility, the Clergy, the Soldiery, and numberless Multitudes of People crouding from all Quarters of the City, to see their new Prince, and testify, with their Acclamations and good Wishes, their common Satisfaction and Joy at the Change. But what more inconstant and fickle than the Multitude? What more uncertain and variable than their Favour

and Affection? A few Days after, the Two oppoſite Factions, the Blue and the Green, quarrelling at the public Sports in the Circus, while *Phocas* was preſent, his Guards, in attempting to appeaſe the Tumult, happened to uſe very roughly a Tribune of the Blue Faction, the chief Author of the Diſturbance. There wanted no more to eſtrange the Minds of that whole Party from their new Emperor, to change their Acclamations into Threats, and their Loyalty into Treaſon: Mauricius, they all cried out, *is not yet dead; he will do us Juſtice.* But the Menaces of the cowardly and impotent Vulgar ſerved only to awake the Jealouſy of the blood-thirſty Tyrant; and what Slaughter and Carnage did it not produce, when once awaked? Parties of Soldiers were immediately ſent all over the Country, in Search of *Mauricius*; and he was ſoon diſcovered, dragged from his Sanctuary, and carried in Triumph, by the inſulting Soldiery, over to *Chalcedon.* He had given no particular Provocation to *Phocas*, who was quite unknown to him; and yet the Tyrant, not ſatisfied with putting him to Death, for his greater Torment and Grief, ordered Five of his Sons to be firſt inhumanly murdered before his Face. Such a Scene of unparalleled Cruelty drew Sighs and Tears from all the Spectators, but *Mauricius* himſelf, who beheld the Death of his Children quite undiſturbed, without ſhedding a Tear, without betraying the leaſt Mark of Grief or Concern; nay, he was ſo far from uttering any Complaints, or repining at Providence, that the Woman, who was charged with the Care of his youngeſt Son, yet an Infant, having, with a Deſign to ſave it, placed her own in its room, he would not ſuffer the kind Fraud to take place, but diſcovered it to the Executioners. During the whole time of that Tragedy, the moſt ſhocking to the Eyes of a Parent that was ever exhibited, he continued in Appearance quite unaffected, only repeating, as each of his Children received the fatal Blow, *Juſt art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments.* *Mauricius* himſelf was beheaded the laſt; and their Heads were all brought to *Conſtantinople*, and caſt in a Heap near the Tribunal, where they lay till they became offenſive, and then the Tyrant ſuffered them to be buried with the Bodies [x].

Year of Chriſt 601. *He diſobliges the People.*

Mauricius *dragged from his Sanctuary, and murdered, with Five of his Children.*

Of the Imperial Family there ſtill remained *Theodoſius*, the eldeſt Son of *Mauricius*, *Peter*, the Emperor's Brother, the Empreſs *Con-*

Theodoſius, *the Emperor's eldeſt Son, and* Peter, *the Emperor's Bro-*

[x] Theophylact. l. 7. c. 1—17. et l. 8. c. 2. Cedren. ad ann. Phocæ 1. Niceph. l. 18. c. 41. Evagr. l. 5. c. 23.

ther, murdered. Year of Christ 602.

ſtantina, and Three Daughters. *Theodoſius* had been diſpatched by his Father into *Perſia*, upon the firſt Intelligence of the Revolt of *Phocas*, to crave Aſſiſtance of his Friend *Coſrhoes*, whom he had lately reſtored to the Throne of his Anceſtors. But, before the unhappy Youth could reach the Confines of that Kingdom, he was overtaken, and put to Death, by thoſe whom the Tyrant had diſpatched after him. *Peter*, the Emperor's Brother, underwent the ſame Fate about the ſame time [y]. Of the Fate of the Empreſs, and her Three Daughters, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

The Character of Mauricius.

The Antients all ſpeak of *Mauricius* as a Prince commendable for many eminent Virtues, and ſubject to very few Vices. Some extol him, and, among the reſt, *Gregory* himſelf, for the Purity of his Faith, and his uncommon Generoſity in relieving the Diſtreſſed and the Indigent [z]; others, for his great Piety, his Moderation, and the particular Care he took to maintain Peace and Tranquillity in the Church. *Theophylactus*, a contemporary Writer, tells us, that he was a generous Encourager of Learning, and learned Men; that he built a magnificent Church at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, in Honour of St. *Paul*; that he contributed a conſiderable Sum towards repairing the Aqueducts of *Conſtantinople*; nay, and that he remitted to all his Subjects the Third Part of the uſual Tributes [a]. However, he is generally taxed with Avarice; and it was to that Vice he owed all his Misfortunes.

The Character of Phocas.

As to the Uſurper, I ſhall give his Portrait and Character from *Cedrenus*: He was, ſays that Writer, of a middling Stature, deformed, and of a terrible Aſpect: his Hair was red, his Eye-brows met, and one of his Cheeks was marked with a Scar, which, when he was in a Paſſion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to Wine and Women, bloodthirſty, inexorable, bold in Speech, a Stranger to Compaſſion, in his Principles a Heretic; and his Wife *Leontia* was no better than he [b].

Phocas *ſends his own Image, and that of his Wife* Leontia, *to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 603.

When he had ſlaughtered the Emperor, and his Six Sons, his next Care was, to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed, and acknowleged for lawful Emperor, throughout the Empire; and, with that View, he ſent, according to Cuſtom, his own Image, and that of his Wife *Leontia*, who had likewiſe been crowned, to all the chief Cities, and, among the reſt, to the City of *Rome*, where they were received, in the Month of *April* of the preſent Year, with loud Acclamations, the *Roman* People being highly incenſed againſt *Mauricius*, on account of the

[y] Cedren. ibid. et alii.
[z] Greg. l. 8. ep. 2.
[a] Theophylact. l. 8. c. 13.
[b] Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1.

cruel

cruel Exactions of the Exarchs, and the other Imperial Miniſters ſent into *Italy*.. But none, even among the Populace, could expreſs more Satisfaction and Joy on that Occaſion than the Pope. He received the Images with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Loyalty, cauſed them to be lodged in the Oratory of the Martyr St. *Cæſarius*, and immediately wrote Letters to the new Emperor, congratulating him on his Acceſſion to the Imperial Crown, which, he ſaid, was effected by a particular Providence, to deliver the People from the Oppreſſions under which they had ſo long groaned. His Letter begins thus; *Glory be to God in the higheſt, who, as it is written,* changes Times, and removes Kings, and ſets up Kings [b]; *who has made known to all what he was pleaſed to ſpeak by his Prophet,* The Moſt High rules in the Kingdom of Men, and gives it to whomſoever he will [c] (A). *Various are the Changes, and many the Viciſſitudes, of human Life, the Almighty giving ſometimes, in his Juſtice, Princes to afflict his People, and ſending ſometimes, in his Mercy, Princes to comfort and relieve them. We have been hitherto moſt grievouſly afflicted; but the Almighty has choſen you, and placed you on the Imperial Throne, to baniſh, by your merciful Diſpoſition, all our Afflictions and Sorrows. Let the Heavens therefore rejoice, let the Earth leap for Joy, let the whole People return Thanks for ſo happy a Change* (B). He then enumerates the Abuſes of the late Adminiſtration, paints *Mauricius* as an abſolute Tyrant, and cloſes his Letter with the following good Wiſhes: *May the Republic long enjoy theſe moſt happy Times! May God, with his Grace, direct your Heart in every good Thought, in every good Deed! May the Holy Ghoſt, that dwells in your Breaſt, ever guide and aſſiſt you, that you may, after a long Courſe of Years,*

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d How receiv' there by the Pope.

Gregory's *Letter to the Uſurper.*

[b] Dan. c. ii. ver. 21. [c] Ibid. c. iv. ver. 25.

(A) When the Biſhops, who had ordained *Cyriacus*, in the Letter they wrote to *Gregory* on that Occaſion, told him, that the new Patriarch had appeared in the Church like the Sun, and that they had therefore all cried out with one Voice, *This is the Day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it* (1); the Pope found fault with them for having uſed the Words of Holy Writ on ſo ſlight an Occaſion (2).

(B) *In the Reign of* Phocas, ſays *Cedrenus*, and with *Cedrenus* all other Writers agree, *the unhappy People were overwhelmed with all manner of Calamities both public and private. The Air was infected, the Earth became barren, the Sea was frozen, and a general Mortality enſued of Men, Beaſts, and Fiſhes* (3).

(1) Pſal. cxviii. ver. 24. (2) Greg. l. 6. ep. 7. (3) Cedren. ad ann. Phoc. 1.

paſs

Year of Christ 603.

pass from an earthly and temporal to an everlasting and heavenly Kingdom [c]!

His Answer to a Letter from the Usurper.

Phocas had not yet received the Pope's Letter, when he wrote one to the Pope, to complain, as appears from *Gregory*'s Answer, that, at his Accession, he had found no Nuncio in *Constantinople* from his See, and to desire him to send one. For *Anatolius*, the last Nuncio, died during his Nunciature, and none had been yet sent to succeed him. To the Letter of *Phocas*, *Gregory* returned the following Answer: *What Thanks are we not bound to return to the Almighty, who has at last been pleased to deliver us from the Yoke of Slavery, and make us again enjoy the Blessings of Liberty under your Empire! That your Serenity has found no Deacon of the Apostolic See residing, according to Custom, in the Palace, was not owing to any Neglect in me, but to the Times, the late most unhappy and calamitous Times, when the Ministers of this Church all declined the Office that obliged them to reside in the Palace, and were even afraid to approach it. But, now that they know it has pleased the Almighty, in his Goodness and Mercy, to place you on the Throne, they fear no more, but exult and rejoice, and, courting the Office they declined before, fly to your Feet with inexpressible Joy.* In the same Letter the Pope recommends the Nuncio by whom it was sent, complains of the Calamities which *Italy* suffered still, involved in a War that had already lasted Thirty-five Years, and thus closes his Letter: *But we hope the Almighty, who has begun to relieve us, will complete what he has so happily begun; and that he, who has given us such pious Lords, will deliver us from our cruel Enemies. May the Holy Trinity, therefore, grant you long Life, that the later we have received the Blessings that flow from your Piety, the longer we may enjoy them* [d]!

His Letter to Leontia.

At the same time the Pope wrote to *Leontia*; and his Letter to her is no less worthy of Notice than his Two preceding Letters to her Husband. *What Tongue*, says he, *can utter, what Mind can conceive, the Thanks we owe to God, who has placed you on the Throne to ease us of the Yoke with which we have been hitherto so cruelly galled? Let the Angels give Glory to God in Heaven; let Men return Thanks to God upon Earth; for the Republic is relieved, and our Sorrows are all banished. May the Almighty, who in his Mercy*

[c] Greg. l. 11. ep. 38. [d] Greg. l. 11. ep. 45.

has

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has made you our Emperors, make you likewiſe zealous Defenders of the Catholic Faith! May he endow your Minds with Zeal and Mercy; with Zeal to puniſh what is committed againſt God; with Mercy to bear and forgive what may be committed againſt yourſelves! &c. *May he grant to you, and to our moſt pious Lord, a long Reign, that the Comforts and Bleſſings we enjoy in it may be long! I ſhould perhaps have intreated you to take under your particular Protection the hitherto moſt grievouſly afflicted Church of the Apoſtle St.* Peter. *But as I know you love God, I need not ask you to do, what I am ſure you are ready to do of your own accord. For the more you fear God, the more you muſt love his Apoſtle, to whom it was ſaid,* Thou art Peter, *&c.* To thee I will give, *&c. I do not therefore doubt but you take care to oblige and bind him to you, by whom you deſire to be looſened from your Sins. May he therefore be the Guardian of your Empire; may he be your Protector on Earth; may he be your Advocate in Heaven, that after a long Courſe of Years you may enjoy, in the Kingdom of Heaven, the Reward that is due to you there, for relieving your Subjects from the Burdens they groaned under, and rendering them happy upon Earth* [e]*!*

Gregory's *Conduct, on this Occaſion, inexcuſable.*

Who would have expected ſuch Letters from a Chriſtian Biſhop to an Uſurper, a Tyrant, a Murderer, a Regicide? Who would not have thought *Gregory*, of all Men, the moſt likely to reprove ſuch a Monſter? of all Men the leaſt capable of becoming his Panegyriſt, of applauding him in his Uſurpation, Murders, and Tyranny? *Gregory*, I ſay, whoſe Manners and whole Conduct have hitherto appeared ſo irreproachable! But what Virtue can be proof in a Pope againſt the Jealouſy of a Rival? What Virtue can reſtrain a Pope from employing even the moſt criminal Methods to defeat all Attempts that ſeem to have the leaſt Tendency towards leſſening the Honour and Dignity of his See? For that it was with this View, with the View of engaging the Tyrant, and his Wife, on his Side, and by that Means defeating the Attempt of the Patriarch to aſſume the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, that the Pope commended, flattered, and extolled them in the manner we have ſeen, is manifeſt from his laſt Letter. For there he lets *Leontia* know what he expected in return for the Praiſes he beſtowed upon her and her Husband; what Bleſſings they might both expect from St. *Peter* in Heaven, provided they took

[e] Greg. l. 11. ep. 46.

under

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under their particular Protection his moſt grievouſly afflicted Church upon Earth; that is, provided they obliged the Patriarch to quit the Title, which the Pope thought derogatory to the Honour, Dignity, and Intereſt of his See, and therefore looked upon as a moſt grievous Affliction. It was this the Pope aimed at in becoming the Panegyriſt of an Uſurper and Murderer. And does it not hence appear but too plain, that *Gregory*, however conſcientious, juſt, and religious in his Principles and Conduct, when he did not apprehend the Dignity or Intereſt of his See to be concerned, acted upon very different Notions and Principles, when he apprehended they were concerned? For how can we reconcile with Conſcience, Juſtice, or Religion, his beſtowing on the worſt of Tyrants the higheſt Praiſes that can be beſtowed on the beſt of Princes? His courting the Favour of a cruel and wicked Uſurper, by painting and reviling, as an abſolute Tyrant, the excellent Prince, whoſe Crown he had uſurped? His aſcribing (which I leave *Baronius* to excuſe from Blaſphemy) to a particular Providence the Revolt of a rebellious Subject, and his ſeizing the Crown; though he opened himſelf a Way to it by the Murder of his lawful Sovereign, and his Six Children, all the Male Iſſue of the Imperial Family? And, finally, his inviting all Mankind, nay, and the Angels of Heaven, to rejoice with him, and return Thanks to God, for the good Succeſs of ſo wicked an Attempt, perhaps the moſt wicked and cruel that is recorded in Hiſtory? *Gregory* had often declared, that he was ready to ſacrifice his Life to the Honour of his See; but whether he did not ſacrifice, on this Occaſion, what ought to have been dearer to him than his Life, or even the Honour of his See, I leave the World to judge; and only obſerve here, that his reflecting, in the manner he did, on the Memory of the unhappy *Mauricius*, was in him an Inſtance of the utmoſt Ingratitude, if what he himſelf formerly wrote, and frequently repeated, be true; *viz. That his Tongue could not expreſs the Good he had received of the Almighty, and his Lord the Emperor; that he thought himſelf bound in Gratitude to pray inceſſantly for the Life of his moſt Pious and moſt Chriſtian Lord; and that, in return for the Goodneſs of his moſt religious Lord to him, he could do no leſs than love the very Ground which he trod*[f]. Can any Man compare theſe Letters with thoſe which he

His Ingratitude to Mauricius.

[f] Greg. l. 2. ep. 65. l. 7. ep. 48. l. 9. ep. 40.

wrote

wrote not long after to the Uſurper, and his Wife, and not arraign him of the utmoſt Ingratitude?

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Cruelties practiſed by Phocas.

While the Pope was flattering *Phocas* in the manner we have ſeen, extolling his Clemency, rejoicing, and inviting all Mankind, and the Angels of Heaven, to rejoice with him, at the Happineſs of the People under his mild Adminiſtration, the Tyrant was raging with unheard-of Cruelty againſt Perſons of all Conditions and Orders. But his firſt and chief Care was to cut off the whole Imperial Family, Root and Branch, of which there ſtill remained the Empreſs *Conſtantina*, and her Three Daughters, who had fled for Refuge to one of the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. But from thence *Phocas* ordered them to be taken by Force, and to be publicly executed. But they found in the Patriarch *Cyriacus* a kind Friend, and a generous Protector, who, oppoſing, with great Reſolution and Courage, the Execution of that Order, would ſuffer no kind of Violence to be offered them in their Aſylum. From this time *Phocas* conceived an irreconcileable Averſion to the Patriarch, which we ſhall ſoon ſee the Biſhop of *Rome* artfully improving to the Advantage of his See. He did not however care to diſoblige the Church in the very Beginning of his Reign; and therefore diſſembling his Reſentment for the preſent, he applied to the Empreſs herſelf, and, in the End, prevailed upon her with fair Words, and repeated Promiſes of Safety, confirmed by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, to quit her Aſylum. But the faithleſs Tyrant no ſooner had her in his Power, than he firſt cauſed her, and her Daughters, to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery; and ſoon after to be conveyed to *Chalcedon*, and there to be executed, on the Spot where her Husband, and her Five Sons, had ſuffered, a few Months before g (A). The Imperial Family being now entirely cut

g Theophyl. hiſt. miſcell. l. 17. c. 40. Niceph. et alii ubi ſupra.

(A) In the *Roman* Martyrology the Emperor is ſuppoſed to have had Three other Daughters, *Sopatra*, *Euſtolia*, and *Romana*, whoſe Feſtival is kept on the 9th of *November* (1): for they are worſhiped as Saints, though nobody knows why they were ſainted. But as the contemporary Hiſtorians all ſuppoſe the Imperial Family to have been intirely cut off in the Empreſs *Conſtantina*, and the Three Daughters, who ſuffered with her, *viz.* *Anaſtaſia*, *Theoctiſte*, and *Cleopatra*, we may well rank the other Three with St. *Almachius*, or St. *Almanac*, with St. *Curandarum viarum*, and many other ſuch like Saints, who never exiſted. Of the latter Saint the Reader will find an entertaining Account in *Reſſendius* (2).

(1) Roman. Martyrolog. die 9 Novemb. p. 168.

(2) Reſſendius, epiſt. ad Rebedium,

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off, the bloodthirsty Tyrant began to proceed, with the same inexorable Cruelty, against all their Friends, and all who had betrayed the least Compassion for them, or had borne any Civil or Military Employments in the late Reign. Thus, throughout the Empire, were Men of the First Rank and Distinction either daily executed publicly, or privately massacred. Some were first inhumanly tortured; others had their Hands and their Feet cut off; and some were set up as Marks for the raw Soldiery to shoot at, in learning the Exercise and Use of the Bow. The Populace met with no better Treatment than the Nobility, great Numbers of them being daily seized for speaking disrespectfully of the Tyrant, and either killed by his Guards on the Spot, or tied up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, or dragged to Prison, which by that means was so crouded, that they soon died, suffocated with the Stench and Noisomeness of the Place [h]. Thus *Phocas* continued to rage uncontrouled so long as he reigned, though of such Cruelties, unheard-of, at least, since the Time of *Nero*, not the least Notice is taken, nor so much as a distant Hint given, in the many Letters *Gregory* wrote to his Friends in the East, as well as the West, during the Sixteen Months he lived after the Usurpation of the Tyrant: insomuch that had we no other Character of *Phocas*, but that which we find in the Letters of the Pope, he would well deserve to be ranked among the best Princes mentioned in History.

Gregory *greatly indisposed.*

The following Year *Gregory* was seized with so severe a Fit of the Gout, that he could not, without the utmost Pain and Agony, write, dictate, or even stir. However, in that Condition, he received the Ambassadors, sent by *Theudelinda*, Queen of the *Lombards*, with a Letter, to acquaint him with the Birth and Baptism of her Son *Adaloaldus*; and even answered her Letter, cōngratulating her Excellency, for so he styles her, on the Birth of the young Prince, and commending her Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, in causing him to be baptized in the Catholic Church. By the same Ambassadors the Queen sent to the Pope a Writing, drawn up by an Abbot, named *Secundinus*, in Defence of the *Three Chapters*, which she begged the Pope to answer, for her Satisfaction, and the Ease of her Mind. For though *Theudelinda* communicated with the Pope, she was not yet quite convinced, that his See had not swerved from

Receives the the Ambassadors of Theudelinda, *and answers her Letter.*

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[h] Glyc. Annal. Constantin. p. 70. Cedren. Niceph. et alii.

the

the Faith of *Chalcedon*, that is, from the Catholic Faith, in condemning thoſe *Chapters*, and receiving the Council, that had condemned them. But *Gregory* was not then in a Condition to anſwer the Objections of *Secundinus*, or to remove the Scruples of the Queen. *Nothing*, ſaid he, in his Letter to her, *but my preſent Indiſpoſition could have prevented me from complying immediately with your Deſire, and ſolving all the Difficulties ſtarted by our moſt beloved Son the Abbot* Secundinus. *But I am ſo racked and tormented with the Gout, that I cannot ſtir; as your Ambaſſadors can witneſs, who found me very much indiſpoſed at their Arrival, and leave me in great Danger of my Life at their Departure. But, if it pleaſes God to reſtore me to my Health, I ſhall return a full Anſwer to the Writing of the Abbot. In the mean time I ſend you a Copy of the Council that was held under the Emperor* Juſtinian, *of holy Memory* (of the Vth Council), *that my beloved Son* Secundinus *may be ſatisfied, in peruſing it, that the Apoſtolic See has been very unjuſtly and very undeſervedly aſperſed. Far be it from us ever to approve or receive any heretical Doctrine, or ever to depart, in the leaſt, from the Letter of our Predeceſſor, of holy Memory*, that is, of *Leo. Whatever has been defined by the Four Councils, we receive; whatever has by them been condemned, we condemn* [i]. With this Letter the Pope ſent the following Preſents to the new-born Prince, and his Siſter; *viz.* To the Prince a Croſs, to wear at his Neck, in which were incloſed a Piece of the true Croſs (A), and the Goſpels, in a *Perſian* Box; and to the Princeſs Three Rings, with precious Stones: and theſe he begged the Queen herſelf to deliver, which, he ſaid, would make amends for the Smalneſs of the Preſent [k]. Year of Chriſt 604. *His Preſents to her Children.*

The Pope promiſed to return a full Anſwer to the Writing of *Secundinus*, in Favour of the *Three Chapters*, if it pleaſed God to reſtore him to his Health; but God was pleaſed to diſpoſe of him otherwiſe. For his Complaint, inſtead of abating, gained daily new *Gregory dies.*

[i] Greg. l. 12. ep. 7. [k] Idem ibid.

(A) Such Quantities of Wood, ſuppoſed to be the Wood of the true Croſs, are now in the Poſſeſſion of private Perſons, or ſhewn in the Churches, that, were they all put together, they would make a Burden too heavy for Ten Men to carry. Great Numbers of them are therefore evidently falſe and counterfeit; and yet as they are all ſuppoſed to have touched the Body of Chriſt, they are all worſhiped with Divine Worſhip.

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Strength; and as he was quite worn out with Labour and Cares, it overcame him at last, and put an End to his Life, on the 12th of *March* of the present Year, after he had governed the *Roman* Church 13 Years, 6 Months, and 10 Days, including the Day of his Death. He was buried in one of the antient Porches of the Church of St. *Peter*, and in that Church his Tomb is still to be seen under the Altar of the Apostle St. *Andrew*, whom he seems chiefly to have revered after his Brother St. *Peter*.

His Character.

Gregory was undoubtedly a Man of extraordinary Abilities, equal in Parts to *Leo the Great*, and much superior to that Pope in Piety, Religion, and Virtue, though his Piety had a Monkish Turn, and in many Instances, seemed to degenerate into Superstition. The Antients all commend him as a vigilant, active, and indefatigable Pastor, as a Restorer of the decayed Discipline of the Church, as a most zealous Assertor of the Observance of the Canons, and, in short, as a Man, whom Providence had raised to the Episcopal Dignity, that he might serve, in all future Ages, for a Pattern of every Episcopal Virtue. *Whom*, says Isidorus, *can Antiquity shew equal to* Gregory? *Whom can Antiquity compare to* Gregory? *He surpassed* Antony *in Sanctity*, Cyprian *in Eloquence*, *and* Austin *in Knowlege and Learning* [1]. The other Writers, who speak of him, seem to have all entertained as high an Opinion of his eminent Virtues as *Isidore*. And truly, if we consider him only as a Bishop, we must own him to have been possessed, in a very eminent Degree, of every Virtue becoming that Station and Character. He was a Stranger to all Pride; treated all other Bishops, even those who were immediately subject to his See, as his Collegues and Brethren; owned himself subject to the Temporal Powers, and readily submitted to their Will and Commands; was in his Disposition and Temper mild, tractable, compassionate, disinterested; an utter Enemy to all Pomp, Grandeur, and Shew; abridged himself often even of the Necessaries of Life, to relieve the Indigent, and redeem the Captives, applying the whole Revenue of his See to such charitable Uses; in short, he spared no Labour or Pains to procure the temporal Welfare, as well as the eternal, of the Flock committed to his Care. Hence, by some, he has been styled *the last Bishop of* Rome; and indeed it may be said, with too much Truth, that, of his many Successors,

[1] Isidor. de vir. illust. c. 27.

none

none have taken ſo much Care as he to acquit themſelves, as they ought, of their Epiſcopal Charge; and, from his Days to ours, none have been ſainted but one, *Pius* V. who excommunicated our Queen *Elizabeth*, of immortal Memory. However, it muſt be owned, that the Conduct of *Gregory*, as Pope, or Biſhop of *Rome*, was not quite irreproachable. For he inviolably adhered, as I have obſerved above, to the Principle common to all Popes, from the earlieſt Times to the lateſt; *viz.* Never to part with any Power which his Predeceſſors had acquired, by what Means ſoever they had acquired it. By that Principle he was often led to tranſgreſs the Canons of the Church, at the very time he was aſſerting their Authority, and to maintain and exerciſe a Power which his Predeceſſors had uſurped, in open Defiance of thoſe ſacred Laws, at the very time he owned them for the ſtanding Meaſure of his own Power, and of that of every other Biſhop. However, to do him Juſtice, I do not find a ſingle Inſtance in Hiſtory, of his having ever abuſed that Power; but many occur of his having employed and exerted it to the beſt Purpoſes, to correct what had been done amiſs by other Biſhops, to puniſh the Guilty, whom they had abſolved, or abſolve the Innocent, whom they had condemned. Upon the Whole, had the Revolution, of which I have ſpoken above, never happened, or had *Gregory* died before it happened, he would have had no Superior, and ſcarce an Equal, from the Times of the Apoſtles to the preſent. But the Part he acted on that unhappy Occaſion, will be with all, who judge impartially of Men and Things, a Stain on his Character, which all his Virtues, however eminent, will never wipe out. And what can we expect from other Popes, when even a *Gregory* did not ſcruple to employ, and by employing to ſanctify, in the Opinion of his Succeſſors, the moſt criminal Methods to ſupport and maintain the Dignity of his See? Year of Chriſt 604.

As for the Writings of *Gregory*, no Pope has left ſo many Works behind him as he, from the Foundation of the *Roman* See to the preſent times. His Letters amount to 840; and, beſides them, he wrote a Comment on the Book of *Job*, compriſed in 36 Books; a Paſtoral, or a Treatiſe on the Duties of a Paſtor, conſiſting of Four Parts, and, as it were, of Four different Treatiſes; 22 Homilies on the Prophet *Ezekiel*; 40 Homilies on the Goſpels; and Four Books of Dialogues. The Comment on the Book of *Job* is commonly ſtyled *Gregory's Morals on Job*, being rather a Collection of *His Writings.*

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of moral Principles, than an Expoſition of the Text. That Work, and the Paſtoral, were antiently, and ſtill are, reckoned among the beſt Writings of the Fathers. The Paſtoral, in particular, was held in ſuch Eſteem by the *Gallican* Church, that all Biſhops were obliged, by the Canons of that Church, to be thoroughly acquainted with it, and punctually to obſerve the Rules it contained; nay, and to remind them of that Obligation, it was delivered into their Hands at the Time of their Ordination. As for the Dialogues, they are filled with Miracles and Stories ſo groſly abſurd and fabulous, that it would be a Reflection on the Underſtanding and good Senſe of this great Pope to think, that he really believed them; the rather as for many of them he had no better Vouchers than old, doating, and ignorant People. He was the firſt who diſcovered Purgatory, and it was by means of the Apparitions and Viſions, which he relates in his Dialogues, that he firſt diſcovered it: ſo that the Church of *Rome* is probably indebted to ſome old Man or old Woman for one of the moſt profitable Articles of her whole Creed. In this Work the Pope obſerves, that greater Diſcoveries were made, in his Time, concerning the State of departed Souls, than in all the preceding Ages together, becauſe the End of this World was at hand, and the nearer we came to the other, the more we diſcovered it. The Apoſtles were 600 Years farther from the End of this World than *Gregory*, and conſequently could not know ſo much of the other as he, and every old Woman in his Time.

Some of his Writings greatly curtailed, or interpolated.

The Works, which I have hitherto mentioned, are by all allowed to be genuine. But the Comments on the Book of the *Kings*, on the Seven Penitential Pſalms, and *Solomon*'s Song, are thought by the beſt Critics, to have been falſly aſcribed to *Gregory*. As for the *Sacramentarium*, *Antiphonarium*, and *Benedictionarium*, they have been ſo curtailed in ſome Places, and interpolated in others, that no Man can know what in theſe Pieces was, and was not, written by *Gregory* [m]. What *Damaſcene* gravely relates of this Pope, *viz.* That he prayed the Soul of the Emperor *Trajan* out of Hell, is now univerſally rejected as a Fable, though, in that Writer's time, that is, in the Eighth Century, it was univerſally believed, both in the Eaſt and the Weſt [n]: ſo utterly unacquainted were Men, in that and the next following Ages, with the Doctrine which we are taught in the

His delivering the Soul of Trajan *out of Hell, now deemed a Fable.*

[m] See Du Pin. t. 5. art. Greg.

[n] Damaſ. in orat. de fidel. defunct.

Goſpels;

Goſpels; even Men of Learning: for the Delivery of *Trajan*'s Soul out of Hell, by the Prayers and Interceſſion of *Gregory*, was firmly believed by *Damaſcene* himſelf, *whoſe great Knowlege and Erudition in all the learned Sciences nobody*, ſays the learned *Cave*, *in his Senſes can deny* [o]. But may we not, in Matters of Faith and Religion, ſafely except againſt the Authority of ſuch learned Men, for all their Erudition and Learning?

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PHOCAS, **SABINIAN**, AGILULPH, *and his Son* ADALOALDUS, } Kings of the *Lombards*.

Sixty-fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

IN the room of *Gregory* was choſen, and ordained on the 13th of *September*, after a Vacancy of Six Months, and One Day, the Deacon *Sabinian*. For now the Presbyters, who had nothing to recommend them but their Merit, were commonly overlooked, and the Deacons preferred, who, as they managed the Temporalities of the Church, had it in their Power to ſupply, by other Means, their Want of Merit. *Sabinian* was a Native of *Volterra* in *Tuſcany*, and the Son of one *Bonus*. In the Year 593. he was ſent by *Gregory* to reſide at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, with the Character of his Nuncio to the Emperor *Mauricius*; and was recalled in 597. [p]; which is all we know of him before his Election. He enjoyed his new Dignity but a very ſhort time; and rendered himſelf, even during the ſhort time he enjoyed it, ſo odious to the *Roman* People, by his Avarice, and Cruelty to the Poor, that they could not forbear abuſing and reviling him, where-ever he appeared, as quite unworthy of the Honour to which they had raiſed him. Indeed he gave them ſufficient Provocation; for, a dreadful Famine raging at this time in *Rome*, the new Pope, unaffected with the Miſeries of the People, ordered the Corn, which his Predeceſſor uſed to diſtribute among the Poor, to be ſold at moſt exorbitant Rates, 30 *Solidi* a Buſhel: and thus, while his Granaries were full, great Numbers of People periſhed daily with Hunger, under his Eyes. To leſſen the Merit of *Gregory*'s Generoſity and Compaſſion for the Poor, and at

Sabinian *choſen*. Year of Chriſt 605.

His Avarice renders him odious to the Roman *People*.

[o] Cave hiſt. Liter. Vol. I. p. 624.

[p] Greg. l. 2. ep. 52. et l. 6. ep. 24.

Year of Chriſt 605.

He reviles the Memory of Gregory.

the ſame time, to excuſe the oppoſite Vices in himſelf, he omitted no Opportunity to inveigh againſt that excellent Man, loading his Memory with all manner of Reproaches, and charging him, in particular, with having waſtefully ſpent, merely out of Oſtentation, and a Deſire of popular Applauſe, the Revenues of the Church, the Patrimony of the Poor, and, by his Prodigality, to have put it out of the Power of his Succeſſor to afford them any Relief in their preſent Diſtreſs. No Man would believe, that ſuch groundleſs Aſperſions, ſuch barefaced Calumnies, could have ever been credited in *Rome*; that in all *Rome* one Perſon could have been found ſo ungrateful as ever to forget the manifold Obligations the whole City owed to their great Benefactor. And yet he was ſcarce gone, when many, hearkening to the malicious Invectives of his Succeſſor, began to revile his Memory, as if their preſent Calamities were all owing to him; nay, ſome there were who even ſuffered themſelves to be wrought up, by the new Pope, and his Emiſſaries, to ſuch a Pitch of Madneſs and Fury againſt the Man, whom they had but a few Months before revered as a Saint, that had they not been prevented by a *pious* and ſeaſonable *Fraud*, they had, out of Hatred to him, deſtroyed all his Works. For they had already gathered together all the Copies of his Writings they could find, after a diligent Search, and brought them into the *Forum*, to conſign them there publicly to the Flames. But *Peter* the Deacon, a great Admirer of *Gregory*, and his Writings, ſeaſonably interpoſed, aſſuring the Multitude, that whatever *Gregory* had written, was dictated to him by the Holy Ghoſt, whom he himſelf had frequently ſeen, in the Shape of a Dove, whiſpering the holy Pontiff in the Ear, at the time he was writing. The Viſion was believed, the Fury of the Populace was appeaſed, and the Writings of *Gregory* were ſaved [q]. Upon the Credit of that Viſion *Gregory* is painted to this Day with a Dove at his Ear. The Deacon had probably read or heard of the Viſion, or *pious Fraud*, by which *Julius Proculus* ſaved the *Roman* Senate, upon the Death of *Romulus*, from falling a Victim to the Fury of the Populace. Several Writers are of Opinion, that ſome of *Gregory*'s Works actually periſhed, and ſeveral, that none of them periſhed on that Occaſion [r]. However that be, it were much to be wiſhed, for the Reputation

And ſtirs up the Populace againſt him, who attempt to deſtroy all his Books.

In what manner they were ſaved.

[q] Joan. Diac. in vit. S. Greg. l. 4. c. 69. Raynaud. de bonis et malis libris, n. 582. Trithem. &c.

[r] Bar. ad ann. 604. Theoph. Sigebert Gemblacen. de vir. illuſtr. c. 41.

and

and Credit of ſo great a Man, that, if any of them periſhed, the whole Four Books of his Dialogues had been in that Number. As for the Ingratitude of the *Roman* People to *Gregory*, it can only be matched by the Ingratitude of *Gregory* to the unhappy *Mauricius*, of which it may deſervedly be thought a juſt Retaliation. Year of Chriſt 605.

Sabinian had held the See but One Year, Five Months, and Nine Days, when he died, or was killed, as *Sigebert*, and after him, *Baronius*, would make us believe, by his Predeceſſor *Gregory*, who, having reproved him, ſay they, in Three different Apparitions, for his Covetouſneſs, but reproved him in vain, gave him, in a Fourth Apparition, ſo dreadful a Blow on the Head, that he died ſoon after [s]. His Death happened on the 22d of *February*; and he was buried in the Church of St. *Peter*. His Body was not conveyed to that Church in the uſual Pomp through the City, but privately over the Fields, leſt it ſhould be inſulted by the *Roman* People, ſatisfied at laſt, that the Miſeries they ſuffered were owing to his Avarice, and not to the Prodigality of *Gregory*. Sabinian *dies*. Year of Chriſt 606.

PHOCAS, **BONIFACE III.** AGILULPH, ADALOALDUS, } Kings of the *Lombards*.

Sixty-fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *Sabinian* was followed by a Vacancy that laſted (and yet no Writer accounts for it) Eleven Months, and Twenty-ſix Days; that is, from the 22d of *February* 606. to the 19th of the ſame Month 607. when *Boniface*, the Third of that Name, was ordained, and placed in the Chair. He too was a Deacon of the *Roman* Church; was a Native of *Rome*, and was ſent by *Gregory*, in the Year 603. to *Conſtantinople*, with the Character of his Nuncio, to congratulate, in his Name, *Phocas* and *Leontia* on their Acceſſion to the Imperial Crown. His having been choſen by ſo great a Pope to diſcharge that Office, at ſo critical a Juncture, leaves no room to queſtion his Addreſs and Abilities. Upon the Death of *Gregory* he returned to *Rome*; and *Sabinian* dying ſoon after his Return, he was choſen to ſucceed him, as one who was not Boniface III. *choſen*. Year of Chriſt 607.

[s] Sigebert. in Chron. Bar. ad ann. 605. p. 199. [t] Anaſt. in Sabin.

Year of Christ 607.

only well known to *Phocas*, but greatly favoured both by him and his Wife; for, by flattering the Usurper, as *Gregory* had done, and conniving at his Cruelties, if not applauding him in them, while the rest of Mankind exclaimed against him as an outrageous Tyrant, he had so insinuated himself into his good Graces, as to become one of his chief Favourites, or, as *Sigebert* writes, his only Favourite, being the only Person, in the whole City of *Constantinople*, who approved, or could so dissemble as to make the Tyrant believe he approved, of his Conduct. For that Merit alone he was chosen; and though he enjoyed his new Dignity but a very short time, for he did not even live to the End of the Year in which he was raised to it, yet it may truly be said, that to him alone the *Roman* See owes more than to all his Predecessors together. For he no sooner found himself vested with the Papal Dignity, than, taking advantage of the Partiality and Favour of *Phocas* to him, and of his Aversion and Hatred to the Patriarch *Cyriacus* (A), he not only prevailed on the Tyrant to revoke the Decree settling the Title of *Universal Bishop* on the Bishop of the Imperial City; but obtained, what no Man would believe could have ever come into the Thoughts of a Successor of *Gregory* to demand, were it not vouched by all the Historians to a Man [t]; but obtained, I say, a new Decree, settling on himself, and his Successors, that very Title, which his immediate Predecessor but one, and, of all his Predecessors, the best and the greatest, had so often condemned in any Bishop whatever, and rejected, with the utmost Abhorrence, when offered to himself, as *vain*, *proud*, *profane*, *impious*, *execrable*, *blasphemous*, *antichristian*, *heretical*, *diabolical*. *Boniface* could not but know, that the controverted Title had been thus stigmatized over and over again by Two of his Predecessors successively, *Pelagius* II. [u], and *Gregory*; that whoever should give it to, or approve it

What chiefly recommended him to the Roman *People and Clergy.*

Prevails on Phocas *to take the Title of* Universal Bishop *from the Bishop of* Constantinople, *and to grant it to him, and his Successors.*

[t] Paul. Diac. de gest. Longobard. l. 4. c. 11. Anast. et Platin. in Bonif. III. Sigebert. in chron. Otho Frising. chron. l. 5. c. 8. Rhegi. chron. l. 1. Albo-Floriac. Marian. Scot. Martin. Polon. Ursperg. in Phoc. Naucler. Sabell. Ennead. 8. l. 7, &c. [u] See above, p. 460.

(A) The Patriarch had been so impolitic as to pity, and take into his Protection, the abandoned Empress *Constantina*, with her Three innocent Daughters; which the Tyrant, a Stranger to all Generosity, Humanity, and Compassion, could never forgive (1).

(1) See above, p. 537.

in another, was declared by *Gregory* a *Heretic*[w]; and that whoever should presume, in the Pride of his Heart, to take it to himself, was by the same great Pope declared a *Follower of Satan, a Rival of Satan in Pride*, and *the Forerunner of Antichrist*[x]. All this *Boniface* well knew; but so unconceivably great was his Ambition, so utterly unbridled was his Desire of exalting his See, that, rather than to let slip the favourable Opportunity that now offered, and might never offer again, of raising it higher than it had ever yet been, or, in the Opinion of his own Predecessors, ought ever to be, he chose to stand condemned, out of their Mouths, as a *Heretic*, as a *Follower of Satan*, as *a Rival of Satan in Pride*, as *the Forerunner of Antichrist*. Had *Gregory* been allowed to return from the Dead, how great would his Surprize have been, how great his Indignation, to find *the Badge of Pride* thus become, so soon after his Death, the peculiar Badge of his See, and *the Mark of Antichrist* the peculiar Mark of his Successors! I say, *of his Successors*; for by them that *Badge of Pride*, that *Mark of Antichrist*, is borne to this Day, in spite of all the Names of Reproach and Ignominy with which it was branded by the most renowned and revered of all their Predecessors. Year of Christ 607.

As for the Edict issued by *Phocas* on this Occasion, it has not indeed reached our Times. But that thereby the Decree of the Council of *Constantinople* in 588[y]. entailing the Title of *Universal Bishop* on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and his Successors, was revoked and annulled; that the said Title was transferred from them to *Boniface*, and his Successors, and the Bishop of *Rome* declared the *Head of the whole Catholic Church*; is what all the Historians, whom I have quoted above, unanimously vouch. In the Bishop of *Constantinople* the Title of *Universal Bishop* is generally thought to have been no more than a Badge of Honour, or an honorary Title, without any Accession of Power. And indeed it does not appear, as I observed above, that in virtue of that Title he ever exercised or claimed any. But *Boniface* had scarce obtained it, when he took upon him to exercise an answerable Jurisdiction and Power, a Jurisdiction and Power to that time unknown and unheard of in the Catholic Church. For no sooner was the Imperial Edict, vesting him with the Title of *Universal Bishop*, and declaring him *Head of the Church*, brought to *Rome*, than, assembling a Council in the Basilic of St. *Peter*, consist- *What imported by the Edict of* Phocas *in favour of* Boniface.

[w] See above, p. 506. [x] See above, p. 515. [y] See above, p. 458.

Year of Christ 607.

ing of 72 Bishops, 34 Presbyters, and all the Deacons and inferior Clergy of that City, he acted there as if he had not been vested with the Title alone, though *Phocas* probably meant to grant him no more, but with all the Power of an *Universal Bishop*, with all the Authority of a *supreme Head*, or rather *absolute Monarch* of the Church. For by a Decree, which he issued in that Council, it was *pronounced, declared*, and *defined*, that no Election of a Bishop should thenceforth be deemed lawful and good, unless made by the People and Clergy, approved by the Prince, or Lord of the City, and confirmed by the Pope interposing his Authority in the following Terms; *We will and command, volumus* et *jubemus* [z]. The Imperial Edict therefore, if we may so call the Edict of an Usurper, and a Tyrant, was not, as the Popish Writers pretend, a bare Confirmation of the Primacy of the See of *Rome*; but the Grant of a new Title, which the Pope immediately improved into a Power, answering that Title. And thus was the Power of the Pope as *Universal Bishop*, as *Head of the Church*, or, in other Words, the Papal *Supremacy*, first introduced. It owed its Original to the worst of Men; was procured by the basest Means, by flattering a Tyrant in his Wickedness and Tyranny; and was in itself, if we stand to the Judgment of *Gregory* the Great, *antichristian, heretical, blasphemous, diabolical.*

The Title granted by Phocas, *improved by the Pope into Power.*

The Origin of the Papal Supremacy.

The Claim of the Bishop of Constantinople *to the Title of* Universal Bishop *better grounded than that of the Pope.*

But, after all, the Popes new Title availed them very little for the present. For *Phocas* being killed Three Years after he had granted it, the Bishop of *Constantinople* reassumed it, and would no more acknowlege the Pope for *Universal Bishop*, than the Pope acknowleged him. And indeed no Man can doubt, but the Bishops of *Constantinople* had a far better Claim to that Title than *Boniface*, or any of his Successors. To the Bishops of *Constantinople* it had been given by Two lawful Emperors, in no fewer than Thirteen Laws [a]; and had been confirmed to them by a Council consisting of the Two other great Patriarchs, of all the Senators of the Imperial City, and all the chief Bishops of the East, after they had enjoyed it undisturbed for the Space of 200 Years, and upwards [b]. But as to *Boniface*, and his Successors, they had no other Right or Claim to it, nor could they plead any other, but what was grounded on the late Edict, that is, on the Will of an Usurper, and a lawless Tyrant.

[z] Anast. Platina, &c. in Bonif. III. [a] See above, p. 459. [b] See above, p. 458, 459.

Baro-

Year of Christ 607.

That Title assumed by the Pope, in the same Sense in which it was condemned by Gregory.

Baronius, *Bellarmine*, and the other Popish Writers, have spared no Pains, no Subtilties or Distinctions, to prove that the Title of *Universal Bishop* was condemned and rejected by *Gregory*, in a quite different Sense from that in which it was assumed by *Boniface*, and is borne to this Day by his Successors. The Name of *Universal Bishop*, say they, may be so understood as to import no more than a general Care of the Universal Church, in the Bishop who is distinguished with that Title: and in that Sense alone it was claimed by *Boniface*, and had never been condemned by *Gregory*. But besides that, it may have another very different Meaning, and be so understood, as if the Bishop, who is so styled, were the sole Bishop of all the Cities in Christendom, and the other Bishops were no longer true Bishops, but only the Vicars or Curates of his Holiness the *Universal Bishop*. In that Sense alone, say they, it was condemned by *Gregory*, and never assumed by *Boniface*, or any of his Successors [c]. A pitiful Evasion indeed! which one would think had been rather calculated to expose than to defend the Cause. For, I. Who can be so absurd as to imagine, that it could ever have come into the Thoughts of any Emperor to grant, of any Bishop to accept, the Title of *Universal Bishop* in that Sense? To grant or accept it in that Sense had not been Heresy, but Madness. II. The Bishop of *Constantinople* styles himself to this Day *Universal Bishop*; and yet he does not look upon other Bishops only as his Vicars or Curates, but respects them as his Collegues and Fellow-Bishops. III. No Man can believe, that, when *Eulogius* of *Alexandria* offered the Title of *Universal Bishop* to *Gregory*, he thereby designed to degrade himself, to resign the Second Place of Honour in the Church, and to become the Pope's Vicar, or his Curate. And yet the Pope rejected his Offer with the greatest Indignation, as I have related above [d]. IV. *Gregory* condemned that Title because it exalted the Bishop who assumed it, whether Bishop of *Rome* or *Constantinople*, above his Brethren; because it subjected all other Bishops to him, while he himself was subject to none; and of a Member made him the Head of the Church, and intitled him to a Power over all its Members, which was peculiar to Christ alone, and never assumed by any of the Apostles, no, not by St. *Peter* himself [e]. These are the Reasons of *Gregory*'s irreconcileable Aversion and Abhorrence to the Title of *Universal Bishop*.

[c] Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 31. [d] See above, p. 517. [e] See above, p. 507, 508.

And

Year of Christ 607.

And from them it is manifeſt he condemned that Title, as implying an *Univerſal* Power and Juriſdiction over the Church; and conſequently in the very Senſe in which it was aſſumed by *Boniface*, and has been ſince notably improved by his Succeſſors, as the World well knows.

Boniface *dies.*

To return to *Boniface:* He died on the Tenth of *November* of the preſent Year, having enjoyed his Dignity only 8 Months, and 22 Days. I will not conſtrue his being ſo ſoon cut off into a Judgment, for his antichriſtian Pride and Ambition; though I might with much better Reaſon than *Baronius* ſo conſtrued the Death of the good Pope *Anaſtaſius*, for his Chriſtian Moderation, notwithſtanding that Pope lived a whole Year longer than *Boniface*[f]. Tho' *Boniface* deſerved ſo well of the *Roman* See, that Church has not however thought fit to diſtinguiſh him with the Honour of Saintſhip. And indeed ſhe could not well have ſainted him, and not beſtowed the ſame Honour on *Phocas*, the only Merit he had being common to him with that Tyrant.

It were to be wiſhed the Succeſſors of *Boniface* had been ſatisfied with the Title, which he procured them, and even with the Power, of *Univerſal Biſhops*. But no ſooner had they brought that Power to its higheſt Pitch, than they began to extend their Views, to join inſenſibly the Temporal to the Spiritual Power; nor did their boundleſs Ambition allow them, or the World, to enjoy any Reſt till they got themſelves acknowleged for *Univerſal Monarchs* as well as *Univerſal Biſhops*, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

[f] See above, p. 246.

The END *of the* SECOND VOLUME.

MUSE BRITA NICVI

The Reader is deſired to rectify the following Miſtake:

Inſtead of *Gelaſius, the 50th Biſhop of* Rome, p. 216. read 48th; and ſo on to *Pelagius*, the 59th, p. 419.